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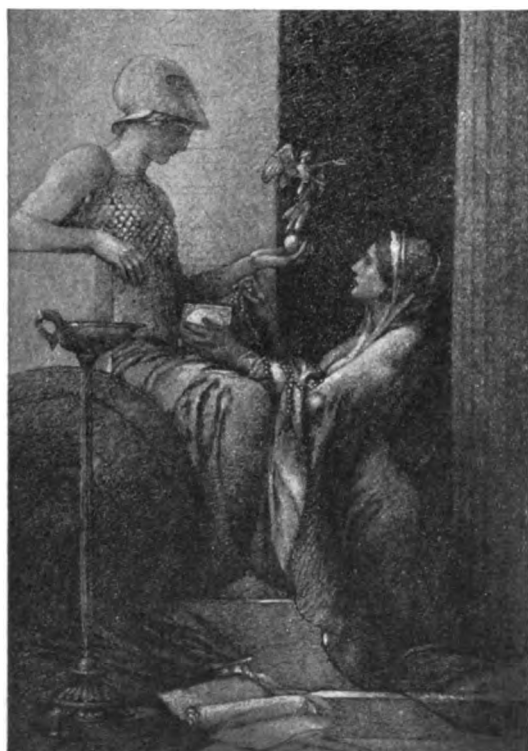


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NOTES AND STUDIES

BISHOP BARLOW'S CONSECRATION AND ARCH- BISHOP PARKER'S REGISTER: WITH SOME NEW DOCUMENTS.

Bishop Barlow and Anglican Orders: A Study of the Original Documents. By ARTHUR STAPYLTON BARNES, M.A. (Longmans, 1922.)

BRIEFLY stated, the conclusions which it is sought to establish in this book would seem to be three. First, that Bishop Barlow was no bishop in any sense save that of possessing jurisdiction, and that the well-known defect in the records relating to him is the result not of accident but of intentional mutilation; secondly, that as Barlow was no bishop so neither was Archbishop Parker whom he consecrated; and that the account of Parker's consecration is a deliberate forgery undertaken for the purpose of representing the other bishops who took part in the ceremony as each saying the words of consecration and thus of supplying what might possibly be construed as a remedy for the defect in Barlow. Thirdly, that the process of tampering with evidence has extended even to the public records. The story, which is developed in a most graphic and interesting manner, discloses as it proceeds a series of plots and villainies, and the inference is suggested that the book 'seems to show that more bad faith and discreditable action was involved than has hitherto been supposed'. As a crown to the whole is reprinted the description of the dying Elizabeth contained in a MS at Stonyhurst (cited as Aug. A. iii 77): 'The council sent to her the bishop of Canterbury and other of the prelates, upon sight of whom she was much offended, cholerically rating them, bidding them be packing, saying she was no atheist, but knew full well that they were hedge priests, and took it for an indignity that they should speak to her.' The student who compares this with the account given in Strype's *Life of Whitgift* (ed. 1718, pp. 558-559) may be left to form

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his own judgement of it and of the last sentence in the book : 'Certainly no one had better means than had Elizabeth of judging of the character, whether the word is taken in its theological or moral sense, of the prelates she had chosen to set over her Church.'

Polemical issues, like threatened institutions, have long lives, and the volume before us would probably have seemed to most readers to be an effort to revivify one almost moribund but for the author's apparent assumption in the preface that his work is controversially of no consequence. He hopes, however, that 'its publication may be thought to be justified as a study purely historical', and as such it must be treated, though where the study of the original documents has been invested with the fascination of romance it is hard even for the reviewer to be dull and matter of fact.

Between Cranmer's consecration on March 30, 1533, and the death of Henry VIII on January 28, 1546/7, twenty-five men apart from Barlow held diocesan bishoprics in the Province of Canterbury who had not been consecrated before that time. In the case of each of them there is evidence extant which is wanting in the case of Barlow, and this evidence is adequate to satisfy any trained and impartial student beyond reasonable doubt that the person in question had received consecration. But to have a right to arrive at such a conclusion, which *pro tanto* tells against Barlow, the student must take the evidence as he finds it and estimate its value on the assumption that sovereigns and archbishops and their legal officials are normally honest.

There are two pieces of evidence which are of primary importance—the ecclesiastical record of consecration in the provincial register and the secular record of the King's order to the escheators for the restitution of temporalities, an order which in this period (though not in the reign of Edward VI) recites the fact of consecration on the authority of the Archbishop's letters patent. In eleven of the cases with which we are dealing both these records exist, in seven more the record of consecration only, in the other seven the order for restitution only. In other words, Cranmer's Register contains no entry of the actual consecration of Fox or Skip of Hereford, of Latimer or Bell of Worcester, of Hilsey of Rochester, nor of Sampson or Daye of Chichester. These facts afford a curious commentary upon the author's contention that 'considering the careful way in which the surviving records have been drawn up, it seems much more likely that a thief has been at work than that Cranmer's registrars should have been so careless in their work as is generally supposed'. In the case of Bell 3½ folia are left blank to be filled in at a convenient opportunity which never came, and the hypothesis of theft may safely be left to the judgement of those

who examine the physical features of the different sections of the Register. They are perhaps not less likely to demur to the statement that 'the age of Henry VIII was one when the duty of making careful records was thoroughly understood, and for the most part, except when wilful mutilation has taken place at a later date, the records are in perfect order' as widely at variance with their own experience of the series of Chancery Warrants, Patent Rolls, and Episcopal Registers.

Of course there are not wanting subsidiary aids to prove or attest the fact of consecration. Including the two which we have called primary, the author enumerates thirteen documents 'all of which ought to be available, and any one of which would be sufficient by itself to prove the fact of consecration'. He adds two more as sometimes helpful, and might have added yet another, where it may be had, for though the Archbishop's relaxation of the *spiritualitas* is only twice noted in the Register in this period, and in one of those cases (f. 284) the bishop (Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield) had already held the see of Chichester, in the other case, that of Knight of Bath and Wells (f. 268 b, 31 May 1541), the fact of consecration is recited. In a sense this latter fact adds strength to the case of Sampson, which is said to be *post confirmationem Episcopi etc.* (9 March 1542/3), in another sense it does not.

In regard to some of the thirteen evidences the cautious student would probably desire to content himself with saying that they justify the presumption of consecration rather than that they prove the fact, and would be more ready to return thanks for such documents as he finds than to urge that others ought to be available. Legal officials as well ecclesiastical as secular were men of business, not antiquaries, and the accumulation of documents was in any case a serious difficulty. Hence we need not be surprised, and still less impute malpractice, if just as the confirmation of charters in an *InspeXimus* militates against the preservation of the originals, it is not always otherwise in regard to the documents recited in an order for restitution of temporalities. The Archbishop's certificates to the King of confirmation and consecration, like the original licences of the Chapter of Canterbury for consecration elsewhere than in the cathedral, were long narrow strips (about $15'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$) somewhat similar to the sheriff's warrant for distraint often found in the binding of books: it is more surprising that so many than that so few as five or six out of twenty-five should have survived. Yet they may be, as in the case of Latimer and Hilsey, the only ecclesiastical record of the consecration now in London.

It has not been possible for the purpose of this review to ascertain directly in most cases what measure of evidence is supplied by the capitular or archidiaconal registers of Canterbury or by capitular or

diocesan registers elsewhere. The result is in most of the twenty-five cases to reduce the thirteen lines of evidence open to the reviewer to nine. The author thinks that 'probably in no case will less than nine or ten of the proofs be forthcoming', and says that 'In Goodrich's case . . . which is the only one we have personally investigated, twelve of the thirteen regular documents are extant. The only one missing is the licence of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whose register has suffered a mutilation just at this place, which mutilation also includes the entry for Barlow, if it was ever there'. In Goodrich's case Mgr Barnes must either unconsciously have departed from his basis of calculation or have made a slight error in his addition, since he would otherwise have had the curious and unusual experience of discovering a document which does not exist, viz. the Archbishop's authority to the Archdeacon to enthrone the new bishop, in the Register at Lambeth. In regard to the others his surmise is perhaps unduly sanguine, but even on the nine lines open to our own investigation the facts recoverable shew that in no case of the twenty-five are there less than three pieces of evidence for the consecration and in twenty there are four or more. In four cases, those of Sampson, Bell, Skip, and Daye, the consecration has to be presumed from other than ecclesiastical evidences, while Cranmer's Register contains no entry at all in regard to the accession of Latimer to Worcester or Hilsey to Rochester, and the Archbishop's certificates of confirmation and consecration dated 23 September, 1535, now in the Public Record Office do not give the dates in either case.¹ In none of the twenty-five cases, as has been said above, would an unbiased student feel any real doubt of the fact of consecration.

We have said that *pro tanto* the existence of this sufficient evidence in twenty-five cases tells against Barlow, without staying to evaluate the *quantum*. It is now nearly eighty years since the appearance of the third volume of Haddan's edition of Bramhall's *Works*,² which remains still a standard authority upon the subject. No one can read the Preface and Notes to that book without being impressed by the editor's learning and evident attempt at fairness of judgement, and though the present reviewer would not feel able, as may appear, to state some of the evidence in the same way, he would have differed with hesitation and certainly would not have thought it worth while to reopen the question in default of strong positive evidence telling against its conclusions, which are in favour of Barlow's consecration. It is, however, one of the objects of the volume before us to prove that such evidence can be supplied, and a candid effort to examine it involves a certain measure of restatement.

¹ P. R. O. Chancery Warrants, Series II, file 702.

² 'Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology' (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1844).

I

The facts which are undisputed may be summarized very briefly. William Barlow, Prior of Bisham, was elected to the bishopric of St Asaph on January 18, 1535/6, and his election was confirmed at St Mary-le-Bow on February 22 by proxy, since he was at that time absent on an embassy in Scotland. He was elected to the bishopric of St Davids on April 10 or 11, 1536, confirmed in person on April 21, and returned for a short time to Scotland. A grant of temporalities was made to him on April 26, a summons to Parliament was issued on April 27, and he was present there on June 30. He was not in Scotland on April 25, was probably there on May 6, and certainly there on May 13 and 23, as appears by letters from Edinburgh signed 'W. Meneuen.' The *congé d'élire* for a successor to St Asaph was issued on May 29 for the vacancy caused 'per liberam transmutacionem Willelmi Barlowe episcopi ultimi electi'. Cranmer's Register contains the formal documents connected with the confirmation of his election both to St Asaph and to St Davids, but there is no note in it, nor in any official record now known, of his consecration.

There is nothing in what has so far been stated which can safely be held to imply, still less to necessitate, the fact of consecration. And we must be specially upon our guard against reading the ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth. The same Close Roll which records a summons to Parliament addressed to Barlow by the name of 'T. Episcopus Meneuen.' (the inaccuracy of the initial in such a record would have troubled nobody) notes the issue of another 'Custodi Spiritualitatis Episcopatus Assauen., ipsa sede vacante',¹ and the *custos* in question was certainly not a person in episcopal orders. Moreover, on matters of description in these times it is very rash to dogmatize unless one knows. The man who signs himself 'E. Manchester' in the middle of the seventeenth century was no more one of the lords spiritual than was 'Your affectionate Brother, Canterbury' at the beginning of the eighteenth one of the lords temporal. Barlow's signature referred to above seems to Mgr Barnes a proof that he was passing for a bishop when he was not, and so continued to do: by Mr Haddan it is treated half apologetically, though regarded as excusable. We venture to suggest that Barlow called himself 'W. Meneuen.' because it was his name by a use which no one would have criticized, and that it proves nothing for or against his consecration. Bonner's Hereford Register calls that prelate 'divina permissione Herefordensis episcopus' and then goes on to explain, though not as part of his style, that he was elect, confirmed,

¹ See Rymer *Foedera* (London, 1712) xiv 564; *Rot. Claus.* 406.

and before consecration translated to the see of London. Bonner himself, however, as ambassador was still using his ordinary surname, so that that must be placed on the other side.

We must turn now to terminology used not by Barlow but about him, from which inferences are drawn of serious importance, for they are used to reconstitute piece by piece the details of a deep-laid plot to impose first upon the Chapter of St Davids and then upon the Church of England, and in this plot Henry himself is supposed to be the prime mover. The reader's judgement will necessarily be affected by the extent of his familiarity with procedure and with ecclesiastical forms, and it is difficult to deal with such matters briefly except at the risk of seeming discourteous or by setting opinion against opinion or making claims to expert knowledge which would be presumption. Two illustrations may be given. For reasons which it would require considerable space to justify, few students of forms would allow that the description of Barlow as late bishop or last bishop (instead of late bishop elect) of St Asaph implied any intent to deceive, and the expression *per liberam transmutationem* is really incapable of sinister interpretation. The *congé d'élire* presupposes a petition for the licence and normally follows the words used in it, so that (as often, when one document depends upon another) it is possible to reconstruct with practical certainty the main part of the earlier document from the wording of the later; and further, phraseology once adopted has a tendency to persist unless there is some special reason for change. When, therefore, we find that the Chapter of St Asaph uses in the certificate of the election of Barlow's successor, Robert Warton, the description of the vacancy as '*per liberam dimissionem cessionem et transmutacionem Reverendi Patris Domini Willelmi Barlowe ultimi Episcopi ibidem Electi*',¹ it is scarcely rash to assume that this was the form which they used in the original petition: they had modified the familiar term *permutationem*, which would not apply, and as their registrar had found the *mot juste* which exactly represented the situation it was followed in the *congé d'élire* and subsequent documents issued by the Crown. By the same process Cranmer's officials followed, in the records of the confirmation of Barlow's election to St Davids,² the language of the Crown officials in the writ describing him as '*nuper episcopus Assaphen. ac monasterii de Bisham Sarum dioc. commendatarius perpetuus in episcopum Meneven. electus*'.³ Unless a serious mistake were (a) involved, (b) detected, the probability of an alteration is so slight as to be almost negligible.

The description applied to Barlow is of course derived from the Royal Assent, and that depended on a previous document authorizing

¹ *Reg. Cranmer* f. 195.

² *Ibid.* f. 207.

³ *Ibid.* f. 205.

the issue of the Letters Patent. In the author's view that previous document, which he prints in an appendix but inadvertently misquotes in the text, represents a personal intervention of Henry in a unique case with the purpose of misleading the Chapter of St Davids into believing that Barlow was already consecrated. But Henry was not content with this: 'He must carry his lie farther. He goes on to describe Barlow as "Perpetual Prior Commendatory of Bisham". The force of this description has never hitherto been pointed out. It is a direct assertion that Barlow had been consecrated as Bishop of St Asaph, which was certainly untrue' (p. 65). 'No man could possibly be a Commendatory prior who had not already been so consecrated' (p. 72). Mgr Barnes has had an unhappy experience which befalls all of us at times in some field or other. Documents have such a perverse habit of disagreeing with the general theory even of the best of text-books. If he will carry his investigations into the files of the period in Chancery Warrants, Series II, at the Public Record Office, he will have to sacrifice an ingenious theory as to the procedure in the matter of the Royal Assent and the uniqueness of it in Barlow's case, and if he will ask himself how it comes about that on June 22, 1536, Robert Warton, S.T.B., 'commendatarius perpetuus monasterii sancti Salvatoris de Bermondsey'¹ appoints a proctor to act for him in the matter of his election to the bishopric of St Asaph he will probably find himself impelled to make considerable alteration in the passages we have quoted. It will be wise to exclude the hypothesis of bad faith.

The next document with which we propose to deal causes the author serious trouble and awakens in him the gravest suspicion. It is the grant (April 26, 1536) which put Barlow in possession of temporalities of the see of St Davids, and which is noted by Haddan on the strength of Mason's account, and here reprinted from Estcourt. It is in form, as Haddan pointed out, a grant of custody and not of restitution of temporalities² and is in the records of the Exchequer.³ The Letters Patent note the authority for issuing them as 'per breve de Privato Sigillo et de data auctoritate Parliamenti'. Mgr Barnes discusses the addition of the last five words: 'For what reason was this added? It does not occur in any other of Henry's grants.' He rejects the suggestion that the authority can be the Act 25 Henry VIII, cap. 16, and concludes that 'it would seem that the appeal is to the recently passed Act of Supremacy, and that Henry is justifying his unusual action by representing it as an act of that supreme authority over the Church with which he had been endowed by Parliament'. But we have all of us framed admirable theories only to find them tumble like

¹ *Reg. Cranmer* f. 193 ; cf. f. 194^b.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 138, 156.

³ *Exch. L. T. Memoranda Roll*, no. 310 (Easter Term 28 Henry VIII).

a tower of cards. Except that the word *praedicta* is here omitted after *data* the phrase is common form, and there are literally scores of examples. It is never quite fair to say that a student who has consulted a document for one purpose ought to have seen something else that is also there, but there are several instances in a roll which we know that the author has seen and to which we shall refer later. We will select one, however, which is outside the range of controversy. It is found in the Register of Bishop Bothe of Hereford published last year,¹ and is appended as in this case to a grant of custody of temporalities. The date is May 27, 8 Henry VIII (1516). But the form occurs also many times in secular grants as well as ecclesiastical.

This does not exhaust the interest of the document. Barlow is described not as late Bishop elect of St Asaph nor as late Bishop of St Asaph but as 'Prior Monasterii sive Prioratus Sanctae Trinitatis de Bostlesham Mountague Ordinis Sancti Augustini in Comitatu nostro Bukk' (*sic*); Cranmer, who is described as 'Primatus (*sic*) et Appostolice sedis legatus', is said to have accepted and confirmed his election 'ipsumque sic electum Episcopum predictae Ecclesie Meneuen. praefecit et pastorem', and in the subsequent portion of the document he is spoken of as 'nunc Episcopus Meneuensis'. No one, it is urged, but Henry himself would have dared to use such language as to Cranmer. That Henry did so is not merely unlikely but wildly improbable: so improbable as even to justify a conjecture that the King never saw the document at all in any form. There was a form of procedure of which there is evidence in Chancery Warrants by which the King in a letter ordered 'predilectus et fidelis consanguineus noster nobis quam plurimum dilectus' the Lord Privy Seal to issue under the seal in his custody letters to the Chancellor to issue for a particular business stated Letters Patent under the Great Seal 'in hac parte debitas et in tali casu consuetas'. The 'consanguineus', Thomas Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, was still at this date 'predilectus'—he had indeed been enriched with many temporal possessions—but this particular procedure would only have resulted in a summary letter from his office. We have, however, the warrant under the Privy Seal² which contains the whole document including the blunders. It is dated April 20, and was delivered to the Chancellor on April 26. On Easter Eve, April 15, the procedure appointed by the Act 27 Henry 8 cap. 11 came into force, and that procedure would not require that the King should have done more than issue general directions for a grant of custody. Any one who will read Chapuys' account³ of the days inter-

¹ Cantilupe Society and Canterbury and York Society. Reg. Bothe p. 3.

² Chancery Warrants, Series II, file 709.

³ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* vol. x no. 699.

vening between April 15 and 20 can form his own opinion of what Henry personally is likely to have done. And any one who compares this warrant with four others still preserved, dated 'apud Manerium nostrum de Grenewyche xx^o die Aprilis', will probably doubt if Privy Seal ever read the document either. We suspect that the explanation is quite simple. The grant is a copy *mutatis mutandis* either of the concession to Cranmer in May 1533,¹ or of one based on that between May 1533–November 1534 which the clerk has followed without reflexion, and in which he has introduced the words 'durante vita' and 'durante vita sua', common in secular grants. The form of the description of Barlow need not greatly disturb us. When John Bird, Bishop Suffragan of Penrith, was made Bishop of Bangor in 1539 a *significavit* was actually issued for his consecration in which he was described as Io Barde, S.T.P., and this was followed when Henry Holbeche, Bishop Suffragan of Bristol, was made Bishop of Rochester in 1544. But if a new procedure was being attempted in the matter of dealing with temporalities, a singularly clumsy method had been adopted, which incidentally deprived the Crown officials of fees, and which was misinterpreted by those into whose hands it came. The Letters Patent were issued out of the Hanaper on May 4, and entered on the Lord Treasurer's Memoranda Roll for Easter Term, which began on May 3. But the document was not registered as a grant for life, a kind of grant which received special treatment and usually, though not always, a special fee. The Lord Treasurer's official enrolled it, as the preface which he prefixed to it shews, as relating to issues and profits made and enrolled 'from the time of the vacancy to the date of the letters patent'. Strictly interpreted it referred to no more, for there is not a word in it, so far as we can see, which relates to future profits such as grants for life contain; and, as will be seen, the Clerks of the Hanaper did not so regard it. A few years later Bishop Daye of Chichester received a grant of custody on May 9, 1543, and restitution of temporalities on May 10: Bishop Heath of Worcester and Bishop Holbeche of Rochester seem to have received both documents in each case on the same day. It is possible that when the warrant for Privy Seal was drawn a blunder in form was made, and that it was expected that Barlow would be consecrated on April 23 or 25, and a grant of restitution sued out a few days later. But if Barlow were not consecrated then, the effect of attaching to the Letters Patent the date April 26, on which day the Privy Seal warrant was delivered to the Chancellor, was merely to give the recipient the right, unless advantage was taken later of the blunder to put upon the document a meaning which it did not strictly bear, to about two months' arrears to date, when he could get them, since Bishop Rawlyns died on

¹ Rymer *Foedera* xiv 457 ff.

February 18. In compounding for his first-fruits, which were assessed at 457*li.* 2*s.* 1*d.* or with the usual deduction of a tenth 441*li.* 7*s.* 10½*d.*, Barlow agreed to pay one-sixth of this sum, roughly two months' income, at the following Michaelmas. It is a curious coincidence, but it may be no more. He is described in the Composition Book under *Episcopatus Meneuen.* as *Willelmus Barloo Episcopus ibidem*.¹ The date is April 28, and within a few days he departed to Scotland. Mgr Barnes treats the parallelism of forms in Bonner's case as a mere following of Barlow's, which may be likely enough without drawing unfavourable inferences in the matter of Barlow; but if the document with which we have been dealing was really intended to provide an ambassador with the temporalities of his see without the necessity of being consecrated, it must be admitted that by Bonner's time the officials had found a better way of doing it. And in regard to Henry's alleged share in the matter there comes to mind the wise discretion of Lord Herbert of Cherbury in writing of these fateful days with which we have been dealing: 'I shall not yet determine whether princes' secret actions be beyond any scrutiny. I will only lay down the particulars, as far as by records, or otherwise, I could gather them, remitting the rest to the equal reader.'²

The clerk who drew the warrant for Privy Seal docketed it as he did the others on the bottom left-hand corner, and he wrote *Epus Meneuen*. His action in doing so implies nothing to the student of forms in regard to the question whether Barlow was or was not at that time consecrated. As a matter of judgement the reviewer would agree with Mgr Barnes that at the time when he went to Scotland he probably was not, and even after listening to the author's reasons he would still concur. Was 'the elect of Saint Asphe, now translated to Saint Dawy', as James V of Scotland called him³ in a letter to Henry VIII written on April 21, ever consecrated at a later date? This is the question which we now have to consider in conjunction with the adverse arguments which Mgr Barnes brings forward. Cranmer's Register tells us nothing either way beyond the fact that the consecration is not recorded. The record of Fox of Hereford ends with the decree of confirmation (f. 178 *b*) and a space of thirty-seven lines blank, that of Sampson of Chichester with the certificate of confirmation (f. 192) with nineteen lines and the whole of fol. 192 verso blank, that of 'Boner' of Hereford with the same (f. 222 *b*) and nine lines blank, that of Skip of Hereford likewise with half a page blank (f. 254 *b*), that of Daye of Chichester with the

¹ E. F. F. Comp. Book I f. 24^b.

² *Autobiography and History of England under Henry VIII.* By Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury. 'World Library' (Ward, Lock & Co., n. d.) p. 567.

³ *Hamilton Papers*, ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1890) i 36.

decree of confirmation (f. 305 *b*) and nine lines blank. We have referred to the case of Bell, and in those of Latimer and Hilsey an examination of such of the old signatures of the quires as remain will probably convince any one that the records are entirely wanting, not because they have been stolen, but because the files (which should have been copied after that of Fox) were never entered up at all. It may be said that this is inexcusable carelessness; but the Registrar William Potkyn, who had been in the service of the Archbishops at least since 1492 and had been of sufficient standing to be made Principal Registrar of the diocese of Norwich *sede vacante* in 1499, was nearing the end of a laborious life, and supervision had apparently somewhat failed after April 1535, up to which date the entries are fairly complete. From the clerk's point of view the proceedings in the case of each new diocesan bishop meant, if a full entry were made, the writing of about sixteen pages of skin, folio size, with sixty-seven lines to the page and an average of eleven to twelve words to the line. In the case of three new bishops at once (Fox, Latimer, Hilsey) the records might easily run to 35,000 words (say about seventy pages of this JOURNAL) which some one would have to write in addition to the everyday business of the office. People have so little imagination of what these things mean. The record of the consecration itself had to be transcribed as soon as possible for the Crown officials, but it could not be entered on the quires which would some day make the Register until the mass of preliminary matter, to which it would be an addition of five to nine lines, had been written up, and the little record remained on a hook until the opportunity came for entry. Anyhow, Barlow's St Asaph entry ends with the certificate of confirmation and nearly a page blank (f. 182 *b*), the St Davids one with a like document (f. 207 *b*) and thirty-two lines blank.

At this point we must return for a time to procedure, confining ourselves to the reign of Henry VIII. Prior to 1534 the Royal Assent to an election was given by Letters Patent stating that to the election of the person named 'Regium assensum adhibuimus et favorem et hoc vobis tenore praesentium significamus ut quod vestrum est in hac parte exequamini cum effectu'. The document was addressed to the spiritual person whose duty it would be to take further steps or to his representative, and there is no doubt that it was regarded as a sufficient warrant for those steps so far as the Crown was concerned. In the case of Goodrich of Ely in April 1534 and in subsequent cases, we find also another and longer document also in the form of Letters Patent: 'Eidem electioni Regium assensum nostrum adhibuimus . . . (*as above*) significamus; Rogantes ac in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini firmiter vobis mandantes, quatenus praefatum T. G. Eliensem electum et electionem predictam confirmare et

eundem T. G. in Episcopum Eliensem consecrare ipsumque prout moris est Episcopaliibus Insigniis investire ceteraque peragere quae vestro in hac parte incumbunt Officio Pastoralis iuxta formam statuti inde editi et provisi, velitis diligenter cum effectu.' Cranmer's registrar called both documents the Royal Assent, and so also sometimes did the clerks who enrolled the Letters Patent, but in general the Crown officials distinguished the first, which we may call for convenience the 'short form', as the Royal Assent, the second, which depends on the Act 25 Henry VIII cap. 20, the *significavit*. Both documents came to be issued, first the short form, and then after an interval of a day or days the long one. Is it possible to distinguish their purpose apart from fees and the maintenance of a picturesque survival in case of the short form? The long form fulfilled all the requirements of the Act and had to be followed by consecration within twenty days on pain of *Praemunire* in case of default. It is usual to assert that the short form was the authority for confirmation, and no doubt it might be so regarded. In a perfect case like that of Shaxton of Salisbury we have the short form issued on March 5, 1534/5, the Archbishop's certificate of confirmation on March 18, the issue of the long form, the *significavit*, on March 22, and the consecration on April 11. But that case illustrates the extraordinary result that the Archbishop received on March 22 a document which besides ordering the consecration also enjoined him to perform an act—the confirmation of the election—which he had already certified that he had done. It is clear that the matter gave some trouble to the secular officials and equally clear that they mixed the phraseology of the two forms so that it becomes possible to distinguish five or six types of *significavit* which are sometimes of historical interest, while the short form remains in its original simplicity, theoretically authorizing anything that was requisite and unhampered by the requirement of consecration within twenty days. We are aware that to Mgr Barnes this method of statement will appear to be special pleading. He himself states the possibility, but rejects it on the ground that in pre-Reformation times the State 'had no responsibility for the consecration, a bishop being fully made for State purposes by the confirmation of his election or by papal provision'. We seem to remember cases in which the State exhibited some considerable degree of concern in spiritual matters in which it had no 'responsibility', but the reviewer is fain to admit that, apart from slips like the distinction drawn as to the use of 'request' and command, he was considerably impressed by this part of the book until he came to investigate the facts. It seemed a case where, as so often, practice interpreted theory; and he made a mental note that if Barlow's case is to be treated as affording precedent for anything which seems to any one peculiar in the procedure in the case of Bonner, who was also

removed from one see (Hereford), for which he had been confirmed but not consecrated, to another (London), it was probable that the *significavit* for Barlow, if it were ever found, would contain the modified clause (warranted in Bonner's case 'per breve de privato sigillo et de data predicta auctoritate parlamenti') in the Letters Patent 'ac munus consecrationis eidem, *quum ad hoc ex parte fueritis requisiti*, debite impendatis'. This avoided the dangers to the Archbishop of *Praemunire* in failing to consecrate within twenty days a bishop elect who was absent as ambassador in Scotland, as Barlow was, or in France, as in the case of Bonner. Legal officials can often provide a way out of a difficulty if it be desired by competent authority. But he was entirely unprepared for what he was about to find.

Readers of episcopal registers will occasionally come upon notes of fees paid for particular documents. There is one such appended to the briefs for restitution of temporalities in Bishop Bothe's Hereford Register (fol. 9), and the reading of it suggested that it was just possible that a similar record might have been made in some account enrolled in the Exchequer. The field of sixteenth-century secular administration is one in which the reviewer moves with halting steps, but he knew enough to be sure that what he would find would be likely to be tantalizingly incomplete for quite different reasons from those supposed in the present work. Fortunately the accounts of the Hanaper from September 30, 1535 to September 30, 1536, still survive in more than one form.

The first document examined was a small paper book damaged by damp and imperfect at the end, but running from September 30, 1535 to September 18, 1536, so that not much has been lost. It records under each day the materials provided in the office of the Hanaper and the documents issued. From the writing it is clear that it was not written up from day to day, but is a fair copy of, or made up from, a rougher day-book. So far as it goes it is the detailed account of Thomas Crumwell and Ralph Sadler, the Keepers or Clerks of the Hanaper for the period covered. We have transcribed everything which has any bearing on the subject before us.

(1) E. 101, Bundle 222, No. 9.

fol. 3 v^o Die Sabbati viij die Ianuarii [*sc.* 1535/6]. De licencia eligendi pro Episcopo Assauen. xxs. iiij*d*.

Die Martis xi die Ian. De licencia eligendi pro Episcopo Dublin. xxs. iiij*d*.

6 v^o Die Lunae xiii die Marcii. De Regio assensu pro Archiepiscopo Dublin. xxs. iiij*d*.

De carta eiusdem Archiepiscopi de significauit xxs. iiij*d*.

7 Die Mercurii xv die Marcii. De carta Thome prioris de Butley de constituendo ipsum suffraganeum Gipwici xxs. iiij*d*.

De carta Iohannis prioris sancte fdis de Horsham de consti-
tuendo ipsum Suffraganeum Thetforden. xxs. iiiid.

- 7 v^o Die Mercurii xxix die Marcii [*sc.* 1536]. De Restitucionibus
temporalium Archiepiscopi Dublin. xxs. iiiid.
- 8 Die Sabbati primo die Aprilis. De licencia eligendi pro
Episcopo Meneuen. xxs. iiiid.
- 8 v^o Die Iouis xx die Aprilis. De regio assensu pro Episcopo
Meneuen. xxs. iiiid.
- 9 Die Iouis quarto die Maii. De carta Episcopi Meneuen. de
perdonacione et custodia temporalium xxiis. iiiid.
- 10 v^o Die Lune xxix die Maii. De licencia eligendi pro Episcopo
Assauen. xxs. iiiid.
- 11 Die Ueneris secundo die Iunii. De licencia eligendi pro
Episcopo Cicestr. xxs. iiiid. [This entry is interlined but
made in the period covered.]
- 11 v^o Die Sabbati x die Iunii. De Regio Assensu pro Episcopo
Norwic. xxs. iiiid.
- Die Dominica xi die Iunii. De Regio Assensu pro Episcopo
Cicestr. xxs. iiiid.
- 12 v^o Die Sabbati xxiii die Iunii. De Regio Assensu et Significauit
pro Episcopo Assauen. xls. viiid.
- 13 Die Sabbati primo die Iulii. De carta [this word is struck
through] significauit pro Episcopo Norwic. xxs. iiiid.
- Die Martis quarto die Iulii. De restituc. temporalium
Episcopi Cirencestr. (*sic*) xxs. iiiid.
- 14 Die Mercurii xix die die (*sic*) Iulii. De restituc. temporalium
Episcopi Norwic. xxs. iiiid.
- Die Ueneris xxi die Iulii. De Restitucionibus temporalium
pro Episcopo Assauen. xxs. iiiid.

Corresponding to this is an enrolled account covering the same period, and water-stained, but not so badly. In this there is a detailed statement of the cost of materials provided day by day, and the various documents issued are divided into separate classes and the fees charged, with a deduction in each case of four shillings from the amount entered in the previous statement. The formula relating to the document is written out in full in each case, but we have only printed it once in order to save space. No dates of course are given, but we have inserted them in square brackets where they are otherwise certain, as they are necessary for the understanding of what follows.

(II) E. 101, Bundle 222, No. 8.

[April 26, 1536]

De carta episcopi Meneuen. de perdonacione et custodia temporalium
xvijs. iiiid.

[March 7, 1535/6]

De carta Thome Prioris de Butley de suffraganeo fiendo xvis. iiiid.

De carta Iohannis Prioris sancte fdis de Horsham de consimile (*sic*
always when expanded) concessione xvis. iiiid.

[Sept. 26, 1536]

De carta Willelmi More clerici de consimile concessione xvis. iiiid.

De licencia eligendi pro Episcopo Assauen. [Jan. 7, 1535/6] xvis. iiiid.,
pro Archiepiscopo Dublin. [Jan. 11, 1535/6] xvis. iiiid.; pro
Episcopo Meneuen. [April 1, 1536] xvis. iiiid.; pro Episcopo
Cicestr. [] xvis. iiiid.

De Regio Assensu pro Episcopo Assauen. [Feb. 22, 1535/6] xvis. iiiid.;
pro Archiepiscopo Dublin. [March 12, 1535/6] xvis. iiiid.; pro
Episcopo Meneuen. [April 20, 1536] xvis. iiiid.; pro Episcopo
Cicestr. [June 11, 1536] xvis. iiiid.; pro Episcopo Norwicen.
[June 9, 1536] xvis. iiiid.

De Significavit pro Episcopo Assauen. [] xvis. iiiid.;
pro Archiepiscopo Dublin. [March 13, 1535/6] xvis. iiiid.; pro
Episcopo Norwicen. [] xvis. iiiid.

De Restitutione temporalium pro Episcopo Wigorn. [Oct. 4, 1535]
xvis. iiiid.; pro Episcopo Hereforden. [Oct. 4, 1535] xvis. iiiid.;
pro Episcopo Roffen [Oct. 4, 1535] xvis. iiiid.; pro Episcopo
Assauen. [] xvis. iiiid.; pro Archiepiscopo Dublin.
[March 23, 1535/6] xvis. iiiid.; pro Episcopo Norwicen. [July 19,
1536] xvis. iiiid.; pro Episcopo Cicestr. [July 4, 1536] xvis. iiiid.

There are two golden rules for the record-student: first, use every possible effort to read exactly what the records in front of you say; secondly, ask them questions. The application of these rules in the case of the two documents before us produces startling results. The first record contains no mention of the Royal Assent for Barlow's election to St Asaph, for which we know that Letters Patent were issued on Feb. 22, 1535/6, nor of any *significavit* as to him for either St Asaph or St Davids. If the second document, the enrolment, stood alone the student would be driven almost irresistibly to the conclusion that a *significavit* was issued to Barlow for St Asaph, and that the temporalities of that see were restored to him, presumably some time between Feb. 23 and March 23, 1535/6. If that view be taken then either Barlow was consecrated to St Asaph somehow and somewhere between those dates, which would compel us to do violence to so many other pieces of evidence that it is really incredible, or else Barlow's case furnishes an even closer set of precedents for Bonner's than we had imagined when venturing the conjecture above that if Barlow's *significavit* were ever discovered it would be found to contain, as in Bonner's case, words authorizing the Archbishop to consecrate him when required to do so. With that proviso the reviewer would be unable to say that those who took the view that all the four references to the *Episcopus Assauensis*

in the second document relate to the same person were wrong. But strange as it may seem for him to be deliberately abandoning what many would call the clear evidence of a document from which a controversial advantage might legitimately be gained, he is engaged, in company with Mgr Barnes, in 'a study purely historical' and he is obliged to set a fairly wide and extremely exasperating experience of enrolments and the way in which they were made on the other side. If the view be adopted that the four references are to the same person he would himself infer that this person is Barlow, and in that case the documents relating to Barlow's successor at St Asaph, Robert Warton, which all fall within the same period, have been omitted. Yet the first document certainly includes under May 29, June 23, and July 20 note of four records which can only belong to Warton. In any case note of two documents has been omitted, and they are the *congé d'élire* and Royal Assent (short form) either for Barlow or for Warton. It is more natural to assume (from the position of the name *Episcopus Assauen.* before that of the Archbishop of Dublin) that at any rate the first reference is to Barlow, since that is included in the paper book. The clerk who wrote up that book omitted the Royal Assent for Barlow's election to St. Asaph on February 22, and in making the enrolment it was forgotten that there were two persons to whom the title *Episcopus Assauen.* applied in the period covered. We are dealing with a year in which the paper copy of the enrolment (Audit Office) happens also to have survived, but unfortunately its only contribution is a fresh blunder in the omission of the restitution of temporalities for the Bishop of Rochester. It is a mere accident, for the sum of the fees is right. It is possible that the enrolment or the paper book for the following year, September 1536—September 1537, might shew the inclusion of some things found to have been omitted, but an enemy has been at work, and that enemy is water. Such fragments as can be recovered have been quite admirably restored and are enough to make us sorrow for what has perished, but there is a gap which we do not even know that the remaining fragments once helped to fill. It may be that they contained a note of the grant of the temporalities of St Davids, but we do not know this, and must content ourselves with observing that the existing paper book does not under May 4 describe Barlow's grant of custody as one for life, as it does in the case of other concessions which we know to have been so, and that the enrolment, which has a special section for grants *ad vitam*, places this of Barlow's not there but among other ordinary grants. The section which it also contains of grants remaining on the file as not yet sued out does not help. It may be regretted that the two most interesting records bearing upon the subject before us that have turned up since Haddan wrote in 1844

should provide possible material for future controversy, but we must make our account of the additional information which they provide and take the facts as we find them.

Among these facts there are still more curious things to come, for our interrogation of the documents is not yet complete. We must turn to Cranmer's Register and to the sections relating to the accession of Richard Sampson to Chichester (ff. 189-192) and William Repps to Norwich (ff. 208-213), supplemented by such information as we can gain from 'Chancery Warrants' and from Patent Rolls. The *congé d'élire* for Norwich was issued on May 25, 1536, for Chichester on [June 2]; the formal notification, of elections to the King in the case of Chichester, to the Archbishop in that of Norwich, bear date 29 and 31 May respectively. The citations for the confirmation of Sampson were issued on June 5 and return made on June 9; the Archbishop's commission for the confirmation of Repps is dated June 6, which is also the date on the warrant under Privy Seal 'apud manerium nostrum de Grenewyche' for the Royal Assent (short form),¹ the Letters Patent for which are dated June 9.² In the case of Sampson the Privy Seal warrant for the Royal Assent (short form)³ is dated at Westminster, June 10, and the Letters Patent are dated June 11.⁴ In regard to this both the Register and the Patent Rolls agree. On June 10 both Sampson and Repps appeared personally before John Cockes, the Vicar-General, 'in domo solite habitacionis [*sc. suae*] sit. in Ive Lane civitatis London.' and appointed proctors to act for them in the matter of the confirmation, the choice of each happening to fall upon Master Richard Watkyns among others. The confirmation of Sampson took place on the same day, June 10, in the chapel at Lambeth, and it is an inference which can scarcely be rebutted that that of Repps took place there also (though in the Register the place and day are omitted). For among those named in connexion with the confirmation of Repps in the formal record are Master Richard Watkyns and William Fleshmonger, Dean of Chichester, and the Dean appeared in Sampson's confirmation as proctor for the chapter of Chichester. Cranmer's letters testimonial of the confirmation and consecration of Repps bearing date Sunday, June 11 (which was Trinity Sunday), are in the Register, and the certificate to the King is among the Chancery Warrants. In the case of Sampson neither piece of evidence exists. We learn from the Register that William Potkyn, the Principal Registrar, was away, and the necessary formal acts were being made by other people. The Privy Seal warrant relating to the restitution of temporalities to Richard

¹ Chancery Warrants, Series II, file 713.

³ Chan. Warr., Ser. II, file 713.

² *Reg. Cranmer* f. 209.

⁴ Rot. Pat. 669 m. 9(20).

Sampson as Bishop of Chichester,¹ which notes the receipt of the certificate from the Archbishop of his confirmation and consecration, bears date June 15, and the Letters Patent² July 4; in the case of Repps they are July 7³ and 19⁴ respectively.

Now, apart from a minor point as to the date of the *congé d'élire* for Chichester, the reader who will turn back to the first of the new documents in the case, the paper book of day entries, will observe some extraordinarily interesting things. At any confirmation evidence had to be produced of the Royal Assent, and the fact of its production is recited in the record of the proceedings. It is so in the case both of Repps and of Sampson. But while the Letters Patent for the Royal Assent to the election of Repps were issued from the office of the Hanaper on Saturday, June 10, the actual day of the confirmation, the Letters Patent for the Royal Assent in the case of Sampson were not issued from the Hanaper till the following day, Sunday, June 11, which is the date they bear both in the Register and on the Patent Rolls. Further, the warrant under Privy Seal, which is the authority for the Chancellor, is only dated on the day of the confirmation (Westm., June 10). Sampson's election, therefore, must have been confirmed on June 10 on the strength of that warrant and the knowledge that the Letters Patent could pass the Great Seal before the consecration on the following day. (That documents should issue from the office of the Hanaper on a Sunday need not suggest a difficulty: it is a practice of which there are many other examples and for which regular provision is made in the accounts.) In the case of both a formal record of the document exists: it is the Royal Assent in the short form, the '*Regium Assensum adhibuimus et favorem; et hoc vobis tenore praesentium significamus ut quod vestrum est in hac parte exequamini*'. On the strength of that document, and of no other, both Sampson and Repps were not only confirmed but consecrated. Sampson was Dean of the Chapel Royal and a person in high favour, possessing considerable influence: it was said that the King not merely desired his promotion, but had persuaded his predecessor to resign in order to make way for him: and he was to take the principal part in a great service attended by the King and the new Queen on the following Wednesday.⁵ Some one had blundered, at least in his case and probably in that of Repps also: the only document that could be got ready was this, and there is really no reason for doubting that it was accepted by both secular and ecclesiastical officials as adequate warrant

¹ Chan. Warr., Ser. II, file 713.

² Rot. Pat. 669 m. 9(20).

³ Chan. Warr., Ser. II, file 714.

⁴ Rot. Pat. 670 m. 2(31).

⁵ Letter of Anthony Waite to Lady Lisle, June 16, 1536: *L. P. Henry VIII* vol. x no. 1147; Lisle Papers xiv p. 24.

for the consecration. That this is not mere surmise will presently appear, for we have not yet done with the paper book; but we must return to Barlow.

In a well-known letter to Crumwell,¹ very inadequately summarized in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, Barlow complains that for his 'dyetes in to Scotland' as ambassador he was only allowed payment on a basis of 'vj monethes xiiij dayes wher as I attendyd on the courte and contynued myne abode in Scotland Journeyge to and fro by the space of x monthes and odd dayes', and asks not for more money but to be treated with consideration in regard to money which on that basis of calculation he had been overpaid by Sir Brian Tuke. In another letter, only known from its preservation in at least three copies as a precedent for heralds, addressed to Mr Tuke and dated June 12, 1536, the writer, who may be accepted without discussion here as being Crumwell, authorizes the payment of the King-of-Arms who had accompanied Lord William Howard and Barlow in their embassy. In this we learn that months are accounted as 28 days and the payments mentioned cover on this basis 254 days, i.e. 9 months and 2 days, and they are to be reckoned to June 12 exclusive.² Barlow is apparently calculating on the same basis from the beginning of the first embassy in October 1535 and including also the previous month. We know that Lord William Howard was in London on May 30, but if both ambassadors had returned by that date it is hard to understand why the herald should have 'contynued his Abode in the sayd voyage' till June 11, and it is therefore not unreasonable to infer on the ground of this and of Barlow's calculation that Barlow's return to London was some time between June 4 and 11. There are two pieces of evidence against the consecration of Barlow at the same time as Sampson and Repps. The first is the letter we have quoted as from Crumwell to Tuke dated June 12. In it Barlow is referred to as 'the bushoppe then elect of Assaph nowe elect of Saynt davys'. The other is the equally well-known letter from the former Bishop of Chichester's servant, Anthony Waite, written from Calais on the following Friday, in which he says of Sampson, the new bishop, *inter alia* that he was consecrated with the Abbot of St Benet's, now Bishop of Norwich, on Trinity Sunday last.³ The reviewer is exceedingly anxious not to allow less than its full value to any piece of evidence; but he is unable to persuade himself either that if Barlow was consecrated on Sunday, June 11, Crumwell must necessarily have known of it, when he wrote the letter of the following day, or that because Anthony Waite mentions the new Bishop of Chichester as having been consecrated at the same

¹ *S. P. Henry VIII* § 113 p. 112; *L. P. Henry VIII* vol. xi no. 1427.

² Brit. Mus. MS Harl. 6069 f. 99 (*olim* 104).

³ *Vide supra*.

time as some one else of whom he knew, therefore no one else was consecrated on that day, more especially as a careful study of the letter leaves him in doubt whether Waite was even present at the ceremony. Non erant multiplicandae consecrationes praeter necessitatem. If Barlow was consecrated it is simpler to assume that it was on June 11 than on June 18 or 25. He was apparently back in London: the action of the Crown officials in regard to the Royal Assent for Sampson and Repps had removed any necessity, if there were held to be such, of waiting for a *significavit*, for he was already in the same position as the other two. And the absence of the entry of the consecration in the Register is also more easily explained. In his case all that needed to be added to existing documents was one of five to seven lines. In the case of Sampson, the most important of the three, the entry was not made nor has the certificate to the King survived. Three weeks after his own consecration Repps was again in the chapel at Lambeth taking part in the consecration of Warton, the new Bishop of St Asaph,¹ on July 2. It is a curious fact, but it may be of no special significance, that two days later, on July 4, there was issued out of the Hanaper, as the paper book shews, a *significavit* for his own confirmation and consecration. In Warton's case both the Royal Assent (short form) and the *significavit* had been issued. Whether Repps, learning this, obtained one *ad maiorem cautelam* we do not know, but neither the enrolment nor the paper book mention either Sampson or Barlow as having done so, and the student of the Patent Roll² will have some difficulty in satisfying himself from what he sees there whether in the case of Repps the clerk had put upon the original Letters Patent the date June 9 or June 10. For reasons of procedure he had probably found it difficult to know what he ought to do in such a situation.

Except in the case of those who enjoy a special precedence, English bishops rank among themselves for all formal purposes in the order of their consecration. Quite apart from any question of precedence in the House of Peers, it has always seemed to the reviewer an argument which for psychological reasons it would require quite overwhelming evidence to rebut, that on all occasions in which, as in the Judgement in the case of Anne of Cleves³ or in the matter of the Ten Articles,⁴ Convocation is acting in the most formal manner, Barlow appears as signing between Repps, consecrated on June 11, 1536, and Warton, consecrated on July 2. It is not a question whether or not a bishop elect and confirmed can sit in Convocation, but the place he takes when he does so in relation to those who have received consecration.

¹ *Reg. Cranmer* f. 197.

² *Rot. Pat.* 669 m. 2(27).

³ *Exch. T. R. Dipl. Docts.* no. 1470.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. MS Cotton Cleopatra E. V* no. 10 f. 72 b (*olim* 69 b).

That place is the lowest room, as in Thirlby's case in the signatures to the Judgement in the matter of Anne of Cleves, while Barlow signs between Repps and Warton. It is forgotten that the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury at this time included abbots and priors. To persuade ourselves that an unconsecrated bishop was interpolated among the number of the bishops in that assembly with precedence as if he had been consecrated, we must presume not only the connivance of Cranmer and the Bishops of Exeter, Bath, Bangor, and Norwich, who had taken part in consecrations on June 11 and July 2, but that Warton asked no questions as to the man who sat above him, and that no one else in the House noticed nor made any enquiry then or later. Yet Rowland Lee, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Lord President of the Council of the Marches, had complaints brought formally to his notice as to the utterances of Barlow on the subject of the episcopal office, apparently by the Chapter of St Davids. These complaints are preferred by Roger Lewes in January 1536/7 and relate to two occasions. The one may be neglected, both because it has no reference to the question of Orders and also because it is merely a report of a 'Concio . . . habita Meneuie coram Episcopo ibidem', and it will scarcely be contended that a bishop incurs direct responsibility for all the sermons to which he listens. The other is printed here because it contains a sentence which is constantly quoted, and very few of those who use that sentence seem ever to have seen more of the document than the summary in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* vol. xii pt. 1 p. 49.

[MS Cotton Cleopatra E. V no. 93 f. 415, *olim* 383.]

'Concio Meneuen. Episcopi facta' 12 Nov. 1536

'Imprimis he affirmed and sayede that whenn soever ij or iij simple personnes as ij Cobblers or weuers were in company and elected in the name of God that ther was the trewe Church of God. Item that it is not expedient to mann to confesse himself but only to god, ffor he will at all tymes accepte and take any penytent mann or womann to his mercy (*if he cannot expediently have a preeste*). Item that ther is nor was any purgatory, but only a thing Invented and Imagyned by the Bishopp of Roome and our prestes to have trentalles and other mundane lucre therby only. Item th(at) [this word is deleted] if the kinges grace being Supreme Hedd of the Church of Englande did chuse denomynate and electe any laye mann (being lerned) to be a Bishopp, That he *so Chosen without mencyon made of any Orders* shulde be as goode a bishopp as he is or the best in Englande.'

It might be argued that the words in italics are almost certainly in the first case, and very probably in the second, a gloss, in each case by Roger Lewes the complainant. The reviewer is not engaged in writing a life of Bishop Barlow, in regard to which he would merely remark in

passing that if many of the identifications made by his biographers are true Barlow's handwriting must have entirely changed during his life, unless he wrote as many hands as Stephen Gardiner. But he desires to put students in a position to judge what inference they would themselves draw from these words, uttered within five months of Barlow's coming to St Davids, not as to Barlow's opinion in matters of Church Order, but as to his own actual status and qualification. Fr Thurston has suggested¹ that some support may be derived for the contention of Mgr Barnes as to the views of Henry VIII from observation of the ambiguity of the word *sacerdos* in the section on Ordination in the *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, though it must be admitted that the Pope who gave him the title *Fidei Defensor* did not so read them. And Cranmer's opinions on the subject of Episcopacy have been much and not always fairly discussed. But there is a wide margin between speculative opinion and actual practice, and in practice, unless in the case of Barlow, Cranmer never departed from the tradition of a rite of consecration. If Barlow *being yet unconsecrated* delivered that sermon he was not only a cynical knave, but also in view of his relations with the Chapter of St Davids a fool; and there is really no reason to suppose that he was either the one or the other.

It is in relation to the Chapter of St Davids that we shall conclude this section of our investigation by reprinting a letter. Mgr Barnes may have felt himself to be relieved from any obligation to do so by the fact that it is printed by Mr Bailey, but it is unfortunate that he should have done himself the injustice of taking from it nearly everything that is of interest except the words which really matter and which we print in italic type. It is written to Crumwell by John Barlow, the bishop's brother, and the date is December 24 [1538]:

'My dewty premysd hit may please your goode lordship to be adverteſyd that the pryvy seale that ye commawndyd me to send to James leche is servyd upon hym by my servant who at the receyt therof prepared hymself with all speyd toward your lordship, longe it was befor my servant cold fynd hym, he sowght hym in sowth wales and he was then in schropshire. My brother the bishop of saynt davides hath hym humbly comendyd to your lordship besykyng you of your lawfull favor and assistans in his Rightfull causes agenst his channons of saynt davides who more and more dayly do resiste hym in that he wold reforme soch thynges as neyd reformation amonge them Refusyng to take hym for the heyde of the chapter havyng the deans Roome in the church as ther ordynaunces of the same and ther owne accetes usyd by them at his installation playnly declarethe, *first after they had geveyn hym the bishoppes stalle in the quere they they (sic) browght hym to the deans stalle and gave hym that in like wise and from thens had hym in to the chapter howse and there gave hym the deans plase* and more over the bishop hath in the churche a prebend whareby he owght to have his

¹ *The Month*, July 1922 (Longmans) pp. 40-41.

voyce in the chapter, ther fowndation they will not show they say hit was loste before ther tyme, and no thyng they have to say agenst hym but that neuer bishop claymed eny soche thynges before, and that for ther tyme I thynke be trew for that no bishop dwelt so longe amonge them as my brother hathe and intendith to do with the helpe of god and your lordship. they threten hym to spend to ther shertes in the quarrell and my brother hathe no wast monnay to wage the law with them, hit may plaise you therfor to direct your faverable letters in his behalff to them, for the furder quyetnes of bothe partes and thus Jhesu longe preserve your good lordship with moche honor wrytten at kynge's langley the xxiiiij day of December.

Your lordsheppes humble
bedesman J barlo.'

[Endorsed] 'To the Right honorable and his singuler good lord my lord crumwell lord pryvy seale this be delivered.'¹

No one will doubt that this is an assertion of the fact of enthronement, and 'the record of the fact of enthronisation in the books of the Dean and Chapter of the Diocese' is the thirteenth of the lines of evidence which in the author's judgement 'would be sufficient by itself to prove the fact of consecration'. The books in question, like many other records in Wales and elsewhere, have perished, and whether John Barlow's statement is regarded as adequate secondary evidence for presumption of the fact of enthronement will depend upon our opinion of his knowledge and his honesty. It was to the interest of the Chapter to deny the fact if they could, but much as they disliked Barlow they did not do so. The Archdeacon of Canterbury did not necessarily or even often install in person. In the two cases in which his mandate has been entered in Cranmer's Register it is a commission to the Chapter, and the mandate (f. 269) for the second (Knight of Bath and Wells) notes the fact of election, confirmation, and consecration. In the other case (f. 235), that of Salcot, translated from Bangor to Salisbury, it also notes consecration as well as election and confirmation. If the author thinks that in this way the Chapter were deceived for the moment by a variation in the mandate or otherwise, the possibility must be admitted, for no copy of the mandate in Barlow's case is known to exist. But it is plain at least to the reviewer that Barlow was taken and reputed to be a bishop in the full sense at all times by them as by his brother bishops, that during his life he performed acts, e.g. ordinations at Chichester, which belong to order not to jurisdiction, and took part with Cranmer and the Bishop Suffragan of Dover in the consecration of Skip to Hereford in 1539, though it is not English custom to include persons unconsecrated. The author lays great stress on the distinction between jurisdiction and order. In his account of Henry's commission to the bishops to exercise their

¹ *L. P. Henry VIII* vol. xiii pt. 2 p. 473; *S. P. Hen. VIII* § 140 p. 175.

functions (pp. 50-52) it is the former that is prominent. When he comes to Barlow's case (p. 81) he regards it as natural to assume that Barlow would consider it as extending to and including the latter, 'if the whole circumstances of the case be taken into consideration'. The reviewer has endeavoured to do this so far as his knowledge goes and to set out the result not merely as to Barlow's views but as to Barlow's own qualification with an earnest desire not to minimize or exaggerate any piece of evidence and to do full justice to the contentions of Mgr Barnes. He must leave the subject to consider another section of the book, but he has himself no doubt on which side the judgement of other students who go over the ground again is likely to fall so far as the evidence goes.

II

There is a pathetic inscription upon a stone in the floor of the chapel at Lambeth: 'Corpus Matthei Archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit.' In that chapel he was consecrated by Barlow, Hodgkins, Scory, and Coverdale on December 17, 1559: in the same place with Grindal, Young, and Bentham he consecrated Robert Horne on February 16, 1560/1 to the see of Winchester. If he were not a bishop in the full sense, then neither, it might be urged, were any of the others, including Horne.

In 1564 Horne's position was challenged by Edmund Bonner, to whom he had caused the Oath of Supremacy to be tendered. To have refused it a second time was to be liable to the penalties of High treason, and Bonner, who was well versed in law, has to extricate himself. The author makes much of the draft instructions for counsel contained in one of Foxe's MSS¹ and printed by Strype. It is a fragment not all in Bonner's hand, but for all of which his corrections and interlineations make him clearly responsible. It is to be regretted that Mgr Barnes did not think it necessary to reprint more of it, for the reader would hardly guess from his account what Bonner's argument really was. The points which he takes are these: (1) that he does not come within the penalties of the Acts 1 and 5 Eliz., for that he 'was not convented or called herein befor a lawfull bishop or competent judge'; (2) 'the said Mr Robert Horne, not beyng lawfull bishop of Winchester, but an usurper, intruder, and unlawfull possessionner thereof, as well for that according to the lawes of ye catholike church and the statutes and ordinances of this realme, the said Mr Robert Horne was not elected,

¹ Now Brit. Mus. MS Harl. 421 no. 30 p. 4: Strype *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion . . . in the first twelve years of Elizabeth* (ed. 1709) pp. 340-343. The extracts are taken from the MS itself, which has been torn since Strype's time and is now more defective. There is no reason to suppose intentional mutilation.

consecrated, or provided, as also according to the canons of the catholike church he . . . came not to the said dignite, or was eligible to the same, but as a person infamed, unworthy, and utterly unmete for the same Did take uppon hym the said office, most worthy to be repelled from the same'; (3) conspiracy of Horne 'with other schismaticall bishops of this realm' . . . 'to put the said Edmond both in extreme and certayne danger of his life and also of losynge of all his lyving and goodes'; (4) Horne 'folowing the sensualitie of his own mynde . . . doth make an unlawfull untrew and false certificat' into the Queen's Bench 'surmysing the said Edmond peremptoriely and obstinatly to have refused to giff the said othe' . . . whereas defendand . . . 'soo did not, but alledged that he was not bound to giff the said othe, for reasonable causes'; (5) that Horne is 'no La[wfull] Bysshoppe neyther concerninge the tender[inge] the said othe or other things aforesaid nor exercise of other ecclesiasticall [office] for many causes and speciallye for that he . . . [was not] lawfully consecrated according to the laws [and] sta[tutes of the] realme especiallie the statute of xxv^{to} [Henry VIII] cap. xx^o where in effecte is requyred that [he that is] to be consecrated must emongst other things have one Archebyss[hop and ij] bysshoppes or ells iiij bysshoppes at the [consecration] which the said Dr Horne had not'; (6) cruelty and illegality of Horne in taking him out of the Marshalsea and exposing him to the violence of a mob collected by a 'bydle'. The multitude cried 'Woundes'; (7) the said Edmund 'made no suche precise, peremptorie, or obstinate refusall' and therefore the certificate and indictment should not be 'credanced, nor to be taken for good, and lawfull, but clerely to be rejected, and cast awaye, and the said Dr Horne, for his unlawfull doinges herein, to be dewlie punished, and from the dignitie of ye bishopricke of Winchester, as an intruder, usurper and unlawfull possessor, to be excluded, and rejected, especially being a notorius (*sic*) Lecher, advouterer, scismatike, and hereticke, + and in noo wise a Lawfull bishoppe, especially to exacte any such othe, or to make any suche certificate as is beforementioned.+ The obelized words are Bonner's own addition. It is a lawyer's plea and a clever one. It attacks Horne's position as successor of White, who had been deprived; it impugns his canonical fitness on the ground of character; it asserts that he had not the necessary consecrators required by an Act of Parliament; it calls him schismatic and heretic; and we know from other sources that Bonner took the technical point that the Ordinal lacked parliamentary sanction, and assailed the legal position of Parker's consecrators. It explains the assertion attributed to him 'that there was never a lawful bishop in England' and the passing of the Act 8 Eliz. c. 1. What it does not do is to impugn the spiritual validity of the Ordinal in use or the consecration of Parker except on technical grounds, or provide an

adequate reason for the alleged forgery of the account of Parker's consecration in his Register.

Parker's Register is now in two volumes, together somewhat thicker than the enormous single volumes of Warham and Cranmer. It is highly improbable that Parker I, which is the volume under discussion, was ever otherwise than a single volume, for Parker II begins 'Registrum . . . secunda Pars'. On the fly-leaf of the second volume is written 'expensis Thome Redman ligatus Anno Dni 1587' which is in the primacy of Whitgift. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that Parker I also had at any rate by that time been bound, possibly a good many years before, since Parker II, while beginning with an entry of December 12, 1573, includes a certain number of entries relating even to the years 1559/60, 1560, and 1561, flotsam and jetsam which had been overlooked and could not now be added to the first volume. Parker II is still in the original binding, that of Parker I in a binding of the time of Sancroft or Tenison (we will not stay to consider which) when extensive rebinding of the heavier Registers had become necessary. In what follows, the references, except where the contrary is expressly indicated, are to the first volume.

The volume is made up of 413 leaves differing, as in the case of many of the other Registers, sometimes in size in the different sections.¹ It must be remembered that the Canterbury Registers are provincial as well as diocesan, and the circumstances in which the entries in the various parts were made varied. The first 109 leaves are concerned with the confirmation of bishops from Parker in December 1559 to Cheyney of Gloucester on April 18, 1562. There were no confirmations to be entered, because none took place between that date and May 4, 1566; that of Jones of Landaff, the entry of which begins on the same leaf, f. 109, is in a hand which has not occurred before. This hand continues to the top of f. 119*b*, the last date being May 12, 1567. On the same page a new hand begins with the confirmation of Curen of Oxford, October 14, 1567, and goes on with help to that of Freake of Rochester on f. 145*b* with a reference to ff. 213, 214 for the rest of the document. On f. 146 we go back to the first hand and a new section of the Register begins, Proceedings *sede vacante* beginning with that of London after deprivation of Bonner.

Of the first 109 leaves 107 (ff. 3-109) according to Mgr Barnes have been rewritten and substituted for the original record. 'That it should be all by one hand is not so strange, for it may all be the work of one engrossing clerk, but even then one would expect more variation,

¹ This variation is often exaggerated. The sizes are: Cranmer—small $16\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}''$, medium $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{7}{8}''$, large $16\frac{5}{8}'' \times 13\frac{1}{4}''$; Parker I—small $16\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12''$, large $17'' \times 13\frac{1}{4}''$; Parker II $16\frac{3}{8}'' \times 13\frac{1}{2}''$.

a change of ink and pens, and even the style of handwriting varying a little as the years pass and the separate entries are made. But no, it is all absolutely uniform and without any variations at all.' He notes the change on f. 109 and proceeds: 'Up to that point all is uniform—"written in one hand and in one ink"—irresistibly suggesting *the copy of a Register* all engrossed at one time, not a true Register at all.' We can scarcely wonder that two eminent reviewers, the writer in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*¹ and Fr Herbert Thurston, S.J., in *The Month*,² have found themselves unable to accept the suggestion. Once more let us consider dull facts. On each side of these leaves of skin are on an average fifty-one lines with eleven to twelve words to the line, perhaps 119,800 words in the 107 leaves. With some knowledge of the phraseology and the contractions the reviewer managed to copy seventy-two words of the Register in three minutes. At that rate and assuming that the clerk were set free from other office work for eight hours a day it would take him ten and a half days, or a week if he worked half as fast again, which is unlikely because of the time lost in engrossing key words in larger size. The documents for the one day (December 20, 1559) fill thirty-two leaves (ff. 12-43). And of course there is evidence of rests and of change of pen, and there are variations in colour of the ink, in regard to which, as Fr Thurston points out, the author has misread Lingard.

The origin of the whole theory is probably to be found in the fact that the author, who states that each folio of the Register is a single skin, failed to notice the numbering of the gatherings. The usual custom, as in Cranmer's Register, was to use quires of eight, six, or four, quires of eight being much more numerous. Any other course would have led to intolerable confusion, since the registrars did not in the sixteenth century, and do not in the twentieth, write the Register in a bound volume. The gatherings were sometimes numbered when it was thought convenient at the time, often later. The foliation was seldom, if ever, added before the gatherings were collected and bound. If it were desired to do what Mgr Barnes believes to have been done, all that was necessary was not to rewrite 107 leaves but to reconstruct the first gathering, since f. 12 begins a new one and a new document. In fairness we must add further that the hand which wrote both appears also in many other parts of the Register, but not as copying any document later than December 1564.³ But ff. 116-12 are contemporary.

¹ June 15, 1922.

² *The Month*, July 1922, pp. 38-51.

³ The second hand, which comes in on f. 109, is found elsewhere copying documents of date as early as February 1559/60. The hand which wrote the marginal notes on ff. 3, 3*b* is found also in text and notes of Pole's Register. The note on f. 2*b* as to Huse and Incent is an addition made probably by Thomas Blackemore in 1575 or soon after.

We are now in a position to consider not so much the probability in the abstract of the account of Parker's consecration having been forged as the character of the record itself. In these matters, as the reviewer has endeavoured elsewhere to point out,¹ something must be allowed to the personality of the Registrar. Anthony Huse had become Registrar some time between February and March 1537/8, in succession to the discreet man Master William Potkyn whom Rymer insists on calling Porkyn, but he had been in the office years earlier. He was a man fond of long words, sometimes almost even reminiscent of the amazing writer of Athelstan's charters, and he varied his forms in a way which some of the other notaries imitated with curious results. He had an interest in liturgical matters and a strong sense of taking part in an occasion likely to be regarded as historical. One such he feels to be the consecration of Edmund Bonner for London and Nicholas Heath for Rochester on April 4, 1540. There might just have been room at the end of the record of Bonner's confirmation five months before for the entry of the consecration in the usual form. But then he could not have put into the Register for the first time the long oath by which Bonner,² like Heath, swore *inter alia* that 'so helpe' him 'God, all saynctes And the holy Evangelistes' 'from hensforthe' he should 'accepte repute and take the kynges maiestie to be thonly supreamed in earthe of the Church of Englande . . .' And so the account of the consecration also is enlarged and with much verbiage, here omitted, it is recorded³ how

'in quodam sacello inferiori iuxta septentrionalem partem navis ecclesie cathedralis Diui Pauli London. . . . splendide ornato et cultui divino obeundo preparato Reuerendus in Christo pater . . . Stephanus . . . Wintoniensis episcopus auctoritate vice et nomine Reuerendissimi . . . lectis primitus litteris regis necnon et Commissionem . . . Reuerendissimi patris insignibus Pontificiis indutus et decoratus Assidentibus sibi et comministrantibus illi . . . Episcopis munus consecrationis et sacre benedictionis more ecclesie Anglicane solite per sacri Chrismatis unctionem et manu[u]m suarum impositionem Reuerendo patri . . . Edmundo . . . prestito primitus . . . Iuramento de renunciando romano Pontifice et eius usurpate Iurisdictioni iuxta statutum parliamenti . . . editum in scriptis per eundem . . . publice et aperta voce lectum manu sua subscriptum et . . . eidem consecratori exhibitum benedixit eumque consecrauit et insigniis pontificalibus rite et religiose insigniuit In presentia mei Anthonii huse . . . Registrarii primarii Ac testium infra scriptorum . . .'

There is the same particularity though with some change of form in the case of the consecration of 'Thurleby' as the first Bishop of Westminster,⁴

¹ *Ecclesiastical Records*, 'Helps for Students', no. 18 (S.P.C.K. 1920).

² *Reg. Cranmer* f. 260 b.

³ *Ibid.* f. 259 b.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 261.

also felt to be a notable occasion, in the following December. But all these must yield in graphic power to the account, unfortunately too long to print here, of the ceremony of the conferring of the pallium¹ on Holgate, Archbishop of York, on January 16, 1544/5, coupled with a new form of abjuration of Rome, and the form of service and what they wore, even what the Archbishop's chaplain wore, and what they did 'in presentia magistri Anthonii Huse . . .' The scene lives before our eyes. The man responsible for all these and *cum venia auctoris nostri* for the account of Parker's consecration as it actually happened was Anthony Huse. It is often forgotten that these Registers were not merely records but often in use in the office for precedents. That is why Incent, Huse's successor, had the full description made which is entered in the Register in relation to the first consecration at Canterbury in 1570 which followed the usage for Parker *mutatis mutandis*, and the *mutanda* were not few. It also explains why the Registers, which are kept in the muniment room, were not available in earlier centuries for historical research with the same facility as they are now in Lambeth Library. They are still not part of the Library.² But the story of 'the Fifty Years' Silence' is disproved by the printing of the *De Antiquitate* and the knowledge of it which can be traced; and if what the author calls the 'most important paper' in MS Harl. 419 (p. 149, *olim* 131) was really made in 1562-1566, which the reviewer learns with considerable surprise, it is a most valuable confirmation of the genuineness of the existing Register, from which it was made by a notary who had been used to writing processes, and in summarizing the existing account says of Barlow, to whom the candidate was presented, 'vices supplebat consecratoris', and then that 'consecrator et assistentes manibus archiepiscopo impositis dixerunt Anglice Take the holy Ghost et cetera omnia descripta per quendam libellum editum per (*sic*) consecracion. Episcoporum auctoritate per parliamentum Anno v^o et vi^{to} Edwardi vj^{ti} exerceerunt preterquam quod nullum tradebant illi bacculum pastorale', the latter part of which shews that he recognized the Edwardian Ordinal where he found it quoted, but shews nothing else. But it was indeed a case in which if Barlow 'vices supplebat consecratoris' he was acting with the other three 'assistentibus sibi et simul secum consecrantibus',³ and we fear that Mgr Barnes will think the note of Henry Beaufort's banquet with which the record of consecration from which these words

¹ *Ibid.* ff. 306-310.

² Except by a courtesy which the Archbishop gladly extends to any competent student, it is not strictly of any of them a fact that 'as a public record it may be seen by any person at Lambeth Palace at any time'.

³ *Reg. Thome Spofford Episcopi Herefordensis, 1422-1448* (Canterbury and York Society, p. 5).

are taken ends, and of its guests whom he entertained (*nobiliter convivavit*) as suspicious as the 'vestiarian details' which Huse included as to Parker's.

Lest it should seem discourteous to omit the matter of Bullingham, who is described as Archdeacon of Lincoln, an archdeaconry which he had held before and was to hold again, but did not, it is said, hold at the time, the reviewer would say that the author has made out a strong *prima facie* case for a blunder having been made. But it would have seemed to him that it was likely to be an honest slip if, as is done here, the man's own formal documents are engrossed side by side without the addition. And as to a further point in regard to Parker's enthronement: would a forger writing and acting under the Archbishop's direction for his forgery omit the names not merely of the persons to whom the mandate of the Archdeacon of Canterbury for the enthronement was directed, but of one of the two persons whom the Archbishop named as his proctors for the ceremony, and leave the gaps to stare every one in the face? In regard to the recital of the words of consecration by all the four bishops, the author holds that 'there is no evidence for it, for the Register in its present state proves nothing'. It is possible that it may seem to some students to have proved at least its own genuineness.

III

We come, in conclusion, to the most exciting part of the book, the Mystery of the Mutilated Patent Roll. It is really extraordinarily well told. In the author's view a determined effort was made to remove from public and ecclesiastical records anything which tended to disprove the consecration of Barlow. In regard to ecclesiastical records the removal is attributed to the agency of Elizabeth, 'the supreme governor and her utterly unscrupulous minister, William Cecil'. In regard to the public records the unscrupulous agent was Francis Mason, who found the Grant of Custody for life for the St Davids Temporalities on the Patent Rolls, and realized its force as the clearest possible proof that Barlow's consecration had never been even contemplated. He then published a garbled form . . . *and then persuaded the authorities to mutilate the Roll*, so that none might even know the actual character of the grant in question, or draw from it the inevitable conclusions. It seems a startling suggestion which we have placed in italics. And there are manifold other losses: 'for St David's we have nothing at all on these [the Patent] Rolls. There is no *congé d'élire*, no Royal Assent, and no Grant of Custody.' Of course, also, there is no *significavit*. And this is surprising, for we are told 'The reign of Henry VIII was a period of intense legal activity and accuracy. The

documents of the time are well kept, and their phraseology is scrupulously exact.' We have shewn some considerable amount of reason for doubting these statements, and that there are other reasons for the disappearance or destruction of documents besides fraud. But though the reviewer was much struck by the story of the Patent Roll he would not have thought it worth while to do more than try to give some account of Parker's Register but for the fact that on reading the book again he noticed the statement that 'fortunately the year (28 Henry VIII) was not a year of many grants, and the whole is included in two Rolls', and that he knew could hardly be the case. Mgr Barnes has not carried his researches far enough; for there are five rolls for that year, not two, and to this is not due his failure to find the *significavit* for Repps, for it is in one of the rolls at which he looked—a misfortune which has happened to most of us. However, 'it was not long before the expected discovery was made. In the second Roll two membranes are joined together which obviously do not fit. There has been interference of some kind.' He prints a formal statement of admirable caution and some humour given to him by one of the officials of the Record Office: 'Patent Roll 670 (28 Henry VIII, Part 2: *dormitat Homerus*, it is really Part 3). Membrane 20 of this Roll (in the old numeration; in the later numeration m. 13) shews signs of very unusual dealing. At the top it gives the end of a quite ordinary grant dated July 18th. This is cancelled in the ordinary way by crossed lines. The preceding membrane, however, does not give the rest (the beginning) of the same grant . . .' He has told us that 'to remove a document which has once been enrolled involves the cutting and mutilation of the entire Roll, while even if such an attempt should be made, the fact that the Roll is written on both sides would render it comparatively easy to detect the fraud'. From this it must be confessed that the reader would hardly gather that there is not a single membrane in Roll 670 which has enrolments on both sides. But the discovery was made and the satisfaction was justifiable, though the inference that the 'mutilation' had taken place in order to remove Barlow's documents was wrong.

The membrane preceding the 'mutilation', like that on which the 'mutilated' end remains, is $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and has a writing surface of 27 inches; the one which follows is 31 inches long with a writing surface of $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches; others vary in length from $26\frac{1}{2}$ to 23 inches of writing surface according to the overlapping when the skins are sewn together. To discover what happened only needed patience.

The cancelled document will be found in its uncanceled form on the Patent Rolls for the previous year, 27 Henry VIII, Part 1, Roll 666, membranes 3(44) and 2(45), of which the former contains eighty-seven lines of it and the latter fourteen lines, so that its total length is 101

lines. It is a *licentia ingrediendi* to Thomas Wells, Esq., son of John Wells, Esq., and its date is July 18, 27 Henry VIII. It is granted in pursuance presumably of an Inquisition Post Mortem taken 'apud Sowthewarke co. Surrey' on June 16.¹ If we go back now to the 'mutilated' roll we shall find that the cancelled portion remaining contains eleven lines of the document, so that there were probably ninety lines of it on the missing skin. If it were a short skin like membrane 6(27) on the same roll these ninety lines would just cover its 23 inches of writing surface. If it were a long skin another document could have been got in above it—say a restitution of temporalities of St Davids to Barlow, which would exactly fit it. But the author will probably agree with the reviewer that this is unlikely, though not perhaps for the same reason. We can suggest a reason, however, for the cancelling: the document had been repeated and one clerk had marked it on the back at one end as of year xxviii, not noticing that another, perhaps he himself, had marked it previously at the other end as of year xxvii. It was cancelled and remained on the roll. The old numbering 20 in the 'mutilated' part is in the margin, the modern numbering in black ink in the text. It may at least be suggested that the previous skin containing the rest of the document was also numbered 20, and by mistake the number had been repeated, and that when the roll came unstitched, as they often do, at some time, the superfluous cancelled skin was removed as it had been cancelled, not because of surrender or any other reason, but of a blunder. If it be urged that such a duplication of numbering is unlikely, the reviewer can only point to the fact that it has happened also in the old numbering of another roll of the same year, 28 Henry VIII, Part 4, Roll 671, where there are two membranes marked 11 in the old numeration.

It is a dull story in comparison with the vivid pages of Mgr Barnes, but the reviewer has tried to state the evidence in each section of the enquiry as fairly as he can and as far as he can find it, in the hope that the result might make some addition to knowledge. In the future some one with greater leisure may endeavour to discover why in another Patent Roll of the same year, 28 Henry VIII, Part 5, the document relating to the monastery of Tutbury has apparently lost its tail.² The explanation of these things is usually quite simple if only one can find it, and it is never wise to impute bad faith even to Bishop Barlow. *Requiescat Mattheus Archiepiscopus.*

CLAUDE JENKINS.

¹ Inq. p. m., Excheq. Series II, 1085/1.

² Rot. Pat. no. 672: see membranes 4(19) and 3(20). It is another cancelled record, and the reviewer has not thought it necessary to look for a solution.

ST JEROME AND THE VULGATE NEW TESTAMENT.

I.

THE question whether St Jerome is the author of the whole Vulgate New Testament, or only of the Gospels, has been much debated, and ought to be settled, if possible, as it is a matter of great practical importance for the editing of the Vulgate, and its elucidation touches a large number of interesting points.

The history of the debate is not worth recording here. Richard Simon's arguments are as good as any which have been put forward since his day.¹ Recently, Wordsworth and White have pronounced in favour of St Jerome as reviser of the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. So also Mangenot. Lagrange has taken the opposite view, and a very elaborate study by Père Cavallera has claimed to decide the question in the same sense, while Dom De Bruyne has attributed the Vulgate St Paul to Pelagius. This last hypothesis need not be dealt with here. I hope to shew in the *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* that Pelagius was no textual critic, knew no Greek, and commented on an Old-Latin text, which he never attempted to improve. He has no point of contact with the Vulgate. I hold with Wordsworth and White that the whole Vulgate is St Jerome's work.

§ 1. *St Jerome's Ep. 27 ad Marcellam.*

Vallarsi, after doubting whether St Jerome ever revised the New Testament except the Gospels, concluded that he must have done so, because he cites his own revision in Ep. 27. The letter was written in 384, before Jerome left Rome. He says:

'Post priorem epistolam . . . ad me repente perlatum est quosdam homunculos mihi studiose detrahere, cur aduersus auctoritatem ueterum et totius mundi opinionem aliqua in euangeliiis emendare temptaverim.'

This sentence seems to make it clear that the saint's detractors referred to a revision of the Gospels alone. This must have been because St Jerome had at that time revised no more. The letter was presumably published soon after the publication of the four Gospels. This can hardly have been long before the death of Damasus in December 384.

¹ Dom De Bruyne (*Revue bibl.* Oct. 1915) enumerates, as the earlier doubters on the subject, Erasmus, Faber Stapulensis, Pithoeus, and Zegers. He has reproduced the arguments of the last of these.

But it is the sequel which convinced Vallarsi; and Mangelot has lately urged the same view; so the rest of the letter must be considered.

After a digression in which Jerome assails with his own inimitable invective the ignorance and the self-indulgent lives of his critics, declaring that they attacked him solely because he had said that a virgin should be more with women than with men (*viz.* in Ep. 22), he turns upon these *bipedes aselli* with the citation of three indefensible O. L. readings in St Paul. Why in St Paul? Vallarsi and others, including Mangelot, supposed that St Jerome is concerned to shew how much better his new revision was than the old. This would have been very much off the point, as it was his revision of the Gospels which was attacked. The real reason is obvious enough: the three passages are ingeniously chosen missiles aimed at his tormentors. They merely happened to be in St Paul. Though he had not had time to revise the Epistles, having only just finished the Gospels, his intention of doing so was sufficiently known.

1. 'Illi legant: *spe gaudentes, temporis seruientes*, nos legamus: *spe gaudentes, Domino seruietes*' (Rom. xii 11). This means: 'They are time-servers and worldly—their reading suits them; I am a religious, serving the Lord.'

2. 'Illi aduersus presbyterum accusationem omnino non' putent recipiendum, nos legamus: *aduersus presbyterum accusationem ne receperis, nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus*' (1 Tim. v 19)—so they have no right to expect their accusation against me, a Roman presbyter, to be received by any one!

3. 'Illis placeat: *humanus sermo et omni acceptione dignus*; nos cum Graecis, id est cum Apostolo, qui Graece est locutus, erremus: *fidelis sermo et omni acceptione dignus*.' They may think 'the words of a man' to be worthy of acceptance, the words chosen by some unknown translator; for my part I follow the Greek words of the Apostle, 'the words of faith', *fidelis sermo*.

Very clever, indeed, if not very polite! The malicious intention of the Saint was duly perceived by Père Lagrange; but by one of the incalculable aberrations to which the most penetrating minds are liable,

¹ Vallarsi omits *non*, which is in all the MSS quoted by Hilberg, except one, and is necessary to the sense. Similarly, above, Vallarsi reads: '*caenosos riuulos bibant, et diligentiam, qua auium siluas et concarum gurgites norunt, in Scripturis legendis abiciant*,' where Hilberg has restored *salinas* for the meaningless *siluas*: 'Let them drink their muddy streams, and when they read the Scriptures cast aside the diligence with which they distinguish the flavours of birds and the squirrings of scent-bottles.' The intention is always the same: 'These sensual and ignorant people dare to attack me, a recluse, an ascetic, and a student, devoted to the study of Scripture, as if I was irreverent to the sacred text, of which they know nothing and care less.'

he suggested that St Jerome, for the sake of smiting his adversaries, invented two of the readings which he attributed to them. He doubts whether *humanus* ever figured in a Latin text for πιστός (!), and whether any edition could have suppressed *nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus* (*Revue Biblique*, 1917, p. 447). How invented readings could have served St Jerome's purpose he does not say.

As a fact St Jerome chose quite common readings, which were sure to be in the Apostolus of his detractors.

1. *Tempori seruientes* is read by *d* g* Ambst., with the Greek D F G. The Vg has *Domino*, of course. Ambst. was told, he says, that the Greek had *Deo seruientes*, and it is possible that Pelagius read *Deo*.

2. The condition *nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus* is omitted by Cyprian, Ambst. and Pelagius (as his comment shews).

3. In 1 Tim. iii 1 D (Greek) has ἀνθρώπινος λόγος, *d* having *humanus sermo*. Elsewhere this MS has the right reading. Aug. twice quotes 1 Tim. i 15 with *humanus*, and cites Julian of Eclanum for the same reading. Ambst. has *humanus* in 1 Tim. i 15 and iii 1. Pelagius seems to have read *humanus* in 1 Tim. i 15, 2 Tim. ii 11, and 1 Tim. iv 9. I do not know whether *humanus* is ever found in Titus iii 8.

But St Jerome does not say *ēgo posui*, or anything to that effect, with regard to his own reading. He has each time *nos legamus*, which more naturally implies that he had *not* yet published a revision of St Paul. Dom De Bruyne pointed out that he gives *ne receperis* for no. 1, whereas the Vulgate has *noli recipere*—another indication that St Jerome is not defending a revision he had just published.

§ 2. *The lack of Prefaces to the New Testament by St Jerome.*

St Jerome's letter to Damasus, *Nouum opus*, prefixed to the Gospels, begins by stating that the Pope had forced him to discover which among the innumerable Latin copies agreed best with the Greek. Further down he says: 'I am now speaking of the New Testament.' Later he adds: 'The present preface promises the four Gospels only.' It is implied that he intended to revise the rest in due time.

It is urged that St Jerome never carried out St Damasus's wish and his own intention. The reason which chiefly moved Vallarsi,¹ though it did not ultimately convince him, was that St Jerome wrote no prefaces to the other books of the N. T.

1. Westcott replied² that the omission was probably due to the comparatively pure state in which the rest of the N. T. was preserved.

¹ He doubts in vol. ii (*De viris illustribus* 135, note), but in his preface to vol. x he is certain that St Jerome carried out his plan.

² In Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. 'Vulgate' 16.

But Acts, at least, required and received a pretty thorough castigation at the hands of the Vulgate reviser, whoever he was.

2. Though St Jerome did eventually contract an invariable habit of writing prefaces to his translations of the O. T. as he published them, this would scarcely necessitate his prefixing similar letters to a revision which was completed before he contracted the habit. He published no preface with the Roman Psalter. If he wrote one to the Gallican revision, this was because an explanation was really needed. There was no necessity for any preface to the N. T. beyond the *Nouum opus*, which gave all the explanation that was wanted.

3. When St Jerome published several books together, he only put one preface for the whole. If they appeared at intervals, each was provided with a preface. So there is a preface to each book of most of his commentaries; but the Commentary on St Matthew, in four books, has only a single preface. So with his version of the O. T.: one preface suffices for the Pentateuch, one for the three books of Solomon,—and so forth.

4. A more complete reply is forthcoming. It was in 383 that the Pope suggested the revision. The work was a troublesome one, as St Jerome complained. It is incredible that the Gospels should have been completed much before the death of Damasus in December 384. It therefore seems highly improbable that the remainder of the N. T. could have appeared during the lifetime of the Pope, who was its 'only begetter'. In fact I hope to prove further on that several years passed before the whole was given to the world. Now a preface by St Jerome is always a letter, always a dedication. No one will suppose that Jerome would dedicate his work to Damasus's successor, with whom he was not on intimate terms, to say the least. He could hardly dedicate to some pious lady the second portion of a work which was already dedicated to the protector who had suggested and ordered it. It remained that he should prefix no letter to the concluding part when it appeared, but let the original epistle serve for the whole, so that all should be dedicated to his regretted patron.

§ 3. *The Pauline Text of St Jerome's Commentaries.*

But there is another difficulty against St Jerome's claim to have revised the whole N. T. In the Vulgate a number of readings which he recommends are conspicuous by their absence. It is in the case of St Paul that this argument is chiefly urged: for Jerome wrote commentaries on Philemon, Gal., Eph., and Titus, and the text on which he comments is not the Vulgate. Besides this, many of the variants which he prefers are not in the Vulgate. It was this

difficulty which recently moved Dom De Bruyne to put forward Pelagius as a probable candidate for the revision of St Paul. But the difficulty is an old one.

The most important work on the subject is Corssen's double edition of Galatians, in which he carefully examines the question so far as that epistle is concerned. His conclusions are quite clear. The text used in the commentary is not the Vulgate, nor is it precisely an O. L. text: it is something between the two. It is too near the Vulgate to be counted as an O. L. text. It represents a revision of the O. L. according to the Greek.

So far is certain, and most important. Corssen went on to conclude that St Jerome did revise the N. T. by Greek MSS, as he professes to have done, but that this revision is preserved only in the commentaries, the Vulgate being a further revision of St Jerome's revision, made by some one else.¹

It is strange that Corssen's irrefragable conclusions have been neglected by recent writers, who have pointed to the divergences between St Jerome and the Vulgate, and have concluded that he can never have revised the Epistles, without adverting to the fact that Corssen had been obliged by the resemblances to infer the opposite.

It has been proved, then, by Corssen that the text of St Jerome's commentaries is a revision which is a stage towards the Vulgate. But there is no reason to suppose that this text ever existed in MSS outside the commentaries.² It follows that whoever composed the Vulgate used St Jerome's text in the commentaries as the basis of his revision.

Who was this worthy? There is no candidate except St Jerome. Corssen tacitly assumed that he could not be the man. Why? He twice revised the Psalms, and then made a new version from the Hebrew. Was his revision of four short epistles necessarily final and irreformable?

But the grave difficulty has been raised, that St Jerome in his commentaries approves and recommends certain readings which do not appear in the Vulgate. In the usual view, that St Jerome's Vulgate

¹ P. Corssen *Ep. ad Galatas*, Berlin, 1885. Corssen suggested that St Jerome's revision may still be latent in a few MSS, and in the Ven. Bede. But, on the contrary, the text of Bede seems to be of his own making. In Acts he reintroduced O. L. readings out of Codex Laudianus (E), the Greek of which he supposed to be a good text. Some of these appear in the Amiatinus, e.g. Acts vi 10—cf. his commentary *in loco*. In St Paul it is perhaps Pelagius's commentary which motivated Bede's alterations, e.g. Amiatinus, Eph. i 6, where *filio suo* is added by the first hand.

² Though Dom De Bruyne found at Vienna (Bibl. Imp. 1163) a twelfth-century MS, wherein the text of Ephesians is extracted from St Jerome's commentary.

of the Epistles was published some years before his commentaries, it might be replied that these recommendations are a further correction of the Vulgate. If, on the contrary, the Vulgate is posterior to the commentaries, as Corssen seems to have shewn, the contradiction is more striking.

The date of the commentaries is certain enough—about 387.¹ I hope to prove further on (§ 14) that St Jerome did not issue his revision of the whole N. T. until 391. Thus there will be four years between the text of the commentaries—which is a stage towards the Vulgate—and the Vulgate itself. It will be necessary in the sections 5 and 6 to examine most of the cases where St Jerome recommends readings in the commentaries.

The text given in Vallarsi's edition of the commentaries cannot always be relied on. Corssen has collated a good number of MSS of the Comm. on Galatians, but they differ a great deal. Yet the general type of text is certain, and the comments help us to determine it. St Jerome continually discusses readings and renderings in his comments, and repeatedly informs us what word is used by the *Latinus interpres* or *Latini codices* or *Vulgata editio*. Sometimes he approves, more often he disapproves. Yet he has frequently retained the reading he finds fault with. This is often because the reading is a fairly good one, and his own suggestion is only meant to explain the real force of the Greek, and not to serve as a tolerable Latin rendering. In many cases he says that the Greek MSS give a different reading: but even in this case he sometimes leaves the old version alone.

§ 4. *St Jerome's Method as a Commentator.*

It would be a mistake to examine St Jerome's commentaries without first familiarizing oneself with his very peculiar views as to the duty of a commentator.

He himself explains that in a commentary '*ubi libertas est disserendi*'

¹ The four commentaries on Epistles of St Paul are the earliest works we know St Jerome to have published after his arrival at Bethlehem in 386. He took Philemon first, then Gal., Eph., Titus, and finished them in great haste in a few months. We can gather the date from the list he gives of his own works in *de Viris illu.* 135: for it is certain, from the known dates of some of the writings, that they are enumerated there in strict chronological order. The commentaries come after *ad Eustochium* (Ep. 22), *ad Marcellam epistolarum liber unus* (Epp. 23-9, 32, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, perhaps 43, 44), *Consolatoria ad Paulam* (Ep. 39). These were all published at the end of 384, or in 385 before Jerome left Rome in that year. Next are mentioned the commentaries, then *Quaestiones hebraicae*, *De locis*, *Hebraica nomina*. These all appeared in 389, or partially in 388. The preface to Galatians shews that the commentaries were written in the East. They must belong to 387.

(*adu. Ruf.* i 19), one may cite the contradictory opinions of previous commentators without naming them! 'Ego enim in *commentariis ad Ephesios* sic Origenem et Didymum et Apollinarium secutus sum, qui certe contraria inter se habent dogmata, ut fidei meae non amitterem ueritatem' (*ibid.* i 16). That is to say, he inserts any heresies of Origen or Apollinarius without warning the reader. His own faith is all right all the time; as to the reader's faith, he does not seem afraid of undermining it: 'Commentatoris officium est multorum sententias ponere' (*ibid.* i 22).¹ So we must not assume that St Jerome believes or intends to teach what he sets down in his comments. *Nor are we in a position even to assume that he approves of the text which he adopts or recommends.* He may be approving a reading or a rendering because it suits the comment he is borrowing from his authority. Consequently it is no matter for surprise if we find him condemning a reading in a commentary, yet regularly quoting it on other occasions. There may not be very many instances of this, but there are certainly some.

He gives us an admirable example of his inconsistency as regards the text, when he admits (in 402, *adu. Ruf.* i 19) that in Psalm ii 12, where the Old Latin has *continete disciplinam* (Cypr. *ter.*, &c.) or *apprehendite disciplinam* (Aug., &c.), and his own Roman and Gallican revisions both have *apprehendite disciplinam*, he had given *adornate filium* in his *Commentarioli in Psalmos*, whereas in his translation of the Hebrew Psalter he had rendered *adornate pure*—yet that the Hebrew really means *deosculamini filium* or *deosculamini pure*. He is positively indignant with Rufinus for finding fault with these amazing variations. 'Quid igitur peccauit', he cries, 'si uerbum ambiguum diuersa interpretatione conuerti?' He would have said the same to Richard Simon or Zegers: 'Why should you expect me to adopt in the Vulgate the renderings which I preferred in the commentary, where, for all you know, I was speaking with the mouth of the great but dangerous Origen, or of blind Didymus, my seer, or of my heresiarch teacher Apollinarius?' Nay, it is to be feared he might have used stronger language, as he did later in 402, against Pelagius who had dared to censure the odd doctrines of the Commentary on Ephesians: 'Ut nuper indoctus calumniator erupit, qui commentarios meos in Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios reprehendendos putat: nec intelligit, *nimia stertens uerborum*, leges commentariorum (!) in quibus multae diuersorum ponuntur opiniones, uel tacitis (!) uel expressis eorum nominibus, ut lectoris arbitrium sit, quid potissimum eligere debeat, discernere. Quamquam et in primo eiusdem operis libro praefatus sim, me uel

¹ So *ibid.* i 16 'Commentarii quid operis habent? Alterius dicta edisserunt, quae obscure scripta sunt plano sermone manifestant, *multorum sententias* replicant.'

propria uel aliena dicturum, et ipsos Commentarios tam ueterum scriptorum esse quam nostros' (*Praef. in Comm. in Jerem.*).

The Commentary on St Matthew was dictated in a fortnight, and scarcely touches textual questions. Yet its witness is not to be passed over, so far as it goes. Composed in March 398, nearly fourteen years after the revision of the Vulgate Gospels, it has the Vulgate for its text, yet with a large number of differences. The text as given by Vallarsi is not always trustworthy in detail.¹ But a great many O. L. readings are fairly certain, e.g. xix 10 *uxore* where the best Vg. MSS have *muliere*; viii 20 the well-known O. L. *nidos* for *tabernacula*; *ib.* 25 add *ad eum*; *ib.* 18 add *discipulos*; xv 1 *traditiones*; xxvi 75 *fleuit*; xviii 26 *rogabat*, &c. (I have looked up texts at random). In vi 16 the text has the O. L. *exterminant*, upon which Jerome comments: 'Verbum *exterminant*, quod in ecclesiasticis scripturis uitio interpretum tritum est, aliud multo significat quam uulgo intelligitur. Exterminantur quippe exules qui mittuntur extra terminos. Pro hoc sermone, *demoliuntur* semper accipere debemus, quod Graece dicitur ἀφαιρίζουσι.' Now in vi 19-20 all Vg. MSS have *demoliuntur*, and so has the Commentary text. But in v 16, like the Commentary, the Vg. has *exterminant*.²

A good example is x 8: Vallarsi's text has *mortuos suscite*, but the comment shews that Jerome omitted it, as does the Greek *κονίη*; but it is in all Vg. MSS. So the Commentary appears to introduce a new correction.

In other cases the Commentary agrees with the Vg., as we should expect. On v 22, vi 25, xxiv 36 he mentions additions which he does not adopt either in the Commentary or the Vg. The same is true of the variants he mentions on xi 19 and 23. On the whole the text given in the Commentary is nearer the Vg. than is the text of the Commentaries on St Paul. This was to be expected, for the former is based on the Vg., whereas the latter represent a stage towards it.

§ 5. Cases in the Commentaries on St Paul where a criticized reading is retained.

St Jerome in commenting follows the usual method of quoting two or three verses at a time and then explaining them. The following list gives most of his textual criticisms which belong to the present point:—

¹ For example, xiv 1, the text has *iusiurandum*, but the comment has *iuramentum*, with the Vg. The text gives xxiii 14 in full, but there is no comment on it, and it is omitted by the Vg.

² WW read *demoliuntur*, with the Irish MSS and O*, a very poor combination (only one Alcuin MS, K, has followed the Irish, so far as I know), for they regard this as an instance of their principle: 'uera lectio ad finem uictoriam reportat.' But the evidence is weak here, and the witness of the Comm. confirms the best MSS.

1. Gal. i 16: 'Sive ut in Graeco melius habet: *non contuli cum carne et sanguine.*' The wording shews that he retained the O. L. *acquieui* (*Aug. Ambst. &c.*) in his text. So does the Vulgate.

*2. Gal. iv 20: he reads *quoniam confundor in uobis*, but comments: 'Quod quidem Graece magis proprie dicitur. Ἀποροῦμαι enim non tam *confusionem* . . . quam *indigentiam* et *inopiam* sonat. Sensus itaque iste est: Vellem apud uos nunc adesse, et literarum uocem praesens ipse proferre, quia indigeo in uobis.' This is an explanation, not a serious rendering; and in the course of the long comment which follows he adheres to *confundor*: 'compellitur dicere . . . *quoniam confundor in uobis*,' and again: 'laceror, *confundor* atque dilanior,' and again: 'ita et ego, *quia confundor in uobis*,' and again: 'nescio enim . . . quo uos debeam sanare medicamine: *quia confundor in uobis*.' Naturally this O. L. reading *confundor* (*d Aug. Ambst. Celestine I*) is retained in the Vulgate also.

*3. Gal. v 4: 'Κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ non ut in Latino male interpretatum est: *Euacuati estis a Christo*, sed in *Christi opere cessastis* magis intelligitur.' St Jerome has doubtless copied this crudely literal explanation from some commentator or other. He does not mean the words as a tolerable translation, but as a philological note, and he leaves *euacuati* (*d Amb. Ambst. Bede*) in his text. It remains in the Vulgate. St Jerome considers it the right of a commentator to pull a word to pieces and discover its etymological force; but as a translator he is well aware that St Paul is using an energetic expression 'You are abolished from Christ'; and that, though *euacuare* is a strange expression here, it is quite comprehensible; while elsewhere in St Paul it is the correct rendering of *καταργέω*.

4. Gal. v 7: 'Nemini consenseritis: Sed quia nec in Graecis libris, nec in his qui in Apostolum commentati sunt hoc scriptum inuenimus, praetereundum uidetur.' This comment seems to imply that he has not actually ventured to omit the two words in his text. But Corsen's MSS omit them. They are not in *d Aug. Ambst.*, though they are in *Lucif. Bede Pel. D H g.* I suppose, therefore, St Jerome found they were not in all Old Latin copies, and hence could dare to omit them in the Vulgate, where all good MSS leave them out.

5. Gal. v 13: '*Tantum ne libertatem in occasionem carni* (subauditur *detis*: quod quia in Graeco non habetur, Latinus posuit interpres).' St Jerome approves, therefore. Of course *detis* has to be retained. (O. L. *carni detis*, *Amb. Ambst. &c.*, Vulgate has more elegantly *detis carnis*.)¹

6. Gal. vi 1: '*Instruite huiusmodi in spiritu mansuetudinis* . . . siue, ut melius habetur in Graeco: *perficiatis in spiritu lenitatis*.' Jerome does not change his text, for *perficiatis* would not be comprehensible. But in the Vulgate, though naturally leaving *instruite*, he has introduced *lenitatis*.

7. Gal. vi 3: 'Φρεναπαῖ, hoc est, *mentem suam decipit*: pro quo

¹ But *d* omits *detis*, to agree with the parallel Greek column (D), whereas conversely *g* and *f* retain *detis* in the Latin, and introduce *δῶρε* in their Greek column (G F).

Latinus posuit interpres, *se ipse seducit*.' This is a comment, not a suggested rendering. The Vulgate has *ipse se seducit*.

8. Eph. i 14: '*Pignus* Latinus interpres pro *arrabone* posuit.' This is not a criticism or disapproval. *Pignus* is retained in the text, and in the Vulgate.

9. Eph. i 14: '*In redemptionem adoptionis*, non habet in Graeco *ὑιοθεσίαν*, sed *περιποίησιν*, quam nos *acquisitionem* siue *possessionem* possumus dicere, nec tamen uim sermonis expressimus.' But he retains the O. L. *adoptionis* here in his text (so *d Vigil.* 1/1). But, as a fact, *acquisitionis* is the commoner O. L. reading (*Aug. Ambst. Pel. Sed. Bede Vigil.* 1/1). So we find *acquisitionis* in the Vulgate.

10. Eph. ii 3: '*Facientes non unam uoluntatem*, sed plures: et non solum uoluntates carnis, sed etiam *mentium*, pro quo in Latinis codicibus habetur *cogitationum*.' He has twice quoted the text, the first time with *cogitationum* (according to all Vallarsi's MSS), the second time with *mentium*. In the Vulgate we find *cogitationum*. The Greek *διανοιών* might be translated either way. But the singular *carnis* and the plural 'minds' do not go well together. The A. V. and R. V. have substituted the singular 'mind'.

11. Eph. iii 10: '*Multiplex* quippe sapientia Dei, quae sermone Graeco *πολυποίκιλος* et, ut ita dicam, *multifaria* appellatur.' But he leaves *multiplex*. In *Lib. ii adu. Iouin.* 23 he paraphrases 'multiplex et uaria sapientia Dei'. But the more usual O. L. rendering is a perfectly satisfactory one: *multiformis* (*Amb. Vict. Ambst. Aug. Sed. Bede d*), and St Jerome has discovered and adopted it in the Vulgate.

12. Eph. iii 13: '*Id quod nunc Latinus translator expressit ne deficiatis* potest iuxta Graeci sermonis ambiguitatem et ita legi *ne deficiam* . . . sed magis superior sectandus est sensus.' So he retains *deficiatis* in his text and in the Vulgate.

*13. Eph. iv 19: '*Quod autem ait qui desperantes semetipsos*, id est, *ἀπηλγγκότες ἑαυτούς*, multo aliud in Graeco significat quam in Latino . . . Exprimamus si possumus uerbum de uerbo, et dicamus *ἀπηλγγκότες indolentes* siue *indolorios*, nam et quidam philosophorum *ἀναλγγκσίαν*, id est, *indoloriam* praedicauit.' Of course these philological explanations are not meant as serious renderings! St Jerome retains *desperantes* (*Vict. Ambst.*), which is really a translation of the Greek variant *ἀπηλγγκότες*: so the Greek DG with *dg*, and *Iren. Theod. Mopst. (latin) pesh. armen. goth. aethiop.* And *desperantes* remains in Vulg.

*14. Eph. v 22: '*Mulieres uiris suis subditae sint* . . . hoc quod in Latinis exemplaribus additum est *subditae sint*, in Graecis codicibus non habetur: siquidem ad superiora refertur, et subauditur . . . sed hoc magis in Graeco intelligitur quam in Latino.' That is to say, the addition was needed, and of course is retained both in the text of the commentary and in the Vulgate.

15. Titus i 4: '*Scribit autem apostolus Tito carissimo filio*, quod Graece dicitur *γνησίῳ τέκνῳ*, et Latino sermone non potest explicari; γνήσιος enim hoc potius sonat quum quis *fidelis* et *proprius* et, ut ita dicam, *legitimus* siue *germanus* absque comparatione alterius appellatur,' &c. He retains *carissimo* in despair of a better. Vulgate has *dilecto*.

16. Titus ii 15: 'Quod uero intulit *exhortare*, id est, παρακάλει, aliud quoddam in Graeco significat quam in Latino; παράκλησις quippe magis consolationem quam *exhortationem* sonat,' &c. But he retains *exhortare* in his text, and in the Vulgate.

17. Titus iii 10: 'Legitur in Latinis codicibus (quod uerum Papa quoque Athanasius approbat): *post unam et alteram correptionem*.' So he adopts this reading here and in the Vulgate. As a fact the O. L. for the most part omits *et alteram* (*post primam Tert.*; *post unam Iren. Cypr. Lucif. Amb. Aug. Pel. &c.*).¹

These examples shew us Jerome commenting on a fundamentally Old-Latin text, of which he approves the readings in five cases (5, 8, 12, 14, 17), whereas he is more or less dissatisfied in the twelve other cases (without counting the cases added in the note). But he has apparently made no corrections. A few of the cases, however, have been altered for the better in the Vulgate.

I add another passage, not quite parallel, but very interesting. On Eph. iii 11, 'quam fecit in Christo Domino nostro', St Jerome points out that in the Greek the relative may have for its antecedent either *ecclesia* or *sapientia* or πρόθεσις, 'id est propositio, quam nos genere neutrali in Latino sermone *propositum* habemus expressam'. His text gives *propositum* (with the O. L. *d Aug. Ambst.*), to which *quam* cannot refer. The Vulgate has substituted the feminine word *prae finitionem*, so that the relative can refer to it. The improvement, therefore, suggests Jerome's hand.

Thus St Jerome appears to be extremely cautious in textual corrections, although his passing citations are so free.

¹ In order to be more or less complete, I will give some further instances of readings suggested as alternatives by St Jerome, but not adopted. α. On Gal. iv 28 *nos . . . filii sumus*, he explains how Origen's reading *uos . . . filii estis* can be understood. β. On Gal. v 24 he remarks that, for his own *carnem crucifixerunt*, Origen read *Christi carnem cruc.*, whereas the *Vulgata editio* read *carnem suam cruc.* He also says: 'Ubi Latinus interpres *uitia* posuit, in Graeco παθήματα, id est, *passiones* leguntur.' γ. On Titus ii 2 *νηφάλιοι* means either *sobrii* or *uigilantes*; he preserves *sobrii*. δ. On Titus ii 15 he carefully distinguishes between *περιπονεῖτω* and the similar *καταπονεῖτω* of 1 Tim. iv 12, but he admits that *contemnat* (Vg.) must serve for both. ε. On Titus iii 10, where *correptio* is read, he remarks that *νουθεσία* is rather *commonitio* and *doctrina*, *sine increpatione*. But he is satisfied to leave *correptio* (for in the case of a heretic blame is necessarily implied). ζ. On Titus iii 15 he reads *Gratia Domini nostri cum omnibus uobis*, adding: 'Sciendum quod in Graecis codicibus ita scriptum est: *Gratia cum omnibus nobis*, ut nec *Domini* nec *nostri* in libris feratur authenticis.' η. On Philemon 6 he reads *euidens fiat* (he quotes it twice), but says 'sive ut in Graeco melius habetur, *efficax*'. In all these cases the Vulgate agrees with the text retained in the commentary, except ζ (Tit. iii 15), where the Vulgate rightly omits *Domini* and *nostri*, but has *Dei* instead (with the Greek G).

§ 6. *Cases in the Commentaries on St Paul where St Jerome has changed the O. L. reading of his codex.*

We have been contemplating St Jerome's timidity in altering the O. L. readings. It does not follow that he was using a ready-made O. L. text.¹ On the contrary, we shall now find him pointing out a few passages where he has altered the reading. Corssen's investigation has shewn that, apart from these important changes to which Jerome calls attention, the text has undergone a careful revision. It is improbable that it was a revision of a single O. L. codex. It is likely that St Jerome made up

¹ This inference has recently been made by Père Ferdinand Cavallera, *St Jérôme et la Vulgate des Actes, des Epîtres, et de l'Apocalypse* (in *Bulletin de Litt. eccl.* of Toulouse, July-Oct. 1920, pp. 269 foll.). He says (p. 281): 'Un premier point indubitable et à nettement affirmer est que St Jérôme, quand il commente, ne fait pas son texte, mais, sauf un petit nombre d'expressions qu'il signale expressément, utilise un texte préexistant. Ainsi pour les prophètes, il commente parallèlement sa propre traduction sur l'Hébreu et l'ancienne version latine des Septante; pour les *Quæstiones hebraicæ* et l'Ecclesiaste, la même ancienne latine en la corrigeant dans le commentaire d'après le texte hébreu, pour St Matthieu, sa propre revision des évangiles,' &c. This is not quite accurate. It is quite true that St Jerome in his commentaries on the prophets uses his own 'Vulgate', almost exactly, and in his commentary on St Matthew somewhat less exactly—that is to say, he comments on a text he had already made himself. But it is not true that he subjoins the Old Latin: on the contrary, he invariably describes the second version (which he gives in some, not all, of his prophetic commentaries) as the LXX; it is therefore an O. L. corrected to agree with the LXX, presumably with Origen's Hexaplar text. Whether it is identical with the revision St Jerome had previously made, or whether he revised it from the Greek as he went on, we cannot tell. But I imagine there is no instance of his commenting on a text which he had not previously revised to some extent. With regard to the commentary on the Epistles: 'Ce *latinum exemplar* que St Jérôme transcrit et commente pour les quatre épîtres paulines, il ne le considère à aucun titre comme sien. C'est le point capital de la discussion qu'il faut bien mettre en relief.' Proofs follow that St Jerome refers to it as the *latinum*, as the work of the *latinus interpres*, &c. P. Cavallera insists: 'St Jérôme ne revendique JAMAIS la paternité de cette version qu'il commente,' whereas (he points out) in the commentaries on the Prophets (frequently) and on St Matthew (once, at least) St Jerome does claim it, for he says *pro eo quod nos diximus* or *interpretati sumus* or *posuimus*. This is quite incorrect, for the list given in the present section shews St Jerome correcting the text, and on Eph. iv 29 (below, no. 27) he actually used the expression *pro eo quod nos posuimus*, as opposed to *Latinus interpres posuit*! Cavallera's serious blunder is partly owing to his neglect of Corssen's small but very important contribution to the subject. Cavallera's article appeared after the present study had already been written and rewritten. I was glad to find that there was nothing to be altered or added to in what I had said. But I am sorry I have to disagree with his conclusions, as he had devoted much labour to the question. I note that Père Lagrange (*La Vulgate latine de l'Épître aux Galates et le texte grec*, in *Rev. Biblique*, 1917, p. 439) says of St Jerome's text in the Comm. on Gal.: 'il ne se croyait pas, au moins à cette date, l'auteur de cette récénsion'—the same mistake is made by the learned Dominican as by the Jesuit.

his text by comparing two or three at least. But a comparison with the Vulgate suggests that for that final revision he used further O. L. MSS, from which he obtained some improved renderings.

Here is our second list, giving St Jerome's alterations :

18. Gal. ii 5 : 'Itaque aut iuxta Graecos codices est legendum : *quibus neque ad horam cessimus subiectione*, ut consequenter possit intelligi : *ut ueritas euangelii permaneat apud uos* ; aut si Latini exemplaris alicui fides placet, secundum superiorem sensum accipere debemus. . . .' In the text he has introduced *neque* from the Greek (it is omitted by *d Iren. Ambst. Pel.*). The word is, of course, in the Vulgate, but also in *Amb. Aug.*

19. Gal. iii 1 : 'Legitur in quibusdam codicibus : *quis uos fascinavit "non credere ueritati"* ? Sed quia in exemplaribus Adamantii non habetur omisimus ; and on v 7 he says of the same clause : 'quod quidem nos in uetustis codicibus non haberi in suo loco annotauimus.' The words are also omitted by the best O. L. authorities, *d Tert. Vict. Ambst. Aug.*, so that St Jerome ventures to omit them in his text here and in the Vulgate (D F G).

20. Gal. v 8 : 'In Latinis codicibus ita scriptum reperi : *Persuasio uestra ex Deo est qui uocauit uos* . . . melius igitur et uerius sic legitur : *Persuasio uestra non est ex eo qui uocauit uos*.' A query added to the former reading will give the same sense as the second (as in *d Lucif.*). But the *non* is found in *Aug. Ambst.*, and St Jerome introduces both *non* and *ex eo* into his text here and into the Vulgate.

*21. Gal. v 9 : 'Male in nostris codicibus habetur : *Modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit*, et sensum potius Interpres suum quam uerba Apostoli transtulit.' The text has *totam consersionem fermentat*. But in spite of this, in the comments St Jerome has '*totam massam suo uigore corruperit*', 'ne tota domus, *massa*, corpus et pecora, ardeat, *corrumpatur*, putrescat, intereat'. As the Latin translation really makes the sense clearer and avoids the ugly repetition *fermentum fermentat*, it is not surprising that St Jerome drops his own literal rendering when he comments, and that the Vulgate retains *massam corrumpit* both here and 1 Cor. v 6.¹

22. Gal. v 21 : 'In Latinis codicibus *adulterium* quoque et *impudicitia* et *homicidia* in hoc catalogo uitiorum scripta referuntur. Sed sciendum non plus quam quindecim carnis opera nominata, de quibus et disseruimus.' *Adulterium* is the first in *Iren. Cypr. d Lucif. Amb.*, but not in *Sent. Epp. ap. Cypr.*, nor (frequently) in *Aug.* ; it is in the usual Byzantine Greek text, against $\aleph A B C P 33$. *Homicidia* is just as common an addition, but omitted by *Iren. Ambst.* and $\aleph B 33$ al. But the omission of $\phi\acute{o}\nu\alpha\iota$ after $\phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\alpha\iota$ is so easy an error to make, that a glance at the Greek may have induced St Jerome to change his mind, so that whereas here he gives only fifteen vices, the Vulgate MSS all give *homicidium* as well.²

¹ Possibly St Jerome discovered the alternative Greek reading, $\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota$ for $\zeta\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ (in Gal. v 9 D, Marcion, Origen, Basil ; in 1 Cor. v 6 D, Marcion, Basil cod, Irenaeus transl.).

² Besides, we have heard St Jerome appeal to the MSS of Adamantius : in $\aleph \phi\acute{o}\nu\alpha\iota$ has been added by the correctors ' \aleph^c ', who revised the codex at Caesarea

23. Eph. i 6: 'Nec putandum quod in Latinis codicibus habetur scriptum esse *in dilecto filio suo*, sed simpliciter *in dilecto*.' So the best Vulgate MSS A G.

*24. Eph. i 10: 'Pro *recapitulare* in Latinis codicibus scriptum est *restaurare*' (Vallarsi gives *instaurare*, but his note says some MSS have *restaurare*). *Restaurare* is the O. L. reading (*Ambst. Pel. Oros.*). But the translator of Irenaeus and Tertullian give the literal and obvious *recapitulare*, which St Jerome has introduced. But it is a very bad rendering of ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ('recite over again'), suggesting as it does that all things are summed up in Christ as their last End, whereas St Paul means 'summed up in Him as their new Beginning'. The Vulgate has *instaurare* (with Aug.), which gives the better sense.

*25. Eph. ii 16: '*Per crucem interficiens inimicitiam in ea*, non ut in Latinis codicibus habetur, *in semetipso*, propter Graeci pronomini ambiguitatem.' But *per crucem . . . in ea* is rather a meaningless tautology, and it is hardly surprising that St Jerome later deserts the commentator he is here following, so that *in semetipso* reappears in the Vulgate.

*26. Eph. iii 14: 'Porro quod sequitur, *ad Patrem ex quo omnis paternitas in caelis et in terra nominatur*, non ut in Latinis codicibus additum est *ad Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, sed simpliciter *ad Patrem* legendum, ut Dei Patris nomen non Domino nostro Iesu Christo, sed omnibus creaturis rationalibus coaptetur.' The Western addition, *D. N. I. C.*, is in *Lucif. Ambst. Aug. d g*, and in the Latin of Origen (often), *Bas. Chrys. Theod. Mops.*, and the Byzantine Greek text with \aleph^c , but it is omitted by \aleph^a A B C P 33. We should perhaps expect that St Jerome would retain this neutral reading; but it is not even clear that he omitted *D. N. I. C.* in the text of the commentary, for Vallarsi found it in the MSS. And the end of his long comment gives up the 'non Christo . . . sed omnibus creaturis', which he has doubtless incautiously taken from some previous author, and arrives at a truer meaning (whichever reading be adopted): 'Potest ergo et hoc dici, ex eo quod Deus *Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi* iuxta substantiam Pater est, et unigenitus non est adoptione filius sed natura, ceterae quoque creaturae paternitatis nomen adoptione meruerunt'; here he must be using a different author, who read *D. N. I. C.* Consequently it is natural to find *D. N. I. C.* preserved in the Vulgate, with Origen and \aleph^c .

27. Eph. iv 29: 'Pro eo quod nos posuimus *ad aedificationem opportunitatis*, hoc est quod dicitur Graece τῆς χρείας, in Latinis codicibus propter euphoniā mutavit interpres, et posuit *ad aedificationem fidei*.' Here we have quite distinct assertions '*Latinus interpres posuit*' and '*nos posuimus*'; St Jerome has made the same correction in the Vulgate (A F^c G H^c).

*28. Titus i 8: 'Sit autem episcopus et *pudicus*, quem Graeci σῶφρονα uocant, et Latinus interpres, uerbi ambiguitate deceptus, pro *pudico prudentem* transtulit.' *Ambst.* has in fact *prudentem*. But Jerome has

according to the text of Pamphilus, whose text presumably represented that of Origen; in fact St Jerome probably refers to the Library of Caesarea when he speaks of *codices Adamantii*. In his comments on Eph. vi 12 and on Titus iii 10-11 he again quotes the 'works of the flesh' without *homicidia*.

here *castum* in his text, not *pudicum*. In the same vein in 393 St Jerome insists (*adu. Iovin.* i 27) that σωφροσύνη in 1 Tim. ii 15 means *castitas*, not *sobrietas*, 'ut male habetur in Latinis codicibus'; perhaps he means his own corrected edition, for the Vulgate has *sobrius* in Tit. i 8 and *sobrietas* in 1 Tim. ii 15! St Jerome wanted *castitas* for controversial purposes against Jovinian. But he knew well enough that *sobrius* is really a better rendering of σωφρων than *prudens* or *castus* or *pudicus* (see no. 30 below).

29. Titus i 10: Text has *mentium deceptores*: 'Non ut simpliciter Latinus interpres transtulit, *deceptores*, sed *mentium deceptores*.' This awkward expression (so *Lucif.*) is avoided in the Vulgate by the other O. L. reading *seductores* (so *d Hil. Ambst.*), which St Jerome himself quotes later in his commentaries on Aggaeus and Isaías.

30. Titus ii 6, 7: 'Et licet quidam de Latinis ita existiment legendum: *iuvenes similiter hortare ut pudici sint*, et postea inferant, *in omnibus teipsum formam praebens bonorum operum*; tamen sciamus *in omnibus* ad superiora esse referendum, id est, hortare ut pudici sint in omnibus.' The Vulgate has *sobrii*; but the punctuation is uncertain: G has no stop, F agrees with Jerome, A C D have a stop before *omnibus*.

*31. Titus ii 14: Text has *populum egregium*. Jerome explains at length that *egregium* is his own, the result of much research. The Old Latin had *abundantem* (*d Lucif. Aug. Ambst.* and codices known to *Vict. Afr.*). But the Vulgate has *acceptabilem*, possibly the result of further research and consideration.

Out of these fourteen corrections St Jerome has dropped five in the Vulgate (21, 22, 25, 26, 28), either because he was uncertain (and he was right in dropping 21, 25, 28) or because he found no O. L. support (I have suggested that he may have left 22 and 26 unaltered on Origen's authority). In five other places (18, 19, 20, 23, 27) he has preserved the correction in the Vulgate. In two places, 24, 29, he has found O. L. authority for a better reading.¹ The punctuation in 28 is an uncertain case. Once he has made a change, but a different one (31).

Thus our former conclusion is singularly reinforced: the author of the Vulgate avoids correcting according to the Greek Neutral (NB) text, unless he has O. L. authority, or the case is extraordinarily clear. He avoids new translations, if he can possibly find an O. L. expression that will serve. He is extremely conservative, extremely cautious. He believes in the NB text, but he is aware that the Origen MSS in Pamphilus's Library frequently support O. L. readings (for we guess many of Pamphilus's 'Western' readings from H and from the correctors of the

¹ It might be suggested that so many cases where the Vulgate has one O. L. reading and St Jerome another ought to imply that the Vulgate is the revision of a different O. L. text. But the Vulgate reading is always the better of the two, and therefore suggests rather St Jerome's method of comparing many O. L. copies. Anyhow, independence of Vulgate from St Jerome's commentaries is impossible, as Corssen has shewn.

Sinaiticus). All this is absolutely in harmony with the letter to Damasus *Nouum opus*, and with the Pope's commands.

It is also entirely in harmony with the hypothesis that the 'Vulgate' revision of St Paul was made by St Jerome some years later than his four commentaries on Pauline epistles.

I do not see how any serious argument can be dug out of these 31 examples to shew that St Jerome is not the author of the Vulgate. Ten of the cases are marked with a * to shew that Dom De Bruyne had borrowed them from R. Simon and Zeghers for this purpose. In four of these cases St Jerome did not even introduce the proposed reading into the text of his commentary. In one of them (14) he actually approves the O. L. reading. I have dealt with the other cases.

Dom De Bruyne has added from his authorities four difficulties which do not occur in the commentaries. He has given no references to St Jerome; but for the sake of completeness I will give them here:

a. 1 Cor. xiii 3, discussed by St Jerome on Gal. v 26: 'Scio in Latinis codicibus in eo testimonio quod supra posuimus: *si tradidero corpus meum ut glorier, ardeam* habere pro *glorier*; sed ob similitudinem uerbi, qua apud Graecos *ardeam et glorier*, id est, *καυθῆσθαι et καυχῆσθαι* una litterae parte distinguitur, apud nostros error inoleuit. Sed et apud ipsos Graecos exemplaria sunt diuersa.' St Jerome is doubtless changing the text to suit a comment he has borrowed, but he allows that the Greek reading is not certain. At a later date, in the Commentary on Isaias lviii, he quotes: '*ut ardeat, siue gloriatur*, utrumque enim fertur in exemplaribus.' No instance of *glorier* is quoted from any Latin MS or writer, except that Souter's note *in loco* (Oxford, N. T. *graece*) gives doubtfully 'Pelag. comm. 1/2'. But the heretic's comment (Ps-Jer. and Ps-Primas. and Sedul. Scot.) clearly gives two ways of giving one's body to be burned without charity, and cannot be an explanation of alternative readings; nor, in fact, is any choice of readings suggested. The Vulgate retains *ardeam*, of course.

b. 1 Cor. vii 35: *adu. Iovin.* i 13: '*Sed ad id quod honestum est, et intente facit seruire Domino absque ulla distractione.* Proprietatem Graecam Latinus sermo non explicat: quibus enim uerbis quis possit edicere: *πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημον καὶ ἐμπρόσθερον τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως*? Unde et in Latinis codicibus, ob translationis difficultatem, hoc penitus non inuenitur. Utamur igitur eo quod uertimus.' In fact the O. L. (*Amb. Ambst. Pelag.*) had only *ad id quod honestum est*, except that *d* had to fill up the space in the Latin column, and gives the meaningless *et praesente Domino non recedentes*! St Jerome is evidently giving a new version for his immediate purpose: 'utamur ergo,' &c. This is in 393, two years (in my view) after his revision had appeared. He probably

did not remember by heart the exact words he had introduced '*et quod facultatem praebeat sine impedimento Dominum observandi*' (so the good MSS). Clearly *facultatem praebeat* is nearer than *intente facit* to ἐν-πρόσδεον, but *sine distractione* is an improvement on *sine impedimento*. Dom De Bruyne is surprised that St Jerome does not quote his own version. It would be much more astonishing if he did!

c. In *Ep.* xviii 21 (otherwise 18 B, 5) St Jerome avers that in 1 Thess. i 1 'uitiose *Silvanus* legitur pro *Sila*', with no MSS to back this gratuitous conjecture, so far as we know to-day. Probably he would have been ashamed of this remark (of 381) if he ever recalled it to mind later.

d. In *Dial. adu. Pelag.* i 21, St Jerome cites Titus i 7: '*Oportet autem episcopum esse sine crimine siue sine accusatione* (hoc enim magis ἀνέγκλητος sonat).' In classical Latin *crimen* meant no more than *accusatio*; but in St Jerome's time it had come to mean a crime, that is, a well-founded accusation, so the Doctor explains the true sense. It was odd to quote this, for it occurs in a long citation of Titus i 5-9, none of which is at all like the Vulgate, so that the whole might have been used to shew that St Jerome did not know the Vulgate! But we shall see presently that this kind of argument proves nothing.

I will add a far more telling passage to those of R. Simon and Zegers: in the *Tract. in Ps. lxxviii* (*Anecdota Maredsolana* iii p. 67) St Jerome quotes Phil. i 23: '*Melius est enim reuerti et esse cum Christo*; quia sic habet in graeco; non habet *dissolui* sed *reuerti*.' So he reads in *Comm. in Eph.* iii 1-4: '*nec reuerti et esse cum Christo*' (the reference given by Dom Morin is incorrect), and where he quotes this passage of his own in *adu. Ruf.* i 25. Now the Greek has ἀναλῦσαι, which might mean *dissoluere*, but cannot mean *dissolui*; here it means 'weigh anchor', 'depart'. *Reuerti* is a possible translation, but gives a heretical sense, as though St Paul desired to return to Heaven whence he had come—Origenism perhaps, Priscillianism certainly. It is fortunate that St Jerome did not introduce this rendering into the Vulgate. Had he done so (it is in no MSS so far as I know) it would quickly have been expunged. But *dissolui* remains in all Latin copies. This is very astonishing. It would be strange that any revision according to the Greek should allow such a mistranslation to stand. If it was St Jerome who left it, he did so on purpose, because *dissolui* had become so rooted in the minds of Christians, and is so beautiful an expression. But, I repeat, it is more astonishing that any other reviser should have passed it over.¹ The Gospels and the Old Testament afford a number of astonishing readings.

¹ Surely it is much more astonishing that the best Vulgate MSS all give *ipsa* (with *Aug. Ambst.*) in Gen. iii 15 against the Hebrew, as well as against the Greek and the O. L. of Irenaeus, Cyprian, Lucifer. Take for the Gospels the addition of

So far we have been taking St Jerome's proposed or adopted corrections quite seriously. But he did not treat them so seriously himself. A few odd examples will suffice here. The numbers refer to the preceding lists.

1. Gal. i 16: *Acquieui* disapproved in favour of *contuli* in 387: in 388–389 Jerome quotes *acquieui* (c. *Ioan. Hier.* 28), and he does so again in 398 (*Comm. in Mt.* xvi 17).

On Gal. ii 2 he says: 'Id quod supra (i 16) Latinus interpretes *acquieui* dixerat . . ., in praesenti loco *contuli* magis quam *acquieui* interpretatus est. Et ut uerius dicam, sermo Graecus ἀνεθέμην aliud quiddam quam apud nos intelligitur, cum scilicet ea quae nouimus conferimus cum amico . . .' In the text we find *contuli*, and in the Vg. with *Iren.* (*Tert.*) *d*; but in 404 (*Ep.* 112. 8) he substitutes the more usual O. L. *exposui* (*Ambst. Vict. Aug.*).

3. Gal. v 4: he objects to *euacuati estis*, but he retains it in the text and in the Vg., and in 404 (*Ep.* 112. 14) he quotes it.

19. Gal. iii 1: he omits *non credere ueritati* in his text and in the Vg. Yet in 398 (on Mt. ix 17) he quotes 'quis uos fascinauit ueritati non oboedire?'

20. Gal. v 8: on Gal. i 10 he had given *suasio*, though in v 8 he recommends *persuasio uestra*, which he had put in his text, and preserves in the Vg.

It is the same with the Gospels. On Titus ii 11–12 he has 'Unde et illud quod in euangelio secundum Latinos interpretes scriptum est *panem nostrum quotidianum* . . . melius in Graeco habetur *panem nostrum ἐπιούσιον*, id est *praecipuum, egregium, peculiarem* . . . QUIDAM ἐπιούσιον existimant . . . quod super omnes οὐσίας sit, hoc est super uniuersas substantias. Quod si accipitur, non multum ab eo sensu differt quem exposuimus; quicquid enim egregium est, extra omnia est, et super omnia.' Here, in the mention of the *Latini interpretes*, there is nothing to suggest that St Jerome had himself made a revision! He rejects *quotidianum*, so indeed does the Vulgate (except the Irish MSS—which are full of O. L.—and some of the Spanish). But he recommends *praecipuum, egregium, peculiarem*, and only secondarily *super omnes substantias*. Who would guess that in the Vulgate and in his

et in Lk. ii 18, or *erat* in Lk. xxii 55 for the *sedebat* of all the O. L. Or this: on Ezech. xlii 19–20 (Lib. xiv) he writes of John x 16: 'Et alias oues habeo quae non sunt ex hoc atrio . . . et fiet unum atrium et unus pastor'; 'hoc enim Graece αὐλή significat, quod Latina simplicitas in *ouile* transtulit.' In the Vg. he had given *ouile* in both places. Yet every known Greek MS and citation has *ποιμνη* in the second place, and the O. L. had *unus grex*. The conjecture that St Jerome knew a Greek codex which had *μία αὐλή* is a most improbable one; for the assonance *μία ποιμνη, εἰς ποιμνην* would seem to render a variant reading almost impossible.

Comm. on Matthew he had adopted the equivalent (but here not mentioned) word *supersubstantialem*?¹

I therefore repeat that St Jerome did not take his own suggestions very seriously.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

(To be continued.)

THE TEXT AND CONTEXT OF ST JOHN x 29.

WHETHER or not Professor Burney has succeeded in proving that the Fourth Gospel is a translation of an Aramaic original, there is no doubt that his suggestion of Aramaic background sheds welcome light on many dark places. On pp. 101-103 of his *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* he deals with the problem of the text of x 29 a. Before seeing those pages I had inclined to the view that the reading of A B³ &c. represented the original text, namely, ὁ πατήρ μου ὃς δέδωκέν μοι πάντων μείζον ἐστιν. It seemed to me that this text best explained the other variants. The neuter μείζον would be analogous to the neuter in verse 30, or that found in Matt. xii 6, 41, and 42. The text of B* &c. (ὁ πατήρ μου ὃ δέδωκέν μοι πάντων μείζον ἐστιν), which is adopted by W H, seemed to me to have arisen out of a desire to provide an object for the verb δέδωκεν, the neuter μείζον facilitating the change of ὃς to ὃ. The order of the Greek too appeared to tell strongly against the text of B*, for, as Maldonatus pointed out long ago, 'si voluisset Christus dicere quod sibi Pater dedisset maius omnibus esse, non dixisset: Pater meus, quod dedit mihi, sed: Quod dedit mihi Pater'.²

Dr Burney's interesting and illuminating suggestion is that the clause originally existed in Aramaic in the form אֲבִי דִּיהָב לִי רַבָּא מִן-כָּלֵא 'in which רַבָּא . . . † may be taken to mean either ὃς . . . μείζον or ὃ . . . μείζον' (p. 102). The further suggestion is made that 'possibly the

¹ Take at random a quotation from the Gospels in the commentaries on St Paul: on Eph. vi 12: 'Ego elegi uos de isto mundo; iam non estis de isto mundo. Si enim essetis de mundo, mundus quod suum esset amaret' (Jo. xv 19), where the Vulgate has: 'Si de mundo fuissetis, mundus quod suum erat diligeret; quia uero de mundo non estis, sed ego elegi uos de mundo, propterea odit uos mundus.' (The addition of *hoc* or *iste* to *mundus* is characteristic of many O. L. texts against the usual custom of the Vg.) Or again, Lk. xii 35: 'lucernae ardentes in manibus uestris' (on Eph. vi 14), where in *manibus uestris* is carefully omitted in the Vg. (all older MSS, except E) and the O. L. MSS (except the late c), together with *Iren. Cypr. Hil. Ambst. Aug.* Yet this addition, which is found in St Gregory's Homilies and hence in the later Vg. MSS (and *Vg. Clem.*), is again cited by Jerome on Ezek. xvi 10.

² Quoted by Loisy, *Le Quatrième Évangile*, p. 624, note³.

first draft of the translation rendered ܐܺܠܺܐܺܠܺܗܺܝܺܡܺܐ only as a neuter ($\delta \dots \mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$), the other readings being 'corrections dictated by regard for grammar'. It is a striking corroboration of Dr Burney's theory that it provides an explanation of this 'impossible' reading (as Westcott describes it) found in $\aleph L \Psi$.¹ The theory indeed explains all the variants, which consist of different combinations of $\delta\varsigma$ or δ with $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ or $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon$.

Dr Burney has no doubt that the sense intended by 29 a 'is that which is given by the less authenticated reading, adopted by R.V., $\delta \text{ πατήρ μου ὃς δέδωκέν μοι πάντων μεῖζων ἐστίν}$, which supplies the reason for the parallel clause which follows'. 'Yet', he proceeds, 'there can be little doubt that WH are correct in regarding the more difficult reading as original, and the more natural one as a correction of it; since, had the latter been original, it is inconceivable that the former could have arisen out of it.' If the Aramaic origin of the clause be granted, all this is doubtless true. One wonders whether the correction was made by some one who was acquainted with the Aramaic original, or whether the incorrect translation was altered by chance into the meaning intended by the Aramaic.

Now it is a hopeless task to seek a satisfactory meaning for the text of B* in its traditional context. Loisy is surely justified in saying: 'La leçon commune: "Ce que m'a donné le Père est plus grand que tout", introduit une idée obscure et indéfinissable, sans rapport logique avec le reste du discours.'² Westcott, it is true, makes a characteristic attempt to extract a meaning out of it. His comment runs: 'According to the most probable reading the translation is, *that which the Father hath given me is greater than all*: the faithful regarded in their unity, as a complete body, are stronger than every opposing power. This is their essential character, *and no one is able* . . . Cp. 1 Jn. v 4.' But, to quote Dr Burney again, 'the whole context cries out against the falsity of this exegesis. Stress has been laid in the parable upon the weakness of the sheep, their liability to be scattered and injured by the powers of evil, and their utter dependence upon the Good Shepherd. . . . Again, the phrase "greater than all" has, on this text, to be explained as "stronger than every opposing power"; yet what authority is afforded by the context for thus limiting its scope? Clearly the expression, as it stands without limitation, is applicable to God alone.'

Still this text persisted side by side with that which appears to convey the sense originally intended. It is most unlikely that it came into being, and more unlikely still that it succeeded in establishing itself, in a context in which it could have no intelligible meaning. If we could

¹ It is of interest to note that this reading is also found in the Freer MS, and that it is adopted by von Soden in his text.

² *Op. cit.* p. 623.

discover a position for verse 29 which would permit us to render *both* readings intelligibly, this in itself would create a strong presumption that we had found the original context. And we have not far to go in quest of such a position. Chapter x is one of the places in the Fourth Gospel where the text has become disarranged, and the view seems to be prevalent that the original order would be restored by placing verses 19-29 before verses 1-18.¹ Now it occurred to me some time ago that the simple expedient of leaving verse 29 before verse 30—so that in the rearranged text it would follow immediately after verse 18—would provide for verse 29 a decidedly more appropriate context than that which is furnished for it by its traditional position immediately after verse 28.

I have since noticed with no small interest that the same idea, apparently, had occurred to the Rev. J. M. Thompson, for in a paper on 'Accidental Disarrangement in the Fourth Gospel' which appeared in the *Expositor* for May 1915, he says of x 1-18: 'Perhaps it originally stood between x 28 and 29.' This suggestion, however, does not seem to commend itself to Mr Thompson, for he proceeds at once to offer another, which he appears to regard as more probable, namely that the paragraph (x 1-18) belonged originally to the gap between verses 24 and 25 of chapter xvi.

Now if we adopt the reading *ὁ πατήρ μου ὃς δέδωκέν μοι πάντων μείζων ἐστίν* in 29 a, which, as we have seen, represents in Dr Burney's view the meaning originally intended by the author of the Gospel, it will be seen that verse 29 follows most easily and naturally after verse 18. In this text no object is expressed after *δédωκεν* (the Greek in this respect answering to the presumed Aramaic original), just as in the latter part of the verse no object is expressed after *ἀρπάζειν*. Now one great advantage of placing verse 29 immediately after verse 18 is that the object of *δédωκεν* suggests itself in the most natural way possible—in an appreciably more natural way than is the case if the verse follows immediately after verse 28, in spite of the analogy of such passages as vi 39 and xvii 2. In the last clause of verse 18 Jesus speaks of the commandment which He has 'received' from His Father. Coming immediately after this statement of the reception of the commandment from the Father the words of verse 29 a cannot possibly leave us in any uncertainty whatsoever as to what it is that the Father has given to the Son. It is the *ἐντολή* of verse 18 that is the object of the verb *δédωκεν* in verse 29.

If on the other hand the text of B* be adopted, the clause gives good sense in the new context. The reference is still to the *ἐντολή* of verse 18, and Jesus speaks of the plan ordained for Him by the Father as

¹ So Dr Moffatt, e.g., rearranges the text in his *Translation*.

supreme. He has no choice but to accept the vocation assigned to Him by the Father whose will is sovereign and whose command is imperative. 'That which My Father has given to Me is greater than all things.' This, however, as we have seen, is not the meaning originally intended. The original meaning is represented by the other text, and we have already shewn that the new context suits it decidedly better than does the old.

Furthermore, the rearrangement we suggest makes plain the object of ἀρπάζειν in 29 *b*, and reveals more clearly than does the traditional position of verse 29 the motive for the reference to the supreme power of the Father. In verse 18 Jesus declares that no one takes His life away from Him; He lays it down of His own free will in obedience to the command of His Father. No one could force Him to surrender His life against His will, for He is in the hand of the all-powerful Father! 'My Father who has given Me the commandment is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch, *Me* out of the Father's hand!' That is the meaning of verse 29. The Shepherd is in the Father's hand, from whence no one can take Him by force! How naturally does verse 30 now follow on verse 29. 'I and the Father are one.' To force Him would be tantamount to forcing the Father—for they are one!

The double occurrence of the vivid phrase ἀρπάζειν ἐκ τῆς χειρός in verses 28 and 29 (which perhaps was responsible for the wrong placing of verses 19–28) does not of necessity involve that it is used both times with the same object or with an identical application. Often in the Fourth Gospel Jesus speaks of the relation of His followers to Himself as being analogous to His own relation to the Father. He so speaks in verses 14, 15 of this very chapter: 'I know mine own, and mine own know Me, even as the Father knoweth Me, and I know the Father.' It is quite in accord with Johannine usage for Jesus to say that no one shall snatch His sheep out of His hand, and that no one can snatch Him out of His Father's hand. The double statement brings to mind the great declaration of St Paul in 1 Cor. iii 23—*ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ Θεοῦ*.

J. HUGH MICHAEL.

IRISH VERSIONS OF THE VISION OF ST PAUL.

THE apocryphal *Vision of St Paul*, which is probably not earlier than the year 380, is extant in Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic.¹ But during

¹ Latin in M. R. James *Apocrypha Anecdota* ii; English translation in Ante-Nicene library (extra vol.). Greek with English translation of Syriac in Tischendorf *Apocalypses Apocryphae*; English translation of Greek in Ante-Nicene library (vol. xvi). Coptic in Budge *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*.

the Middle Ages abridged and somewhat altered versions of this attained an extreme degree of popularity, and exercised a considerable influence on the vision-literature of various countries in Europe. H. Brandes, in his *Visio Pauli* (Halle, 1885), has published, besides a German version, two Latin texts which differ in many points from each other, as well as a fragment of a third: for reference sake these may be numbered A, B, and C. It is also known in Languedoc, Old-French, Danish, Anglo-Saxon, Middle-English, and other vernaculars. We here deal with a fragment of an Irish version which has not been rendered into English before; as it is so brief we give it in its entirety, the translation being due to Miss Mary E. Byrne, B.A. The original is contained in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* ii fol. 38 [47].

‘The vision of Paul of the pains of Hell by the permission of God on Sunday, for Sunday is the day of rejoicing and gladness of Heaven, so that for that [it was] chosen for the vision. A question arises here: Who is the first person who prayed for sinners to get respite on Sunday? Not difficult [the answer]. Paul the Apostle and Michael the Archangel together, when they went to Hell to look at its pains, for God wished Paul to go to look at Hell so that he might see all its pains. He saw first at the door of Hell wooden houses, and the sinners being tortured in them, some of them being suspended by their feet, and another set by their hands, and another by their hair, and another by their tongues, and another by their wrists. And Paul saw then a fiery cave. There were seven flames in it, and a difference of colour on each flame, and many souls being tortured beyond all description in it. And there are six plagues around that cave. The first of them is snow, the second ice, the third fire, the fourth serpents, the fifth fiery lightnings, and the sixth unendurable stench. And then the souls of sinners that did not repent are put to be tortured, and each of them experiences his [special] punishment according to their worldly works. Some of them are weeping, and some sobbing and groaning, and asking for death which they do not get, and others being burnt and asking for death, and they do not get it at all. What is the reason that they do not get death? Not difficult [the answer]. The souls never die! And it is right that Hell should be dreaded so, [a place] in which there is eternal suffering, and heartsobbing, and gloom without joy, and abundance of tears, and trouble of heart, and sadness unending on account of the suffering of the souls. It is in that place that is the fiery wheel in which are a thousand spokes (*lit.* pins), and it (the wheel) is a thousand fathoms in depth and breadth; and the diabolical angels of Hell are every day setting in motion these spokes. There are thousands of souls being perpetually burnt in that cave, and it were enough of pain for all the children of Adam [merely] to get a description of that cave, though they should

never see it with their eyes. And after that Paul saw the terrible rough stream, in which were abundant hellish reptiles and the horrible poisonous-headed fishes of black Hell, swallowing the souls of the sinners, grinding and chewing them, as wolves through greed and immoderate hunger grind the sheep, and it is thus that the horrible fishes carry off the souls of the sinners, and grind and chew them.'

Here the text breaks off abruptly, as there is something missing from the MS. But enough remains to shew that it corresponds to Brandes's version B, which is also found as Homily 100 of Bede's *Homiliae Subditiuae*.¹ But it is far from being a slavish translation. It has a strong Celtic colouring, as shewn e. g. by the introduction of the interrogatory clauses. In some details, too, it differs from the Latin. The *wooden houses* and the *fiery cave* of the Irish are represented in B by *trees* and a *fiery furnace* respectively. Again, there are only six plagues mentioned in the Irish (the fourth, blood, being omitted) as compared with seven in B. Had we the remainder of the Irish no doubt other differences would be found.

But there is another version of the vision, later in date, found in Irish, and apparently peculiar to that language, to which attention must now be directed. Dr Douglas Hyde has published the text of it in his *Religious Songs of Connacht* vol. ii, and a translation in his *Legends of Saints and Sinners* p. 97. This appears to have been a fairly popular piece, as it exists not only in Dr Hyde's manuscript, but in two MSS in the Royal Irish Academy (23 I 4. f. 95, and 23 I 17. f. 137), while its translator alludes (p. 45) to a fragment in the library of University College, Dublin. Though it is so accessible to students a brief analysis must be given here for purposes of comparison.

The apostle Paul is in Smyrna, and beseeches God to reveal to him something of the pains of Hell. A youth, the Archangel Michael, comes to him, and conducts him to the death-bed of a sinner. The latter's soul is brought out with pain and difficulty.² A dialogue ensues between it and the body; it is then judged by Christ, and condemned to Hell. Paul then desires to see the infernal pains. He is conducted to a deep valley, through which runs a black river. On the far side of this there is a fiery cave and a lake of ice, in which the proud are tormented alternately. Adulterers are gnawed by loathsome reptiles. Avaricious people have fiery mountains thrown down on them. The envious are bound with fiery chains. Gluttons suffer a Tantalus-torture in stinking water. Those who gave way to anger have flames coming out of their

¹ Migne *P. L.* 94 col. 502.

² See an article by the present writer on *The Bringing Forth of the Soul in Irish Literature* (*J. T. S.* October 1920).

mouths, and are beating each other. The slothful people who neglected to hear Mass are bound on filthy beds. St Paul is then taken to Heaven, which is briefly dismissed in a few lines.

It is obvious that this version is a composite one, being built up from such pieces as the description in the *Leabhar Breac* of the soul's exit from the body,¹ possibly the *Two Deaths*,² and the B version of the *Vision of St Paul*. It has been influenced by the last in a general way. In both a hell-river teeming with monsters is mentioned (of water in Irish, of fire in B); in both occur the torment of alternate ice and fire, the Tantalus-torture, and that of persons being devoured by serpents and worms, though the sins punished are not always the same. The episode of the sinner's soul being carried off by devils, which occurs towards the end of B, may have suggested to the Irish writer the idea of including the lengthy portion which serves as a prelude to the description of the pains of Hell. Finally, the title of the piece, and the account of the Archangel Michael acting as guide, are of course derived from the earlier forms of the vision. On the other hand the mention of a fiery cave at the commencement of Hell connects this version with that Irish free translation of B which we have given above. It may be that the author of the version which is in *Saints and Sinners* may have used an Irish text rather than a Latin one.

The popularity of Dr Hyde's version is also shewn by the use made of it in a later document, the *Vision of Merlino*, which has been edited and translated by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.³ There are several points of connexion between both, viz. the classification of the seven deadly sins, the punishments for gluttony and sloth, and the inclusion of a list of the epithets of Hell. The phraseology, too, is similar: in Hyde's *Paul* the expression 'the fiery hearth of pains' occurs several times; it is found once in *Merlino*, which last has, however, a corresponding phrase, 'the dwelling of pains'. A remarkable connecting-link between the two is found in the MS 23 I 17. After the words 'the angel brought him to the brink' (Hyde, p. 104) that manuscript inserts a brief description of the city of Pluto, fair without but full of torment within, which exactly corresponds to the palace of Plutando into which Merlino and his companion in crime enter unsuspectingly.

So much has been said with respect to two Irish versions, one of which is fragmentary, the other late. But when we bear in mind the widespread influence that the *Vision of St Paul* exerted on European

¹ Atkinson *Passions and Homilies from L. Breac* p. 507.

² *Ériu* v p. 121.

³ In *Zeit. für Celt. Phil.* vol. iv, and as a separate publication (M. H. Gill, 1906). I am indebted to its editor for drawing my attention to it by sending me a copy. In a letter he considers it to be of the seventeenth century.

vision-literature we cannot but believe that versions of it were known to Irish writers from an early date, and coloured their descriptions of the Other-World to a marked degree. Accordingly we adduce some passages which appear to shew traces of this influence.

In the first place the *Vision* appears to be expressly mentioned twice in the *Vision of Adamnan*, where the allusions to St Paul's experiences in the Unseen World, and his preaching with respect to the same, evidently relate to the apocryphal work, and not to anything in the New Testament.

The earlier portion of Hyde's version is taken up with the bringing forth of the evil soul, and its judgement by Christ. Nothing to correspond to this is found in Brandes's A, B, or C, except the brief passage in the second, already alluded to, which describes the sinner's soul being carried off by devils. But it is worthy of note that in the oldest versions this episode occupies a prominent place; the soul is brought out of the body by evil angels (who do it with severity, *Syriac*), brought to judgement before God (also shewn the vision of God, *Latin*), condemned, and given over to punishment. Then after the trial of another soul the contents of the Other-World are revealed to St Paul.

In various places in Irish literature, e. g. in the *Vision of Adamnan*, the *Voyage of the Ua Corra*, and the *Cain Domnaig* (*Ériu* ii), there occurs the belief that a weekly respite from pain is granted to the souls in Hell. This conception is, of course, widespread, being found in Prudentius and St Augustine, while it also appears in Hebrew and Coptic; though it is possible that it was introduced into Irish literature through the medium of the *Vision of St Paul*, where it occurs in both the old and the mediaeval texts. In an Irish version of the *Transitus Mariae*,¹ as yet unpublished, this respite is represented as being due to the intercession of the Virgin after she had been shewn Hell, which evidently implies an acquaintance on the part of Irish writers with the Greek *Apocalypse of the Virgin*.

In the *Vision of Merlino* (as translated in *Z. C. P.*) unchaste women have devils sucking at their breasts. A similar incident occurs in a Middle-English version of the *Vision of Paul*,² and is obviously connected with the passages in the *Vision of Esdras*, and in the much earlier *Apocalypse of Peter*. Whether this last work was known in Ireland is an interesting question not easy to answer.

Some minor points may now be noticed. In the *Vision of Tundal*, written by an Irish monk at Ratisbon in 1149, the visionary sees the Devil in Hell as a many-handed monster swallowing souls. This is

¹ This has been dealt with by the present writer in this JOURNAL for October 1921.

² In E. E. T. S. Original Series, xlix p. 151.

based on a conception which runs through earlier Irish writings, though it is possible that all these have been influenced by the description of the hundred-headed fiery dragon Parthemon in Brandes's version A, in whose mouth sinners are placed. In the older Latin version the description of the reception by the angels of the good and evil soul respectively, and the vision of God shewn to the latter, form a general parallel to the events that occur in the last of the Seven Heavens in the *Vision of Adamnan*, though there is evidence to shew that the whole episode of the Seven Heavens included in that vision is not peculiar to Ireland at all, but is derived from an external source.¹ Again, in the older Latin version St Paul looks back from the height of Heaven, and sees a great fire spread over the whole world; this resembles the incident in the vision of St Fursa where the saint, lifted up on high, looks downward, and sees four fires which subsequently unite into one.

In conclusion, it is clear that the mediaeval versions of the *Vision of St Paul* were known in Ireland from an early date. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise, when we realize the great popularity of the piece, as well as its use by the Anglo-Saxon Church,² the theological literature of which contains so many parallels to the Irish. It may be that some student, better acquainted with the contents of Irish MSS than the present writer, may be able to indicate a complete text. That the very oldest versions (especially the Latin) were studied in Ireland seems also probable.

ST JOHN D. SEYMOUR.

SOME TECHNICAL TERMS OF GREEK EXEGESIS.

It has been said that the inheritance of Origen was divided into two parts, one of which passed to Alexandria and the other to Antioch; that his Platonism in thought and his allegorical interpretation of the Bible formed the Alexandrian share, while his critical activity and his devotion to the actual text of Scripture were maintained and continued by the scholars of Antioch. This statement, however, calls for one important qualification. It should be remembered that the tradition of Antiochene learning was from the earliest times connected with Aristotle and the rhetoricians, just as the tradition of Alexandria was

¹ An article on this subject by the present writer will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Zeit. für Celt. Phil.*

² The attitude of the Anglo-Saxon Homilist Aelfric towards the *Vision* is noteworthy. He asks indignantly, 'How do some men read the false composition, which they call the *Vision of St Paul*, when he himself said that he heard the secret words, which no earthly man may speak?'

Platonic. Origen was an Alexandrian and an exact scholar; the tradition which he left in his native place was substantially the same as that which he inherited there. The Antiochenes on their side took over from Origen just as much of his method as was congenial to their own established traditions: they inherited from him an ideal of scholarship, but retained their own technical equipment as students of rhetorical science.

The divergence between Alexandria and Antioch is reflected in the history of certain exegetical expressions.

(1) ἀλληγορεῖν, ἀλληγορία. Strictly speaking, ἀλληγορία is a σχῆμα λέξεως, a mode of *expression*, ἕτερα ἀνθ' ἑτέρων ἀγορεύων ἢ καὶ ἀλλόκοτα ἐπεισφύρων: thus it is defined by Quintilian as one of the τρόποι, as the continuous use of analogy, 'μεταφορά continuata'. But the noun and the verb have also a secondary meaning, that of allegorical *interpretation*. Thus Plutarch says (363 D) Ἕλληνες Κρόνον ἀλληγοροῦσι τὸν χρόνον, and Tatian *ad Gr.* 21 § 36 μηδὲ τοὺς μύθους μηδὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν ἀλληγορήσητε. Both uses are common in patristic Greek. In Clement of Alexandria the primary sense of these words is more common than the other; later writers, whether Alexandrine or Antiochene, use both with equal freedom.

But in Alexandrine usage ἀλληγορία is in principle a method of exegesis (or a mode of Scriptural utterance) which (a) is contrasted with literal interpretation (or significance), and (b) is discernible from the *content* of the text in question: for the Antiochenes, it is (a) a mode of literal expression, which is (b) indicated only by the *form* of the text. The Alexandrine was prepared to understand anything in the Bible, except moral precepts, *per modum allegoriae*; e.g. he would refuse to take literally any passages involving anthropomorphisms or contradictions. The Antiochene held to τὸ ῥητόν throughout, and explained anthropomorphisms, &c., as arising from the *ιδιότητες* of Hebrew diction. The definitions and discussions of ἀλληγορία which are found in Antiochene texts make these points clear, and shew also how small a place the Antiochenes allowed to this mode of diction. Thus Chrysostom says (*in Es.* v 7) that the treatment of Scripture as allegorical must not be allowed to depend upon the caprice of the interpreter—οὐκ ἔσμεν κύριοι τῶν νόμων τούτων αὐτοί—but must be kept in strict subservience to the actual meaning of the text; and according to Isidore and Junilius, who codify from two different points of view the Antiochene theory, we shall only find ἀλληγορία when the *form* of Scripture indicates its presence. Thus according to Junilius (*Inst. reg.* i 5) the *proverbialis species* is only found in Proverbs and one or two other books: in this *species* 'licitum . . . est non textum scripturae ipsius considerare sed sensum'; in the others (prophecy, history, and *simplex doctrina*) allegory is only to be admitted

on the condition 'ut narrationis fidem praesentare necesse sit': i.e. it occurs in the forms of metaphor, imagery, comparison, and similitude. In Isidore, ἀλληγορία is one of twenty-two γενικώτατοι τρόποι: it is not specifically defined, but is described by instances—κατὰ ἀλληγορίαν, ὅταν τὰ ἄπειρα πλήθη συνεχῶς "ὕδατα" λέγῃ καὶ τὴν τοῦτων ἐφοδον "κατακλυσμόν". καὶ τό "ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον". καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν Ἄγαρ ἀλληγορεῖ.

Again, while the Alexandrians treated ἀλληγορία as a method of reaching a meaning other than that of the 'letter', the Antiochenes regarded it as a literal mode of expression: i.e. as one in which it was plain from the actual words employed that they were intended to be taken 'tropically'. They would not therefore attribute an allegorical meaning to any passage unless its primary and essential significance was figurative. This may be illustrated from Diodore of Tarsus (Introd. to Ps. cxix, ed. Mariès, in *Recherches de science religieuse* 1919). Discussing the story of Eve and the serpent, Diodore says that it is an αἶνγμα rather than an ἀλληγορία: for if it were the latter, the serpent would have to be understood as a pictorial expression—ὄνομα μόνον ἔχρῃν εἶναι ὄψεως—whereas in fact there was a real serpent, but one through which the evil one spoke. To take the story as an allegory would involve an ἀνατροπή τοῦ ὑποκειμένου. Similarly Chrysostom held that in Gal. iv 24 St Paul used the expression 'allegory' καταχρηστικῶς, since the primary meaning of the story of Hagar was historical—it was not a mere metaphor. The three definitions given in Cramer's *Catena* on Gal. iv 24 appear also to deal with this alleged inexactitude of the apostle's language.

(2) θεωρία. The meaning of this term was discussed by Kihn (in the *Theol. Quartalschrift* 1880, and in his books on the school of Antioch and on Theodore of Mopsuestia and Junilius), and after him by Bardenhewer and others. Fresh light has recently been thrown upon it by Fr Vaccari in the first number of *Biblica*, the periodical issued at Rome by the Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. His new material is drawn (a) from the newly discovered fragments of Diodore, and (b) from the commentary on the minor prophets, printed among the works of Rufinus, which Dom Morin has shewn to be the work of Julian of Eclanum.

In the Alexandrian tradition θεωρία is practically synonymous with ἀλληγορία, as that word is with διάνοια. The antecedents of this use of the word are, I believe, Platonic. Examples of it are very plentiful. Thus according to Didymus of Alexandria, in the verse Ps. cxix 72, 'dearer to me than gold or silver', κατὰ θεωρίαν, silver means the λόγος and gold the νοῦς. Or, to take a specially illuminating instance, both Socrates and Sozomen say of Diodore that he devoted his attention to

the *ψιλὸν γράμμα*, τὰς θεωρίας ἐκτρεπόμενος. In the Alexandrian sense of *θεωρία*, this is intelligible and true; but to an Antiochene it would have sounded false and almost meaningless.

In Theodore of Mopsuestia *θεωρία* is primarily used of prophetic vision. It is that intuition of things present and future which God granted to the prophets. The prophet, by the *ἐνέργεια* of the Divine Spirit, was rapt into an ecstasy, and ἐν ἐκστάσει he experienced communications which by a *τρόπος* familiar in Scripture could be described as seeing, or hearing, or as feeling 'the hand of the Lord' upon him. Theodore (in Nahum ii) explains the word *λῆμμα*, the LXX equivalent of 'burden', as referring to this ecstatic state—*λῆμμα . . . τοῦτο καλεῖ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πνεύματος ἢ χάρις ὥσπερ ἄθρόον ἐπιλαμβανομένη τῆς τοῦ προφήτου διανοίας πρὸς τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν αὐτὴν μεθίστη τῶν δεικνυμένων*¹; only through such a violent diversion of the mind from present things was the prophet able τῇ τῶν δεικνυμένων θεωρίᾳ προσανέχειν μόνη.

The secondary use of *θεωρία* is also connected with the Antiochene psychology of prophecy, and certain other terms which have a certain shade of meaning in Antiochene exegesis must also be mentioned in order to explain it.

The fact that many parts of Scripture have a typical sense is due, as the Antiochenes held, to the divine ordering of history. The episode of the brazen serpent, or the exile and return, really happened: but they were made to happen in order to minister to higher things which were to succeed them. The gift of inspiration equipped the prophets to deliver utterances relevant to their own day, and also, at times, to speak in language so exalted that only a part of its content can be exhausted by referring it to the things of their own day. It was in these 'hyperbolic' passages, these 'sensuum cumuli', these 'excursus et excessus' of the prophetic mind, that the Antiochenes chiefly sought and found a typical significance.

It is the business of the exegete, while holding fast to the truth of history, to understand and explain this higher meaning of the text. He need not adhere to the *ψιλὸν γράμμα*: οὐ κωλύμεθα, says Diodore, σεμνῶς ἐπιθεωρεῖν: but he must remember that *ἱστορία* is not contrary to *ὑψηλότερα θεωρία*. τοῦναντίον δὲ κρητὶς εἰρίσκεται καὶ ὑποβάθρα τῶν ὑψηλότερων νοημάτων. The formal definition of *θεωρία* is found in Julian (Migne *P. L.* 21, 971 B), 'theoria est autem, ut eruditus placuit, in brevibus plerumque aut formis aut causis earum rerum quae potiores sunt considerata perceptio'; Fr Vaccari retranslates the definition thus, *θεωρία ἐστὶν ἐν εὐτελέσι μάλιστα ἢ σχήμασιν ἢ πράγμασι τῶν κρειττόνων διανοου-*

¹ *λῆμμα* is used with the meaning 'enthusiasm' in Method. ed. Bonwetsch 97, 2 μετὰ πολλοῦ λήμματος καὶ εὐψυχίας; but here there appears to be a confusion with *λῆμμα*.

μένη κατάληψις. It probably comes from Diodore's lost work *τίς διαφορά ἀλληγορίας καὶ θεωρίας*: and Fr Vaccari understands the words 'ut eruditiss placuit' to mean 'as the Antiochene fathers say'. It is possible, however, that the 'eruditi' may rather have been those rhetorical teachers from whom the Antiochenes derived their technical equipment.

The practical working of the definition can be seen, e.g., in Theodore's comment upon Zech. ix 9, 'Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion'. Here, he says, we have a passage which must not be understood to speak at one moment of Zerubbabel and at another of Christ, but one which primarily applies to Zerubbabel, yet speaks of him in language so hyperbolical that the prophecy could not be completely fulfilled in him; its final fulfilment is only to be found in Christ. The history of Zerubbabel is relatively a *brevi causa*: but in it we are able to perceive, by *θεωρία*, 'eae res quae potiores sunt'. In order to do this there is no need to desert the *ἀκολουθία* (*contextus*) of Scripture: the actual text here has, as Chrysostom would say (Migne *P. G.* 55, 209), a διπλὴ ἐκδοχή, which we must discern as such, *τά τε αἰσθητὰ νοοῦντες καὶ τὰ νοητὰ ἐκδεχόμενοι*.

To the complete fulfilment of prophecies already verified in part the Antiochenes apply the terms *ἐκβαίνειν*, *ἐκβασιν ἔχειν*, *πέρας τυχεῖν*. Cf. Theod. Mops. in *Joel* ii 28 πολλῶν δε τοιούτων ὄντων ἐπὶ τῆς θείας γραφῆς παρόμοιον προδήλως ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ παρὸν . . . ἐκβέβηκε δὲ ἅπαντα μετὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ: in *Mich.* v 1, 2 τό γε ἀληθὲς τῶν εἰρημένων πέρας τὴν ἐκβασιν εἰληφεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ: Theodoret in *Zeph.* xiii 16 ἀκριβῆ . . . τὴν ἐκβασιν. The *ἐκβασις* bears always some resemblance to that which typified it, but is always greater and higher—ἔστι μὲν τις μίμησις τῶν πραγμάτων, πολὺ δὲ τὸ διάφορον τούτων πρὸς ἐκεῖνα (Theod. Mops. *prol. in Ion.*). The signs which the *πρόχειρος ἔννοια* supplies are *εἰκόνες*, *σκιαί*, *παραβολαί*: the things signified are real, they are *αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα*, *τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀληθείας*.

It is strange that Theodore of Mopsuestia should have been supposed to teach that the New Testament merely accommodates the prophecies of the Old to Christ. In the main, his teaching is the direct contrary of this. The connotation of the word *σῶμα* in Antiochene writers is worth noting in this connexion. Whereas in Origen *σῶμα* stands for the lowest sense of Scripture, which is of little value in comparison with its *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, in Theodore it stands for the highest and fullest meaning, i.e. for the substantial fulfilment of prophecy in Christ. In Adrian this particular use of the word is not found: but he insists (*Isagoge* § 133) that the *σῶμα* is all-important; in it, and not beyond it, is the deepest meaning of the Bible to be found; *μηδὲν περαιτέρω φαντάζεσθαι τοῦ σώματος* is the cardinal rule of exegesis.

(3) **τροπικός**. Since *ἀλληγορία* was that one of the *τρόποι* in which Alexandrian exegesis was most interested, the word *τροπικός*, in that tradition, is practically equivalent to 'allegorical'. Technically, however, *τροπολογία* is simply any form of speech which is not *κυριολογία*: it is a clothing of the bare bones of fact with a grace that is not their own—cf. Trypho *περὶ τρόπων*, *Rhet. Gr.* III p. 191 *τῆς φράσεως εἶδη ἐστὶ δύο, κυριολογία τε καὶ τρόπος . . . τρόπος δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος κατὰ παρατροπὴν τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενος κατὰ τινα δῆλωσιν κοσμητέραν ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον*. The Alexandrian or secondary sense of the word and its cognates is as old as Origen at least. It seems to be universal in writers connected in any way with Alexandrian tradition from Origen onwards.¹ In Antiochene writers, on the other hand, the primary sense is the normal one. Thus in Theod. Mops. *in Hos.* iv 3 *τροπικῶς λέγει κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός* means 'using a *figurata dictio* as he commonly does'. In what sense, then, was the word *τροπικοί* applied to the Macedonians or Pneumatomachi? That application is found in Athanasius (*ad Serap.* i 2, 10), and had clearly become common before Athanasius took up arms in the Macedonian controversy. Both Athanasius and Didymus refer to it with irony; the latter calls his opponents *ποικίλοι καὶ πολύτροποι*, and the former rounds off an exegetical argument with a play upon the word: the Macedonians, he says, appeal to the text (Amos iv 13) *ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ στερεῶν βροντὴν καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα*, asserting that it declares the Spirit to be a *κτίσμα*; whereas the prophet really means that God 'establishes' that thunder of which the sons of thunder were the heralds, the unshakeable Gospel of the Kingdom: and in contrast with this *inconcussa ueritas* the Macedonians are *τῷ ὄντι τροπικοί*, vacillating creatures.

From the relics of Macedonian exegesis which are to be found in Athanasius, Didymus, and the *Dialogi de Trinitate* of Ps-Athanasius, the sense in which the Macedonians were called *τροπικοί* can be plainly seen. Two passages in Didymus are specially illuminating:—

(a) *ταῖς ἐξωθεν τέχναις ἀποκέχρηται καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα μεταφέρειν ἐπιχειροῦσι τὰ οὕτως σαφῶς εἰρημένα.*

(b) *εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἢ βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ διάλεξις, καλῶς ἂν αὐτοῖς ἔσθ' ὅτε χρεῖα ἐγένετο συμπλάσσειν μύθους τινάς, καὶ ἀριστοτελικῇ δῆθεν δεινότητι καὶ τῇ ἐν λόγοις τέχνῃ ὡς Εὐνόμιος περιστρέφειν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ συσκιάζειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.*

Didymus has here two charges to bring against his opponents—their exegetical method is essentially the same as that of the extremest

¹ St John of Damascus retained the stricter and more technical use: but in the instance on p. 1344 *β τροπολογία δὲ ἐστὶν ἀβέβαιος ἀπόδειξις*, the example which he gives, which is one of *προσωποποιία* (*ὡς ὅτε θάλασσα εἶδεν καὶ ἔφυγεν*), may have been derived from the Antiochene Isidore.

Arians, and it is based upon the logic and rhetoric of the schools. The first of these charges may be illustrated from Gregory of Nazianzus's attack upon Eunomius (*Or. Th.* v 7): it is a trick of Arian logic, he says, to rely upon logical traps, and to weave together strings of disjunctive syllogisms. The logic of the Macedonians was also in fact of this type: a familiar example, and one of which both Eunomians and Macedonians made use, is the argument that if the Spirit is neither *κτίσμα* nor angel, but proceeds from the Father, He must be a Son: and if so, the Logos and Spirit are brothers, and the Logos is not *μονογενής*; if on the other hand the Spirit is from the Son, *οὐκοῦν πάππος ἐστὶν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πνεύματος* (Didymus ed. Mingarelli, p. 189, cf. *Ath. ad Serap.* i 16). The dependence of the Macedonians upon the technicalities of logic and rhetoric is even more obvious. They were confronted with proof-texts such as Ps. cxlii το πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἀγαθόν [so *NC^a RT*] ὁδηγήσει με; and they argued that while the word *ἀγαθός* is sometimes so used as to make it clear that the Godhead of its subject is implied, it is also used in many other ways: men may be called good *συνωνύμως*, things and *ἀνυπόστατα* may be called good *ὁμωνύμως*; similarly men may be called holy, and a *σκώληξ* such as the locust may be called the great power of God (Didym. p. 128 f.). But we must pay no heed to *ὁμωνυμῖαι*, *συνωνυμῖαι*, or *ὁμοιολεξίαι* as though they implied identity of *οὐσία*.

This contention is stated by the Macedonians in the form of a general principle of exegesis: τὰ ἀλληγορικῶς ἢ προσηγορικῶς ἢ μεταφορικῶς ἢ ὁμωνύμως λεγόμενα οὐ χρῆ εἰς δόγματος ἀκρίβειαν παραλαμβάνειν (*ap. Didym.* p. 234). This principle underlies practically the whole of the exegetical matter preserved to us in the records of the Macedonian controversy; and its incessant application explains the sense in which the nickname *τροπικοί* was given to the heterodox party. They were called *τροπικοί* because they were for ever trying to explain Biblical texts as instances of one or other of the *τρόποι* recognized by the rhetoricians, the students of *ἡ ἐν λόγοις τέχνη*.

If the question is asked how the Macedonians came to be thus addicted to the use of rhetorical technicalities, the answer is that their exegetical methods were simply those which had been in vogue at Antioch, and wherever Antiochene influence was predominant, for almost a couple of centuries. There was nothing singular in Macedonian exegesis except its polemical concentration upon fine technical points. Its principles were those which had been inherited from Lucian by the Arians, and also by many who were not Arians; and I believe that we may trace them back to a period even earlier than that of Lucian.

The essential identity of Macedonian exegesis with that of the Antiochenes is easily demonstrable from the *Isagoge* of Adrian, a hand-

book of exegesis compiled early in the fifth century. On the one hand, every line of Adrian can be illustrated from Theodore of Mopsuestia or Theodoret; on the other, every one of the technical points raised by the Macedonians finds illustration and justification in Adrian. The *Isagoge*, indeed, is simply a study of those *ιδιώματα* of Hebrew utterance which the exegete must be prepared to detect; one of its three parts is entirely devoted to an enumeration of the *τρόποι*, and among the *τρόποι* are found precisely those locutions upon which the Macedonians laid such excessive emphasis: *κατάχρησις*, *μετωνυμία*, *προσωποποιία*, and the rest.

That this sort of exegetical science is older than Lucian might be shewn by examples of early Monarchian exegesis. It will suffice here to refer to Eus. *H. E.* v 28, where the anonymous anti-Monarchian writer quoted by Eusebius has just the same complaint against his opponents that we find in Didymus: like the Macedonians in later days they are addicted to *ἀριστοτελική δεινότης* and to *αἱ ἔξωθεν τέχναι*—they are admirers of Aristotle and Theophrastus, *ταῖς τῶν ἀπίστων τέχναις εἰς τὴν τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν γνώμην ἀποχρώμενοι, καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀθέων πανουργίᾳ τὴν ἀπλὴν τῶν θεῶν γραφῶν πίστιν καπηλείοντες*.

H. N. BATE.

ON THE PUNCTUATION OF ST JOHN VII 37, 38

IT is true as well as trite to say that there is more to be done for our better understanding of ancient documents in the way of improving the punctuation than in the way of emending the text: and of this the Fourth Gospel offers some striking examples. Long ago I tried to shew that in Jo. i 14 those editors went quite wrong who, in order to connect *πλήρης* at the end with *ὁ λόγος* at the beginning of the sentence, treated the intervening words *καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός* as a parenthesis, whereas *πλήρης* is there used indeclinable and belongs to either *δόξαν* or *μονογενοῦς*.¹ On the present occasion my object is to make a similar attempt to go back upon the current editorial tradition with regard to Jo. vii 37, 38, and, as before, to accumulate a mass of early evidence in favour of another grouping of the clauses. The patristic evidence for this passage is not so unanimous as for Jo. i 14: but on the other hand the improvement in the sense and connexion seems to me even more undeniable.

In Westcott and Hort's edition (and I find no material difference in Tischendorf, in R.V., in A.V., or in the ordinary Vulgate texts²) the text is printed thus:

¹ *J. T. S.* i (Oct. 1899, July 1900) pp. 120, 561.

² That is, with regard to the punctuation of the clauses, with which alone I am here dealing. There is, of course, a well-known variation of reading in verse 39,

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἰσθίκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἔκραξεν λέγων Ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. Τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος οὗ [margin δ] ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν οἱ πιστεύσαντες εἰς αὐτόν· οὐπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐπω ἐδοξάσθη.

So pointed, the scriptural citation 'out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water' applies to the believer: from him the flood of the Spirit is to proceed and spread. But if we place the full stop not after πινέτω but after ἐμέ, and construct the clause ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ with the verb πινέτω, the reference of the 'Scripture' is then transferred to Christ: from Christ shall flow the living waters of the Spirit which will refresh the thirsty believer. And this system of arrangement and interpretation of the text (reasonable, as it seems to me, in itself) has much authority of ancient exegesis in its favour—more I think than has been generally recognized. I propose in this paper to examine the early patristic evidence. I cannot but think that it adds weight to what, even without it, appears to me the only tenable view: the living waters are the Spirit, and the Spirit flows from Christ as source.

ORIGEN is the great pillar of the 'received' interpretation. In many passages of his works he cites Jo. vii 37 down to the word πινέτω: in *Jo.* tom. vi 17 (10), 18 (10); in *Jerem.* hom. xviii 9; *Selecta in Psalm.* iii 5, xli 3; and (in Latin translation) in *Genesim* hom. x 3. In yet other passages he cites verse 38 beginning with the words ὁ πιστεύων ('qui credit in me'): in *Genesim* hom. xiii 3, in *Numeros* hom. xii 1 (cf. in *Ezech.* hom. xiii 4), in Latin; but the context in each case shews that he referred ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ to the believer. It will suffice to quote a couple of examples, (1) *Hom. in Num.* xvii 4 'iis quibus datus fuerit [Spiritus], flumina de ventre eorum procedant', and (2) a catena fragment on Jo. iii 5 (printed in Brooke, *Orig. in Jo.* ii 250): after quoting verses 38 and part of 39, he comments εἰ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος εἰρηγται ὡς ὕδωρ ζῶν ποταμῶν δίκην ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ πιστεύοντος . . .

CYRIL of Alexandria *ad loc.* adopts the same punctuation and exegesis.

But from the early Western Church a series of writers can be adduced,

where to πνεῦμα one or both of two additions, the relatively less important ἅγιον and the more important δεδομένον, are made in various authorities: Tischendorf and R. V. go with Westcott and Hort, but A. V. adds 'Holy' (not 'given'), Vulgate (both in the ordinary texts and in Wordsworth and White) adds 'given'. To the Latin evidence against δεδομένον add Tyconius *Regula* iii (ed. Burkhitt 22. 1) 'revera non erat Spiritus sanctus': and I am quite sure that St Jerome's version ought really to be reckoned in the same category—'non enim erat spiritus' is the reading of six of Wordsworth's best MSS (Δ F G S* Y Z*), as well as of the best perhaps of all witnesses for the Vulgate Gospels, the St Gall fragments, and this is surely a case where 'brevior lectio potior'.

representing different churches and all earlier than the year A. D. 260, who agree in punctuating after *εἰς ἐμὲ*, and either directly or by implication refer the 'Scriptural' promise to Christ.

ANONYMUS *de Rebaptismate* (about A. D. 256, Italian or even Roman) § 14 'ex uno atque eodem fonte procedant flumina baptismatis Dominici, ut omnis qui sitit veniat et bibat; sicut scriptura dicit, flumina de ventre eius currebant¹ aquae vivae. quae flumina primum apparuerunt in Domini passione, cuius de latere . . . sanguis et aqua manavit . . . ita ut impleatur Spiritu sancto quicumque credens biberit ex utroque flumine.'

ANONYMUS *de montibus Sina et Sion* (Roman of the first half of the third century?) § 9 'percussus in lateris ventre: de latere sanguis et aqua mixtus profusus affuebat, unde sibi ecclesiam sanctam fabricavit, in quam legem passionis suae consecrabat, dicente ipso Qui sitit veniat, et bibat qui credit in me: flumina de ventre eius fluebunt aquae vivae'. In this case Hartel adopts the ordinary punctuation with full stop after bibat: but the reference to the flowing of blood and water from the side of Christ (just as in the previous quotation) with the echo of ventre . . . de ventre, seems to fix the meaning of eius beyond any doubt.

CYPRIAN *ep.* lxxiii 11 'Clamat Dominus ut qui sitit veniat et bibat de fluminibus aquae vivae quae de eius ventre fluxerunt'. So also *ep.* lxxiii 8, where the water is interpreted to mean baptism; in baptism the Holy Spirit is received. So also *Test.* i 22, where the quotation consists only of the words 'Si quis sitit veniat et bibat qui credit in me', the remainder of the verse, though it appears in the editions, not being part of the genuine Cyprianic text.² Hartel indeed prints the words 'sicut dicit . . . aquae vivae' in his text, though within brackets: but as they are contained in no single one of his five MSS, nor in any other MS that I have examined, they have absolutely no claim to be regarded as genuine.

With St Cyprian agrees the reading of the principal representative of the African Bible extant at this point, the codex Palatinus (*e*); the arrangement of the clauses on the page of the MS, as Dr Armitage Robinson has pointed out,³ being conclusive as to the connexion of qui credit in me with the preceding word bibat.

HIPPOLYTUS *in Dan.* i 17 (this part is extant only in the Old-Slavonic

¹ Should we not read *currebunt*, like the *fluebunt* of the next quotation, which is equally destitute of other authority (Neue-Wagener³ iii 282) ?

² So also the quotation of the verse in Firmicus Maternus—doubtless derived from the *Testimonia*—breaks off at 'credit in me'.

³ In *Texts and Studies* i 2, *The Passion of St Perpetua* (1891) p. 98. In the same context it is pointed out, on Prof. Burkitt's authority, that the *Speculum* of pseudo-Augustine (*m*) also implies this interpretation, since the verse is cited as one of the proof-texts under the heading 'Quod Dominus fons vitae nuncupetur'.

version: I translate the German of the Berlin edition by Bonwetsch and Achelis, *Hippolytus Werke* i p. 29) 'A river flows of never-failing water, and four rivers part from it, watering the whole earth. So we can see in the Church. For Christ, who is the river, is by the fourfold Gospel proclaimed throughout the whole world, and watering over the whole earth He sanctifies all who believe on Him, as also the prophet says "rivers flow from His body".'

IRENÆUS should, I feel no doubt, be quoted on the same side. In III 24. 1 (38. 1) 'communicatio Christi, id est Spiritus sanctus . . . qui non participant eum . . . neque percipiunt de corpore Christi procedentem nitidissimum fontem', Harvey refers to Jerem. ii 13, Dr Swete¹ (*History of the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit* p. 53 n. 4) to Apoc. xxii 1: but it seems to be beyond question that the allusion is also to our text in St John, the only passage where both the Spirit is identified with the stream, and stress is laid (on our interpretation) on the body of Christ as the source of the stream. Another echo is v 18. 1 'Spiritus et ipse est aqua viva, quam praestat Dominus in se recte credentibus': the equation of the Spirit with 'living water', and the promise of the gift of It by Christ to those that believe in Him, point in combination to Jo. vii 37, 38 and to no other passage.²

The LETTER OF THE CHURCHES OF LYONS AND VIENNE (ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 1. 22) was first adduced as an authority for this verse and this interpretation by Dr Armitage Robinson in his just cited edition of the Acts of St Perpetua p. 98: ὑπὸ τῆς οὐρανόθεν πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐξόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ Χριστοῦ δροσιζόμενος καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενος.

These early Western authorities represent Africa, Gaul, and in all probability Italy as well: nor is testimony of later Latins wanting on the same side.

AMBROSE *de Spiritu sancto* iii 20 (153, 154) after quoting Apoc. xxii 1 interprets the river 'proceeding from the throne of God and the Lamb' as the Holy Spirit 'quem bibit qui credit in Christum, sicut ipse ait [he quotes Jo. viii 37, 38]: ergo flumen est Spiritus'. And the same interpretation of the clauses seems to underlie an earlier passage in the same treatise, i 16 (176, 177): 'flumen dictum Spiritum sanctum secundum quod lectum est flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae . . . ergo flumen est Spiritus sanctus, et flumen maximum quod secundum Hebraeos de Iesu fluxit in terris, ut ore Esaiæ accepimus prophetatum'. The Benedictine edition notes two variant readings of importance, 'internis' for 'in terris', and for the last clause 'ut ore sepe accepimus prophetarum'. If 'internis' is right, the reference of 'de

¹ I owe several of my references in this note to Dr Swete's book—it is a veritable mine of patristic references.

² On the Irenaeus passage I have also written in the forthcoming *Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei* p. 252.

Iesu internis' can only be to ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ: and even without this reading 'de Iesu fluxit' seems by itself to imply that the stream is understood to flow direct from Christ. But though the exegesis in these two passages is fairly clear on one side, there are other passages where St Ambrose seems to desert the Western view. By the end of the fourth century the older tradition of the West was being ousted by the influence of the exegesis of the Eastern Church writers. Thus

JEROME *Comm. in Ecclesiasten* xi 1 'aliter: in quocumque homine illam aquam videris, de qua dicitur Flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae'.

Of the Greek writers of the fourth century, Eusebius adopts, as we should expect he would, the view of Origen, *Dem. Ev.* vi 18. 48.

The Catenae of Corderius and Cramer *ad loc.* offer little new that bears on our problem. But the brief extract from THEODORE OF HERACLEA, an early and able representative of the Antiochene school, rather suggests that he did not take the view of Origen. His comment, εἰς τὰς γραφὰς παραπέμπει ἵνα ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων περὶ αὐτοῦ προρρήσεως ἀναχθῶσιν εἰς πίστιν, seems to imply that he interpreted the 'scripture' as referring to Christ and not to the believer. And the conclusion is reinforced from his next words, where the ποταμοὶ ὕδατος ζῶντος are explained to 'indicate the unstinted abundance of grace'.

But the later and better-known representatives of the Antiochene school attach themselves to the now common exegesis. Thus CHRYSOSTOM *in loc.* takes the same interpretation as Origen, and refers τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ to the believer, though he adopts a punctuation of his own. As the Scripture nowhere says that 'rivers shall flow out of his belly', it results that the words καθὼς ἡ γραφή λέγει must be constructed not with what follows but with what precedes, and we must put a light stop (ὑποστήξει δεῖ) after λέγει, and translate 'He that believes on Me in the full sense in which Scripture foretold Christ—as Son of God, and Creator of all things, and coeternal with the Father, and coming as Man and as Redeemer—out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water'. But in spite of St Chrysostom's eminence as a commentator, and in spite of the assent of later Greeks like THEOPHYLACT who adopted his view, we may say confidently that whatever arrangement of the words is right, this arrangement is certainly wrong.

It should be added that the punctuation here recommended has the authority of Dr Westcott; see the final edition of his commentary on St John *ad loc.*

Dr Burney in his *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (which has appeared since this note was in type) discusses these verses on p. 109. With the main point he wishes to make I am not here concerned: but I see that he adopts the same punctuation as myself.

C. H. TURNER.

ON MS VERON. LI (49) OF THE WORKS OF MAXIM[IN]US¹1. *The reconstruction of the MS.*

WHEN I published, in the JOURNAL for July 1919, the final instalment of the documents transcribed, from the MS of which I am treating, by my regretted friend Antonio Spagnolo, I gave what account I could with the materials at my disposal of the contents and arrangement of the MS. I added that if I should ever be at Verona again I should hope to clear up the problem of the original bulk of the MS and of the extent of the lacunae that now exist in it.

In-June of the present year, 1922, I was fortunate enough to get to Verona after an interval of eleven years; and so soon as the claim of the work on Canons that took me there was satisfied, I turned once more to the MS known as Maximus with results that were not without importance. The extent of the lacunae was settled, and in the early part of the MS it was smaller than might have been feared. The proceedings of the Roman editor, and of the collator who acted for him, were thrown into even clearer light than before. And I judged that it would probably be possible to decipher almost every word of the Homilies on the Gospels (foll. 2-39).

Fol. 1, as was noted in *J. T. S.* xx 290, is out of place where it stands and should immediately precede fol. 40. Fol. 2 is therefore the first surviving leaf of the MS. But it commences in the middle of a piece, and therefore something is lost before it. Similarly fol. 1 begins in the middle of a piece, of which the earlier part is not contained on the preceding leaf, fol. 39. Foll. 1, 40-132, contain the homilies and treatises which have been published in the JOURNAL, and they are continuous, so that much the larger half of the MS as it stands is happily intact. For the rest the quaternion signatures give us an absolute clue to the restoration of the original status of at least the earlier portion of the MS.

Foll. 8 a-39 b consist of four regular quaternions, signed respectively on the last page of each gathering (foll. 15 b, 23 b, 31 b, 39 b) II, III, IIII, v. Foll. 40 a-127 b consist of eleven regular quaternions, signed, save that the signature [x] is missing on fol. 71 b, on the last page of each gathering (foll. 47 b, 55 b, 63 b, 79 b, 87 b, 95 b, 103 b, 111 b, 119 b, 127 b) VII, VIII, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, XIII, XV, XVI, XVII.

Thus in the first 127 leaves the only places where lacunae are possible

¹ *J. T. S.* xiii 19; xv 63; xvi 161, 314; xvii 225, 321; xx 289. I may note here that the MS, which I attributed tentatively to the later sixth century, is certainly not later than that. Chatelain *Uncialis Scriptura Codicum Latinorum* (1901) plate VII puts it in the fifth.

are (1) between foll. 39 *b* and 40 *a*, (2) before fol. 8 *a*. As to (1), there is a whole gathering missing, the sixth, but fol. 1 belongs to that gathering, and should immediately precede fol. 40.¹ If the gathering was, like all the rest, a quaternion, seven leaves have fallen out. As to (2), fol. 8 begins the second gathering, and therefore must have been preceded by one complete gathering. Of this gathering six leaves remain, foll. 2-7 (fol. 1 being, as we have seen, wrongly placed here). These six leaves are continuous with one another, but fol. 2 opens in the middle of a homily, and fol. 7 is not continuous with fol. 8. Evidently therefore the six surviving leaves are the interior leaves of the gathering: and if we assume it to have been, like the rest, a quaternion, two leaves only are lost, the first and last.

The Roman edition of the works of St Maximus incorporated foll. 2-39, but omitted foll. 40-77, probably as being somewhat difficult of decipherment. The only lacuna that the transcriber had to deal with was therefore that between fol. 7 and fol. 8. One may presume that he was not conscious of the existence of the lacuna, and transcribed

ergo ex cuius persona propheta cum uno oculo et una manu . . .

without even indicating that 'propheta' ended one leaf and 'cum uno oculo' began another. The editor at Rome, making the best sense he could of the nonsense before him, but naturally without much success, printed

*ergo ex huius persona euangelista docet melius esse cum uno oculo et una manu . . .*²

As only one leaf is lost, it is not likely that more than the end of one homily and the beginning of the next has perished.

The questions raised by the last 30 leaves of the MS, foll. 128-157, are a good deal more complicated, and there was perhaps loss or mutilation at a very early period. The signature numbers of two gatherings have been altered, and an ancient (not the original) hand has added another numeration of the gatherings by letters of the alphabet on the first (instead of the last) page of each quaternion.

As the manuscript stands, foll. 128-154 are the remains of what were once four complete quaternions. Of these the two centre ones are complete (foll. 133-140, 140-147), while the first of the four has lost

¹ It ought therefore to bear the signature vi, being the last leaf of the gathering. I am afraid I omitted to look if there were any traces of this.

² Dom Capelle, p. 88 n. 1 of the article about which I am speaking later on in this note, has put his finger on exactly this point, and divined the existence of a lacuna. But when he goes on to say 'toute cette partie des expositions manifeste une grande négligence du copiste', it is hard to make either the sixth-century scribe or the eighteenth-century transcriber responsible for the loss of a leaf in the centuries which intervened between the two.

its last three leaves and the last of the four has lost the conjugate pair in the centre of the gathering.

The explanation of the lacuna between foll. 151 and 152 I gave in *J. T. S.* xv 57, xvi 524. The extant leaves pass from the middle of Apostolic Canon no. 47 to the middle of no. 52. When I published this part of the MS in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* i pp. 32 a-32 nn (1913), I was puzzled about this lacuna, because the portion lost from the text of the Canons did not seem to correspond exactly with the contents of a leaf of the MS. But when in pursuance of my studies of the text and character of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Canons* I came across the long doctrinal insertion after Can. 50 which Dr Schwartz translated from Syriac and printed in his *Ueber die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen* (1910) p. 14, I saw that my puzzle was solved at once, if we could assume that *two* leaves, not one only, were lost. Moreover, as the doctrinal character of the insertion was Arian of an obvious and gross type, a motive would at once be offered for the disappearance of the leaves: an orthodox reader had been offended by them and had removed them. Now on re-examining the MS I found that my suspicion was correct, and that two leaves had gone: the Arian doctrinal appendix being contained entirely on the two innermost conjugate leaves of a gathering, it could be taken out without any superficial sign being left of tampering with the MS.

In assigning the reason for this last quaternion being incomplete as we have it, we have made the important discovery that theological motives have been at work on the manuscript. Let us turn back to the lacuna that we have not yet examined, namely that occurring in quaternion xviii, foll. 128-132. Of this five leaves survive, and they are continuous in themselves and with the preceding quaternion: and in fact when the manuscript is examined it is found that the last three leaves, those that followed fol. 132, have been cut out. But we have still to ask whether the loss of three leaves at this point is the whole loss, or whether another quaternion or even more may not have fallen out or been removed before fol. 133: and here the signatures to the gatherings ought to be the decisive factor.

No gathering has been lost since the alphabetic signatures were added: they begin on fol. 8a with **a** and continue regularly as far as 128a **q**, 133a **r**, 140a **s**, 148a **t**. When these signatures were added, all the now existing lacunae were already present: the first gathering was imperfect, the sixth gathering had disappeared, and, whether or no an extra gathering or gatherings were originally present between foll. 132 and 133, no change has taken place since the addition of the alphabetic signatures which pass from **q** to **r**. It is of course possible,

it may even be probable, now that we have established the action of theological motives for excision, that the manuscript was intentionally renumbered with the alphabetic signatures after it had been reduced in size by the process of purgation from heresy. If reduction by purgation was the alternative to complete destruction, we ought no doubt to be grateful that the former was the alternative adopted.

Remains the problem whether any complete gathering has gone before fol. 133: and the original signatures on the last page of each quaternion ought to settle this. Unfortunately, the signatures on both fol. 140 *b* and fol. 148 *b* (I have no note of any signature on fol. 154 *b*) have been altered: the second hand has xx and xxi, and as fol. 127 *b* is xvii, and the next gathering, partially preserved, must have been xviii, it follows that one more gathering was present when the second hand altered the numbers originally written. But what of the first hand? In each case, fol. 140 *b* and fol. 148 *b*, my notes indicate that the first cypher x is unaltered, but that more cyphers went to the original than to the corrected figures. If the original cyphers had been xxi, xxii, there would have been no need to erase the second x. I conclude therefore provisionally that the original cyphers were xviii, xviii: and if that be so, the simplest explanation is that the original cyphers were a pure mistake, corrected by the original hand.

In other words, the original MS contained, after the three leaves lost from the end of Q. xviii, a whole gathering, Q. xviii, which had disappeared before the alphabetic signatures were added. A total loss at this point of eleven leaves: a loss of what? Fol. 132 *b* ends about two-thirds of the way through the (duplicate text of the) *contra Iudaeos*. Fol. 133 *a* begins with the 'Arian Sermon', which was the first piece I printed out of the MS (*J. T. S.* xiii pp. 19-28, Oct. 1911). The solution of the problem of this last lacuna I leave to the third part of this note, in which I give some account of a remarkable dissertation by Dom Capelle of Maredsous.¹

¹ I cannot help calling attention here by the way to another instance of mutilation of a MS which I came across on the occasion of this same visit to Verona. MS Verona LVIII (60), the collection of Theodosius the deacon, has been handled by illustrious scholars, and I myself must have seen it on eight or ten occasions: yet no one, so far as I know, had yet noticed not merely that after the canons of Serdica, on foll. 94 *b*-99 *a*, a later, say tenth-century, hand has transcribed another version of the same canons 'item eiusdem canonis secundum aliam translationem', which is obvious enough, but that this alternative version is (save for the conjugate leaves 97, 98, which are an insertion) written 'in rasura': original material has been erased to make space for the 'alia translatio'. That original material apparently consisted of the signatories to the canons of Serdica. And whereas in our other authorities the number of the signatories is 59—and several at least of their see-towns are so corrupted in transmission as to be unrecognizable—the collection of Theodosius must have had many more. The erasures extend over five full pages

Would a new study of the text of the Sermons or Homilies as given in the manuscript help to any considerable improvement of the text (or perhaps one should rather say of the lacunae) of the Roman edition? I believe it would, if I may judge from the comparative ease with which I filled up the first lacuna; col. 753 of the edition, foll. 6 a 6 b of the MS.

tali ardore fraclabat [*i.e.* flagrabat] et illa beata soror Martae Maria quae sacris [fol. 6 b] *nutrita* sermonibus a uestigiis saluatoris nullo modo recedebat, ut de fontibus doctrinae caelestis suae religiose sitis desideria saturaret. bona [*lege* bonam] ista femina sine dubio elegerat partem . . .

2. *A homily from MS LI (49), foll. 16 b-17 b, omitted in the Roman edition.*¹

ITEM DE S^{CO} EUANGELIO

Hodie recitatum est nobis in s^{co} euangelio quia dñs ih̄s in deserto de quinque panibus et duob. piscib. saturauerit quinque milia uirorum. ubique dñs ih̄s omnes sanat omnes saturat, ut medicus caelestis, ut lux mundi; aput eum inueniunt oculos caeci, auditum ab eo accipiunt surdi, leprosi
 fol. 17 a mundantur, mortui suscitantur,
 10 daemonia effugantur, paralytici resolutis membris iterum confirmantur, clodi firmatis gressibus currunt, et omnes eius muneribus gloriantur. Ergo de quinque panibus et duob. piscib. a dño saturantur quinque milia uiro-
 rum, et colliguntur duodecim cofini fragmentorum pleni. considerare mus, fratres, mirabilia dñi ih̄u. tangit panes, et simili modo, sicut PLUIAS
 20 MULTIPLICAT SUPER TERRAM, ita cres

and part of a sixth, and there are normally 27 lines to a page in the MS. Even if the names of bishop, province, and see-town may often have overrun between them a single line, there may easily have been eighty or a hundred signatories. Only the last column of fol. 99 a is clear of superposed writing: but even there the ruffian did his work of destroying history only too well, and it seems hopeless, even with modern chemical aids, to attempt decipherment.

¹ But the opening lines are employed, though in a rather incorrect transcription, as a facsimile of the handwriting of the Verona MS, in the table of specimens opposite p. cxcii.

cunt cuncta in multitudinem copio
 sam. accipit augmentum panis, et
 mirabilibus modis inter comeden
 tium turbas candida segex exori
 tur. fragmentorum fiunt omnia ple
 na, saturatur populus, colliguntur
 adhuc duodecim cofini pleni ad nu
 merum dilectorum duodecim dis
 cipulorum, ut semper abundet eccl
 30 sia de ubertate apostolorum et doc
 trinae eorum panibus saturetur.
 ipse est dñs noster, qui et aliquando
 manna in herem^o caelo famulante concessit
 fol. 17 *b* et de petra fontes exuberanti copia
 manare permisit. ipsi gloria et impe
 rium in saecula. amen.

3. *The true author of the Homilies and Tractates.*

On my return from the Continent I found awaiting me a *tirage à part* of an article by Dom B. Capelle in the *Revue Bénédictine*.¹ The *envoi* was dated June 28, 1922, the day after my departure from Verona. Had I received it earlier, I might have contributed, by the elucidation of some of the few points about the MS that still remain obscure, more than as it is I can do to the final demonstration of Dom Capelle's thesis.

When Dr Spagnolo and I commenced the publication of the unprinted portion of the codex, we treated the contents as anonymous. It was quite clear that the 'Arian Sermon' (*J. T. S.* xiii 19-28: Oct. 1911) was not by any orthodox writer. So also our first publication of the Homilies bore the title 'An ancient homiliary' (*ib.* xvi 161-176, 314-322: Jan.-Apr. 1915). But in the course of the publication the direct indications of a fifth-century date became so clear (and the evidence of the Biblical citations was so entirely concordant) that I thought there was no longer sufficient reason to reject the 'traditional' ascription. My primary purpose was to produce an adequate and accurate text of documents that were either unprinted or very inadequately printed. Perhaps before I attached the name of Maximus I ought to have studied the admitted works of that author. But one has not leisure for everything, and I have at least left the gap open for Dom Capelle's startling discovery.

In the first place Dom Capelle demonstrates the truth of the conclusion which I adopted as to the unity of authorship of both Sermons

¹ *Rev. Bén.* xxxiv (April 1922) pp. 81-108.

(or Homilies) and Treatises by a series of illuminating and convincing parallelisms of style and expression (pp. 83-88). But further he makes it at least probable, by the use of the same argument (pp. 94, 95), that the 'Arian Sermon' should be attributed to the same authorship: and since St Maximus was naturally not an Arian, it would follow that none of the material of our MS belongs to him. And if we turn (p. 89) to the certain writings of Maximus, we find that they are marked by quite other characteristics, of style, expression, and substance, from the documents under discussion. Maximus is therefore put out of court. If the argument for community of authorship with the 'Arian Sermon' holds good, we must look in a very different direction. And in fact the whole of the material, when carefully probed, reveals (pp. 91-94) a doctrinal attitude which in a Latin writer of the fifth century can be nothing but Arian. It is not 'arianisme brutal', but it is Arianism. The doxologies are exclusively of the type 'gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu sancto'. Emphasis is laid on the 'invisible' and 'ingenerate' Father, while the Son made Himself visible in the Theophanies of the Old Testament, obeyed the Father's commands, and is 'humilior Patre'. The Holy Spirit had His beginning after the Son.

The author, then, was an Arian. But there are not many Latin Arian writers whom we know to have had literary activity about this period. If he is to be identified with any writer already known, the field of choice is small. With one of them, however, that Maximin with whom St Augustine held at Hippo, in the year 427 or 428, a discussion, reported in full by notaries, the parallels are astonishingly close and complete (pp. 97-104). If Maximin was the real author, we can understand the origin of the variant ascription to Maximus, one of the two most celebrated preachers of the North Italian Church. And in fact, so late as 1742, Maffei in his *Istoria teologica* catalogued the MS under the name not of Maximus but of Maximinus (p. 108). [I cannot find this anywhere in Maffei's book myself.]

Such is in brief Dom Capelle's brilliant presentation of his thesis. Even on first reading I realized how much there was to be said for it: but I made reserves on certain points, principally on two.

(1) I thought, and I still think, that Dom Capelle treats as indications of Arianism some things which in the East one would be entirely prepared to expect in orthodox fathers, and perhaps even in some Westerns like St Hilary. St Basil of course defended the orthodoxy of the doxology *διὰ Υἱοῦ ἐν Πνεύματι*, and if it were a necessary sign of Arianism there would be few ante-Nicenes who were not Arian. Still more would this be the case with the exegesis of the Theophanies: the identification of the supernatural visitant with the Son is almost universal, in Nicenes and ante-Nicenes alike, before Augustine.

(2) I found it difficult to believe that the writer of the 'Arian Sermon', so naked in its expression of Arian doctrine, could be the same as the writer of the Homilies and Treatises with their admittedly watered Arianism, and that to treat the brief 'Sermon' as a *contra hereticos*, the third of a trilogy with the *contra Iudaeos* and *contra paganos*, was to compare disparate things with one another.

But Dom Capelle himself suggested (p. 95, n. 1) that the Sermon, which as it stands covers three leaves only, was not a complete whole, but merely a fragment, 'une fin de traité'. It is here that the investigations carried out above, as to the loss which the MS has suffered before fol. 133, come into significant connexion with Dom Capelle's results. At least eleven leaves have been removed: and as we may assume that they have been removed for cause, and that the cause was the unorthodoxy of their contents, it becomes more than likely that they constituted in fact the beginning and principal part of the 'Arian Sermon'. If we could suppose that a second complete gathering had been lost—nineteen leaves in all, instead of eleven—then with the three surviving leaves the total would almost precisely correspond to the twenty-one leaves of the *contra Iudaeos* and the twenty of the *contra paganos*. But the evidence did not seem to point to the absence of more than one complete gathering at this point, and even fourteen leaves is a sufficiently respectable figure to bring into some comparison with the two other treatises.

Anyhow the conclusion seems justified that an orthodox reader, at some quite early date, removed from the codex all that was most obviously heretical. We cannot tell whether the loss of the sixth gathering was due to this cause or was purely accidental. But I have little doubt that the same hand removed the two leaves from the Apostolic Canons and the eleven or more leaves from the 'Arian Sermon' (or as Dom Capelle prefers to call it the *contra hereticos*), and for the same reason. It was probably by an unintentional oversight that the three final leaves of the 'Sermon' escaped the knife.

Just what an orthodox reader, somewhere about the seventh century, left undisturbed was exactly in fact what an intelligent layman in the twentieth century ascribed, with whatever hesitation, to a Catholic writer. I have no doubt that Dom Capelle's theological acumen has divined the truth, and that, however little there is that is necessarily Arian, the sum total of doctrinal phraseology, as collected by him, points, for that time and place (that is to say, the West and the fifth century), necessarily to an Arian. One may, I hope, justifiably welcome two thoughts: the one that the controversy against heathen and Jews would be carried on by Catholic and Arian with substantially the same arguments and in substantially the same language; the other that an

Arian bishop could impart to his flock—even though, as Dom Capelle points out, he preached much more theology than ethics—a great deal of instruction with comparatively little error.

Dom Capelle's admirable study is an earnest of what we may hope from the revival of the *Revue Bénédictine*. 'In the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom': and perhaps he and I between us have carried the criticism of the documents concerned further than either of us alone would be likely to have done. But if the spade-work was mine, the decisive word has been his.

C. H. TURNER.

THE ARAMAIC EQUIVALENT OF ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας IN JN. VII 38.

PROF. EMERY BARNES, in reviewing my *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, criticizes my proposal to regard ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας in Jn. vii 38 as a misinterpretation of Aramaic מַעַין מִן *min ma'yan* 'out of the fountain' as *min m'in* 'out of the belly', on grounds which he states thus: 'But is κοιλία the most natural translation of מַעַין? If any particular Aramaic word lies behind κοιλία, would it not rather be כרסא (כרשא)? For מַעַין one would expect σπλάγχνα.'

Had he looked at the concordance he would hardly have expressed this opinion. In the one passage in which מַעַין 'belly' (properly 'bowels') occurs in Biblical Aramaic, viz. Dan. ii 32 (a passage to which I refer in my discussion), the rendering is κοιλία both in LXX and Theodotion. There are thirty-three occurrences of the cognate Hebrew מַעַיִן in the Hebrew Bible, and this is rendered κοιλία by LXX twenty-seven times.¹ In the remaining six cases we find καρδιά twice, Ps xl 9, Lam. ii 11 (in both cases Field gives *al. exempl.* κοιλία); Gen. xv 4 ἐκ σου (i.e. probably מַעַיִן for מַעַיִן); Isa. xlviii 19 ὡς ὁ χοῦς τῆς γῆς for the questionable מַעַיִן; Isa. lxiii 15 paraph. τὸ πλήθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου for מַעַיִן; Jer. xxxi 20 paraph. ἔσπευσα ἐπ' αὐτῷ for מַעַיִן (Aquila ἤχησεν ἡ κοιλία μου αὐτῷ). The only other renderings of מַעַיִן which we find in the fragments of the later Greek versions are in Symmachus, ἔντερα three times (a rendering which Field gives as occurring three times in *al. exempl.* of LXX), ἔγκατα twice, ἐνδύσθια once, τὸ ἐντός μου once; while σπλάγχνα (the rendering which Dr Barnes rather strangely

¹ It should be noted that the Hatch-Redpath Concordance wrongly gives κοιλία in Ezek. iii 3 as representing מַעַיִן. τὸ στόμα σου φάγεται, καὶ ἡ κοιλία σου πλησθήσεται = מַעַיִן תִּמְלֵא, so that στόμα renders בֶּטֶן, while κοιλία is to be added to the cases in which this word represents מַעַיִן. To the Biblical examples may be added ἡ κοιλία μου = מַעַיִן in Ecclus. li 21.

desiderates) is only given by 'A. Σ. Θ. in Isa. lxiii 15, 'The yearning of thy bowels and thy compassions are restrained toward me', doubtless as a concession to the Greek conception of the seat of the emotion of pity.

Thus it may be claimed that *κοιλία* would be the natural and obvious rendering of the Aramaic *mēn*, while *σπλάγχνα*, in the context of Jn. vii 38, would surely be out of the question.

C. F. BURNEY.

REVIEWS

Le Quatrième Évangile, deuxième édition refondue, Les Épîtres dites de Jean. By ALFRED LOISY. (Paris, Émile Nourry, 1921.)

THIS book is scarcely complete in itself. As its author informs us, he has replaced, so to speak, the Fourth Gospel in the framework of the Johannine Library, and hence what we now have is the first instalment of a new work on the Johannine literature as a whole; that for its companion volume (on the Apocalypse) we have still to wait I, personally, regret inasmuch as it may comprise matter of which I should gladly avail myself for the purpose now in hand. Not that there is room for doubt as to M. Loisy's general attitude: 'La fortune de cette bibliothèque', says he at the outset, 'est d'autant plus remarquable que la collection avait été artificiellement et même artificieusement construite, aucun des écrits qui y sont entrés n'ayant été composé par l'apôtre Jean.'

But this by the way. Let me say at once that of the present volume relatively few pages (some 75 out of a total of 602) are devoted to the Epistles, and that of these, if only for want of space, I shall not now take account. My concern will be exclusively with what constitutes its main bulk: a drastically revised, abridged, and withal supplemented, reissue of *Le Quatrième Évangile* of 1903, which will lead me to a comparison between the M. Loisy of to-day and the M. Loisy of eighteen years ago.

There is no need to linger on one point. Writing in 1903 (pp. 2 ff) he was not at all inclined to take 'La tradition ecclésiastique' at its face value. It is, I think, patent that he now (pp. 6 ff) gives even shorter shrift to 'Le témoignage de la tradition'—in respect this time of the Johannine literature in its entirety.

To pass on. The section headed 'Le Quatrième Évangile et la critique moderne' in the earlier work (pp. 36 ff) reappears in part under the heading 'Le travail critique' (pp. 18 ff), but the survey is brought up to date; it includes the names of Wellhausen and Schwartz, Wendland, W. Bauer, and Reitzenstein; Wetter's *Der Sohn Gottes* comes in for its meed of praise; turning to English scholarship (strangely enough Westcott—not to speak of Drummond, E. A. Abbott, and E. F. Scott—is ignored) M. Loisy finds that 'l'intransigence de l'honnête Sanday s'est grandement atténuée avec le temps', Bacon's hypotheses evidently attract him, 'la tendance apologétique' of Stanton's recent contribution is, he remarks, 'très accentuée'. In summing up

(pp. 38 f) he fastens on points which appear to emerge from the crucible of prolonged research as 'résultats que l'on peut considérer comme certains', and here the following excerpts must suffice: 'Les écrits dits johanniques ont été divulgués en Asie par un groupe de croyants qui ont voulu les mettre sous le patronage de l'apôtre Jean. Cet apôtre n'a été pour rien dans la composition de ces écrits. . . . Non seulement le chapitre xxi est une addition rédactionnelle, mais le corps même du livre n'est pas d'une seule main. . . . L'évangile est, pour le principal, comme une vision, mystique et symbolique, de la manifestation terrestre du Logos en Jésus-Christ pour le recrutement des enfants de Dieu.'

Poor Dr C. Harris; rudely flouted is his oracular deliverance (*Creeds or no Creeds* p. 214): 'The principles of criticism now generally accepted require us to regard it—*sc.* the Johannine Gospel—as the first-hand work of John the son of Zebedee, as the unanimous tradition declares it.' More interesting is it to note that M. Loisy is already in disagreement, as (p. 39) he owns, with his former self; in 1903 (pp. 55, 93, 139, 141) the Fourth Gospel—two reservations made—was in his eyes a unity which 'n'a subi que des retouches insignifiantes', but he has since altered his mind. Nor yet on one point only; herein a contrast with Dr Armitage Robinson, who (*The Guardian*, May 19) finds no reason for changing what in 1907 he had said in his Westminster Abbey Lectures on 'St John's Gospel'.

At the stage reached M. Loisy gets to grips with 'l'évangile dit selon Jean', and presents us with much new matter.

Section I (pp. 40 ff) is headed 'Le contenu de l'évangile'. Difficulties recognized, it is nevertheless possible to distinguish two parts; of which one (chs. i–xii) strikes apologetic and polemical notes and hinges on the manifestation of the Incarnate Logos to the Jewish people in Galilee and Judaea; the other (chs. xiii ff), essentially didactic in tone, might be styled 'la révélation directe et définitive du Christ aux siens'—in it Jesus instructs and consoles His own. To which few, perhaps, would demur; the case might be otherwise with what follows on a relentless scrutiny of the contents of chs. i–xii: 'Tout ce développement du ministère de Jésus est artificiel dans sa mise en scène, tissé d'invéraisemblances, surchargé de répétitions'; in like manner when the verdict next pronounced runs thus: 'Sauf le dernier chapitre, qui est d'un merveilleux assez commun, toute cette seconde partie est, plus encore que la première, d'un mysticisme transcendant, et qui n'a pas d'égards aux vraisemblances de l'histoire; doublets et incohérences de rédaction n'y manquent pas davantage.' The question, then, is whether a book which despite its apparent unity of spirit is not from a single pen be a compilation from anterior writings or, alternatively, an original composition retouched and completed by later hands—'pour ne prendre

qu'en sa rédaction dernière la forme et peut-être aussi l'attribution sous lesquelles elle nous est parvenue'. We need not wait to be told (p. 55) that M. Loisy decides for the latter alternative, for this is already clear from Section II (pp. 46 ff 'La composition de l'évangile'); in it he differentiates between didactic poems, narratives, and discourses belonging to the fundamental document of his hypothesis, and sutures, interruptions and additions, transpositions and transformations, assigned by him to redactor-hands. The Prologue, originally a rhythmic ode to the Incarnate Logos, has been expanded by 'intrusive' verses relative to the Baptist; where it now stands the Cleansing of the Temple is obviously connected with a chronological scheme—a ministry of three and a half years, 'chiffre messianique'—the idea of which would probably be foreign to 'l'écrit primitif'; to a narrative which originally pictured Jesus alone with the Woman at the Well and the Samaritans have been pieced on verses which bring the disciples to the front; the Healing of the Paralytic is really followed not by one discourse only but by two, and of these the former—which originally dwelt solely on eternal life and spiritual resurrection—has been both mutilated and completed with eschatological borrowings from the Synoptics; the argument by which Christ justifies His pretensions to divinity is an addition which labours to explain, with more subtlety than exactness, the assertion of Jesus: 'I and the Father are one.' The Anointing and the Triumphal Entry are 'des morceaux de tradition synoptique transposés et johannisés par le rédacteur qui a surchargé la résurrection de Lazare' with allusions to the sister-pair; a description of the Supper has evidently been suppressed, while the Feet-washing, awkwardly dragged in as it is, betrays itself as an addition by some intermediate hand. Caiaphas, Peter's denial, Barabbas, the Mocking in the Praetorium, are Synoptic importations to which the 'Behold, the man!' is appended; whereas the primary narrative merely told how the corpse of Jesus was placed by the soldiers (cf. p. 57) in an adjacent tomb, the Synoptic Joseph of Arimathea is now brought on the scene by a redactor who has thought fit to associate Nicodemus with him. The closing verses of ch. xx are traceable to a redactor in whom may be discerned the first editor of a Gospel to which they form a normal close; another redactor is responsible for ch. xxi, and to this final redaction the book owes its traditional form, more than one retouching and addition being probably by the selfsame pen.

After the rigorous and vigorous analysis thus briefly and roughly sketched the opening sentence of Section III (pp. 55 ff 'Le caractère de l'évangile') may bring some ray of comfort to disconcerted souls: 'les résultats de la précédente analyse ne sont ni assez précis ni assez certains pour qu'on se flatte de reconstruire à coup sûr les étapes de la

composition littéraire et les circonstances spéciales qui les ont déterminées ou caractérisées.' To which, however, is added: 'Tout au plus peut-on se risquer à esquisser, sous les réserves qui conviennent, les grandes lignes de ce développement et ses rapports avec l'évolution du christianisme primitif.'

Which thing also M. Loisy (pp. 55-65) proceeds to do. The hypothetical 'écrit primitif' is not in his judgement to be conceived of as the work completed and intended for publication nor yet as a consecutive narrative and repertory of discourses; rather would it be a 'recueil de méditations sur le thème du Christ' which was dominated by the one idea of a divine Epiphany which began in Galilee and reached its earthly close in the tomb from which the divine Christ returned to heaven to be thenceforward invisibly present to His own. Of any tradition, distinct from the Synoptic, which portrayed Jesus as living on this earth in normal relations with a human family there is no question; the writer knew only a liturgical Christ who, object of the Christian cult, had manifested himself in human form and was supposed to belong to a family of Cana; for him, permeated as he was with mystic symbolism, the mother and the brethren of Jesus stand for the Judaism from which the new religion took its birth. Schismatic Israel is personified in the woman of Samaria and humanity in its ignorance by the man born blind; in the latter instance Jesus reveals Himself 'comme Christ-lumière', and in the raising of Lazarus—type of humanity delivered unto death—as 'Christ-vie'; He appears to Mary of Magdala, 'ou bien à sa mère' (pp. 54, 504; cf. p. 908, note i, in edit. of 1903), to announce His immortality, and the same day at evening to disciples who are given mission to carry on His work. These and the like fragments of divine biography are destitute of reality, and the sole impression they convey is of the lofty faith which inspired the penman: 'Jésus est le Sauveur que ses fidèles adorent en célébrant son mystère. C'est le mystère que l'auteur contemple et réalise dans ses poèmes': the key to which poems lies in discourses from the first 'associés aux tableaux mystiques' and prefaced by the hymn to the Logos made flesh. Jewish Messianism with its eschatology is replaced by a mystery of Salvation; instead of the Christ of Paul there is a Christ not of woman born or obedient to the Law: 'c'était comme une forme de Dieu manifestée en homme'—a Hermes personifying and revealing the Divine Wisdom; a God who, like Osiris, Attis, and Adonis, dies to live again immortal and to bestow immortality on the faithful. There would be no smack of Docetism; no expectation of a reign of Jesus on earth. The idea of a corporal resurrection of the departed—or, indeed, of the Christ Himself—has been superseded by a spiritualized resurrection-doctrine against which Paul and

the Apocalyptist would have battled; a doctrine corrected in that revision of the fundamental document which brought it into the main current of the Christianity of the period.

'Bien qu'on l'entrevoie fort complexe', says M. Loisy, the redactors' labours on this work 'de haute et sobre gnose', had for result, as doubtless they had for object, its approximation to the traditional type represented by the Synoptic Gospels while conserving its mystic character and developing its symbolism.

He then goes into details; a few illustrations must serve. The introduction of the Baptist and his testimony is due to a redactor; of the sisters imported into the Lazarus-story Martha represents the Jewish-Christian and Mary the Hellenist-Christian section of the Church, while the miracle is advisedly materialized to stress the resurrection of the dead—with like intent is room made for the fiction of the appearance to Thomas of the Risen Lord. Greeks figure on the stage, and why? To place this saying in the lips of Jesus: 'the hour is come that the Son of Man should be glorified'—'C'est dans l'Eglise que le Christ est glorifié ainsi.' The announcement of the Betrayal is an insertion; profiting by the occasion the redactor brings the traitor face to face not with Peter only but with the Beloved Disciple: 'type du parfait croyant' (so in 1903), 'que le document primitif connaissait peut-être en manière de personnage idéal, si toutefois il ne l'ignorait absolument.' And so at length the secret of the interest taken by the redaction in this personage is disclosed; Christian communities to whom this book is presented as a Gospel are to attribute its authorship to John, apostolic man, himself apostle. Fiction, we are told, reigns everywhere as in its own domain; in the fundamental document 'c'était comme une vision allégorique, mais, dans la rédaction, la vision et l'allégorie se compliquent d'intérêt apologétique, et, au moins, pour ce qui touche à l'attribution du livre, il faut bien parler de fraude littéraire'. As for the pieces of rhythmic prose in 'le recueil primitif' they were composed, it is added, in the mystic style illustrated by Babylonian incantations—'les rédacteurs de notre évangile s'y sont conformés, au moins d'une certaine mesure'. With the remark that the theology of the first author (*sc.* of 'l'écrit primitif') was in no way Trinitarian, he winds up the section thus: 'Grâce à toutes ces retouches et à tous ces compléments, la doctrine mystique de notre livre rencontrait la foi antérieurement reçue et s'y adaptait. Sa fortune et celle de l'évangile qui la contenait étaient ainsi assurées.'

We now arrive at Section iv: 'L'origine de l'évangile' (pp. 65-71); and with it 'Introduction'—in respect of the Gospel—reaches its close.

It opens with an uncompromising assertion. 'Ce qui résulte des

observations précédentes, contre lesquelles ne saurait prévaloir le témoignage dit traditionnel, tout à fait inconsistant en lui-même, c'est que le prétendu évangile de Jean, soit dans sa forme première, soit dans celle que lui a donnée le travail rédactionnel, ne peut être considéré comme l'œuvre d'un témoin oculaire qui aurait été disciple de Jésus et se serait proposé de raconter sa vie et son enseignement.' A less confident note is struck with regard to the origination of the book: 'sur cette origine même on ne peut faire que des conjectures fondées sur le caractère de l'œuvre, sur son rapport avec les évangiles synoptiques, et sur certaines particularités du témoignage traditionnel.' Let us have M. Loisy's latest conjectures in summarized form.

Writing in 1903 (p. 130) the author of the Gospel—'une œuvre parfaitement une'—was discovered by him in a convert from Hellenistic Judaism; he now (p. 66) assigns 'l'écrit primitif' of his partition-hypothesis to a convert from paganism: 'chrétien comme le furent les maîtres de la gnose', but more profoundly religious than a Marcion and less speculative than a Valentinus, one who was sufficiently versed in Jewish matters and who perhaps had travelled in Palestine. He, this personage, had rallied to the faith of the Lord Christ 'déjà organisée en mystère de salut, et il avait achevé de la définir pour lui-même en mystère'. Nearer akin in spirit to Apollos than to Paul, he might well have been their contemporary, but he actually belonged to the second generation; his work may be dated in the last quarter of the first century, and although claims might be advanced for Alexandria or Antioch as the place where he wrote, the balance of probability is decidedly in favour of Ephesus. A veil shrouds his identity; 'un maître de la gnose plutôt qu'un apôtre de la foi,' his position in the Ephesian community would perhaps be that of a mystic prophet and, maybe, head of a school. His memory was not fated to survive, but profound must have been his influence on those who heard him discourse. Had his lot been cast in a later generation he might have been the leader of a sect and a heretic—as, with far more show of reason, could be said of Paul. Thus much of the authorship of the fundamental document; the Gospel as we have it, continues M. Loisy, itself bids us discern two main stages in its growth. The first, and more important, edition—which ended with ch. xx—can be approximately dated in the opening years of the second century. Its characteristic features would be the fixation of the chronological framework with consequent distribution of material; the addition of the major part of Synoptic borrowings—those, e. g., which turn on the corporal resurrection of Christ and of the dead at the Last Day, possibly also the passages which tell of the Paraclete as filling Christ's place in the government of the Church. Put forth anonymously its circulation

would be very limited; were John the Elder (cf. p. 68) still alive his approval may have been sought, if not obtained. Some twenty or thirty years later the second, and final, edition ('l'édition ecclésiastique') saw the light of day; here the most notable accretion would be ch. xxi, but there would be sundry retouchings and additions in the body of the work, in particular the allusions to the Beloved Disciple. Which amounts to this: Ephesian leaders had done what in them lay to make readers see in their John an apostolic personage, an apostle, the best-beloved of Christ. 'A travers ses transformations', writes M. Loisy, 'l'évangile mystique d'Ephèse avait retenu ses traits essentiels. On ne pourrait pas résoudre par lui le problème historique de Jésus, mais sans lui on connaîtrait mal certaines conditions importantes dans lesquelles ce problème se pose.' From which remarks it is not easy to dissent.

I turn to the Commentary (pp. 87-529). Of its general drift and import it is hardly necessary to speak in detail; they will, I think, be readily inferred from the matter and the manner of the pages thus far surveyed. Compared with the edition of 1903 the arrangement leaves, perhaps, one thing to be desired; one could wish that the frequent and sometimes lengthy references which here violently interrupt the sequence had again been relegated to the foot. Not for a moment would I join company with a reviewer who superciliously alludes to 'a multitude of brief notes of the old-fashioned snippety type'; M. Loisy wields a lucid pen, and I am only sorry that he has not employed it at greater length.

It remains for me to make a suggestion to him and to offer some remarks on his work.

The suggestion, briefly stated, is that he should present us with an extra volume (or *brochure*) in which 'l'écrit primitif' and matter assigned by him to the first and second redactions respectively were arranged after the manner of Spitta in *Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu* pp. ix-xlvi. I for one should be grateful.

Now for the remarks. Just because it passes my comprehension how any one can return to, or persist in, the study of 'das Schmerzens-kind der Theologie' without continually reconsidering his position and, likely enough, shifting his ground, I am not one whit surprised at finding that the M. Loisy of 1921 is, in certain respects, widely removed from the M. Loisy of 1903. It may be permitted me to add that I myself was prepared to travel some way with him. Quite apart from the story of 'red martyrdom' (which *may* rest on solid fact—I observe, by the way, that the 's'il était certain' of 1903, p. 11 note i, has been exchanged for something next door to explicit acceptance in 1921, pp. 11, 85; see also *Les Actes des Apôtres* pp. 482 ff) I make jettison of the traditional authorship and question the alleged arrival and

prolonged residence at Ephesus of the son of Zebedee; a somewhat larger rôle would now be assigned to retouches, alterations, and additions in and to an original work by a 'Great Unknown'; it would scarcely occur to me to expect strictly historical matter in and throughout a gospel which portrays the Christ of a soul's conception rather than the Jesus of Nazareth who lived a truly human life among men. Then, for the time being at all events, I stop short on the road. M. Loisy's case for 'l'écrit primitif' needs further proof before his convert from paganism can win acceptance. Interesting as his partition-theory is I am still constrained to say with Harnack: 'über den Umfang der Eingriffe des Editors oder Redaktors kommt man nicht ins Klare'; and besides, doubt rises in my mind whether there was really a succession of Ephesian penmen of such marked ability as to have it in them to 'Johannize' their own amplifications of an original work. A less invidious word might, I think, be employed in lieu of the often-recurring 'fiction'. Mindful of the literary sanctions of antiquity I should hesitate to speak of a 'fraude littéraire'. Once more I venture to institute a comparison—this time between *Le Quatrième Évangile* of 1921 and another work also before me, *The Gospels as Historical Documents* Part III—the general outcome of which is that, whereas on this or that point the brilliant Frenchman ('sparkling with ideas' might be the phrase to use of him) goes near if not all the way to extract a 'Quite so' from me, the cautious and measured scholarship of our late Regius Professor—happily still with us—bids me think twice and then think again.

In fine, M. Loisy has in any case given us a decidedly stimulating volume and I would thank him for it—all the more heartily because of recent adverse allusion made by me to his *Les Actes des Apôtres*. Yet after its perusal I am fain to adopt words which stand on the very first page of his edition of 1903: 'il ne semble pas que ce problème (*sc.* of the origination of the Johannine Gospel) ait trouvé encore une solution définitive.'

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: a Study in Origins, by H. ST JOHN THACKERAY, M.A., Hon. D.D. Oxford, Hon. D.D. Durham, sometime Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford. The Schweich Lectures 1920. (Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, London, 1921.)

THESE lectures will not be altogether new to readers of Dr Thackeray's articles in this JOURNAL nor (he tells us) to those who have listened to

him as Grinfield Lecturer. Such persons will be glad to share their good fortune with others, as well as to see preliminary sketches coordinated and carried further. On one point he corrects an earlier judgement, thinking now that the Greek of Baruch is all by a single hand, and that the similarity in its first part to the style of the second translator of Jeremiah is due to a close imitation of his style and is insufficient to prove that the translations were made by one and the same man. In these Schweich Lectures a series of sketches have advanced to the stage of an essay, which is still a piece of pioneering scholarship, not yet creative art; important work, delightful reading.

'I have called my lectures "a study in origins". Under origins I include the beginnings both of the LXX and of Jewish worship; the two, I believe, are intimately connected.' That is the theme of the whole. The first lecture is an introduction about LXX origins 'so far as tradition and the work itself enable us to reconstruct the history'. This first lecture was 'prefixed under advice', and for a page or two seems to promise just the help at starting necessary for those who come fresh to the subject. But no one, however fresh, will be disappointed when Dr Thackeray almost at once abandons elements and grips problems. He lectures with the skill of a playwright who makes persons and situations clear without extraneous explanation.

He shews that the Septuagint was a Biblical version in the vernacular of Alexandrine Jews; how its first stage was the translation of a few short festival lessons; how, as more was required, the various books were entrusted to companies of translators; how these companies divided themselves and the books into halves; yet leading men sometimes took extra shares; and one notable scholar is discovered who translated by himself alone half Ezekiel, the Dodekapropheton, and 3 Regnorum. This half-book practice is illustrated with felicitous detail in an appendix where finally we are bid to remember the *ζυγὴ ζυγῇ* of Epiphanius.

The second lecture leads in the main enquiry, The Septuagint and Jewish worship. It begins with notes on the evolution of the Jewish festivals, their pagan origins and solar connexions—ingenious and contributory to the sequent reasoning; and—clear, precise, useful—the evolution of the Jewish lectionary system. For Dr Thackeray's purpose the Haphtaroth or second lesson is the principal thing. Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles are taken as centres. Round Pentecost its Haphtaroth, the Prayer of Habakkuk, Psalm xxix and Psalm lxxviii, are gathered and explained by help of LXX: round the Feast of Tabernacles in like manner Zech. xiv, Psalms lxxvi, xlii, xliii, cxviii, and 1 Kings viii. One discovery leads to another. Light springs from seemingly hopeless darkness. Dr Thackeray first astonishes

as a magician, then convinces as a logician ; being in fact a humanist and exact scholar exhilarated by a modern renaissance. The *Resheph* series of inductions on Hab. iii 5 is a dazzling performance. At the next verse the aberrant Oxford text of LXX, submitting to an emendation of itself, restores the Hebrew, and leads up to one of Dr Thackeray's own brief touches of poetry. Pentecost is Sinai with its tempest. The *Gewitter-theophanie* is the Pentecost *motif*. The Rider on the storm sweeps on. Then

He stood, and measured the earth ;
He beheld and explored the nations.

'The advance of the Deity is stayed. Motionless overhead in the zenith, with all-embracing glance He surveys the earth and its inhabitants from one horizon to the other. It is the hush before the storm.'

Readers of this JOURNAL will remember a like momentary exaltation in the article on 1 Kings viii, and will be rather sorry to find but short and sober treatment of that passage here : Dr Thackeray has too much to say to waste time on repetition or on poetry.

The last lecture is on Baruch. This book is brought into connexion with the liturgy of the fast of 9 Ab, the anniversary of the burning of the Temple. But round the fast sabbath services are grouped for the Jewish summer 'barren of feasts and full of mournful associations'. This liturgic series has a three-staged movement, Punishment, Wisdom, Comfort. Jewish ritual recurs to this triplet in various places. In the tractate *Berakoth* the Hebrew kings and prophets, the wise men, the hagiographa, are arranged in groups of threes typifying these or kindred ideas. Jeremiah represented punishment, Ezekiel wisdom, Isaiah comfort ; that is why some Rabbis arranged their books in that order. The chain of sabbaths depending on 9 Ab divides into three Lenten or punishment sabbaths before, and seven Advent or consolation sabbaths after 9 Ab. Now Baruch also falls into three divisions following a historical introduction which expressly states that the book was intended for liturgic use. There is a prayer of confession, a poetical homily on wisdom, a series of cantos on consolation : as Ewald put it, 'first prayer, next preaching, and lastly a more elevated prophetic close'. Dr Thackeray can describe the coincidence more precisely : 'The three main portions of our book curiously conform to this cyclical arrangement. Both cycle and book have as their cardinal theme the burning of the Temple. Answering to the three sabbaths of Punishment with lessons (for at least two of them) from Jeremiah, we have in Baruch a penitential section in three portions, also largely based on Jeremiah. The central or Wisdom section of the book I assign to the Fast itself. Corresponding to the

seven sabbaths of Consolation we find a final consolatory section divided into seven minor portions, based on deutero-Isaiah and, to a large extent, on the particular passages which were read on those sabbaths.'

This gave Dr Thackeray a clue, and he felt his way onward into the maze of Baruch with a lucky find at every turn; for 'dans le champ de la science le hasard ne favorise que les esprits préparés'. For place, date, and purpose, this is the conclusion: A community of Jews in Mesopotamia wrote to their brethren in Jerusalem when the siege was impending, A. D. 69, and the sacrifices for the emperor had been stopped. They urged them (1) to make peace and pray for their rulers; (2) to adopt a better liturgical use and pray in the Mesopotamian manner. But when the second revolt broke out against Trajan, A. D. 116, Mesopotamia took the other line and sent vindictive encouragements to Jerusalem: these are the 'consolations' of our completed Baruch which is a second edition.

All the Schweich lecturers have risen to the height of their argument, and the argument has often been a great one. Since Professor Macalister on the Philistines none have purged their erudition with Attic salt like Dr Thackeray; and he is withal so quiet, modest, and unconscious of his charm. And he is always in touch with his readers. Just as they begin to feel that he is almost too clever, he pulls up and explains that he is far from insisting on these details: he has but one new contribution to make, for the rest he welcomes correction. This is not disarming critics; it secures the attention of patient students.

Let, then, the details pass; they are at least natural ripples on deep water. A general caution may be hazarded. The 'one new contribution' Dr Thackeray has to make, not only for Baruch but throughout, is the application of the liturgic idea: he finds the clue to literature in worship. Now that is the fashion of our common thought to-day. Bible, creed, ministry, all are derived from the worship of the faithful, and part of that from the earlier worship of the pagan: it is *Kyrios Christos* everywhere. Who would contest the propriety of this? When the history of prayer is really written most problems in theology will have been solved. But all fashions harden within their limits, and the wheel of life turns on. It is not the writing of the history of prayer which will settle everything, but the history of prayer will never be written till everything else is on the way to being understood. Dr Thackeray has opened the view from a fresh point: he has perhaps not carried us high enough for the *theoria*. This volume is an essay. But when science is reviving essays are most welcome.

A. NAIRNE.

Orpheus—The Fisher: Comparative Studies in Orphic and early Christian Symbolism, by ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D., late Fellow of the Austrian Historical Institute at the Vienna University. (J. M. Watkins, London, 1921.)

DR EISLER derives 'Orpheus' from 'orphoi', the designation of the sacred fish in the sanctuaries of Apollo in Lycia. He thinks *orphoi* meant originally 'fish' in general. Hence Orpheus is the fisherman as Zagreus is the hunter. Hunting and fishing were indeed all of a piece in savage life, and the sacred fisher was also the sacred hunter. As manners grew gentler the hunter became the herdsman, and Orpheus became the good shepherd. Then more and more of mystical devotion gathered round him, the progress of which can be traced by following the clue of fish and fisherman in ritual literature and art.

So first in the pagan world Dr Eisler follows this clue. Then he turns to Christian rites, art, and books, especially the Gospels: and there, too, he finds the fish and fisherman. He finds them oftener than we have already been accustomed to find them; and he uses the idea to interpret much that is not altogether easy to understand without it; in particular, certain sayings and miracles of our Lord.

In Matt. xvii 24-27, the penny in the fish's mouth, he begins thus: 'The author of this legend does not intend to relate a miracle of Jesus, for the supernatural gift of a single piece of money would have been a somewhat trivial exercise of the Lord's divine power. If the words were intended to represent anything else than a symbolic saying of the Master, the writer would not have omitted to relate their immediate fulfilment.' There is something surely in both these arguments. After further discussion he continues: 'There is nothing left but to accept the simple and convincing explanation of Origen, St Ambrose, St Caesarius, and many others, who see in this passage an allusion to the symbolic "fishing of men". Indeed nothing could be more obvious than that the "first fish" is the next convert whom Peter is to win for the community of the Christ; from him the apostle is authorized—in spite of the previous command to give freely what had been received freely—to accept a moderate voluntary gift, just enough to pay the tax for himself and for Jesus.'

The book should not be read piecemeal. There is a good deal of this rationalizing. Again and again it involves assertions, interpretations, deductions, which seem perverse or careless. Yet the whole mass of it will impress even recalcitrant readers. If we could agree with Dr Eisler in taking the Gospels as witness for the early church's idea of the first days, not as the primitive apostolic witness itself, it would be

difficult indeed to resist this impression. Dr Eisler writes in no hostile spirit to the faith: quite the contrary. In the course of his elaborate explanation of the feeding of the multitude he says:

‘Such words as these (John vi 30) would fit admirably into a situation which may perfectly well be believed to have called forth the remarkable action—so full of deepest eschatological meaning—of the historic Jesus feeding the multitude. He may have been followed by a multitude of hearers to a lonely place, where he taught them about the impending Kingdom until nightfall. Then from the deeply excited hungry crowd of ardent believers in the Messianic hopes of Israel, the passionate cry for a sign may have arisen: If the banquet of the final Sabbath was as near as that, why could he not give them here and now a foretaste of it? Could he not change the stones into food or let manna drop from heaven as Moses had done in the wilderness?’

With the quiet calm, which is so impressively felt even in the distorted and made-up versions of our gospels, he made them all sit down, took from the wallet of one of his disciples the frugal supper of the little company, some bread and—maybe—some cured fish. Then he looked up to heaven, said the *berakhah* in praise of the Creator of all food, broke the bread in the customary manner of the Jewish householder, and gave a morsel to each. And before the disappointment could be felt among the partakers of this remarkable communion-meal, he began to teach them anew: how it is written that man doth not live by food only, but by the word of God. . . . Is there any difficulty in believing that a crowd which had been addressed in such words could really feel satiated in a deeper sense with “bread from heaven”? . . . More than this, the conviction that such an impressive incident really occurred during the short earthly career of the Nazarene prophet is alone able to account for the ecstatic visions of his disciples, who even after his tragic death still beheld their deceased master feeding them on the flesh of one broiled fish.’

This may be light treatment of the written Gospel, but it is an endeavour to do reverence to the Lord of the Gospel. And it is a patient endeavour, no mere revival of outworn fancies: the whole of this learned book seems to be concentrated upon it. Will Dr Eisler take this feeling which emerges from the perusal of his business-like collections as excuse for spending so much space in a short review on a general point? The book is business-like. Whether it is in part fantastic cannot properly be settled till we have the further chapters he promises. These will be of special interest because they will present his latest convictions about the relation of Christian with pagan ideas. He tells us in the preface that his mind has been changing about that: ‘In 1908 I was still under the illusion that primitive Christianity was to a great extent a syncretistic religion. . . . I claim now no more than to have discovered a remarkable historic parallelism, in the main independently developed lines of ritual symbolism in early Christianity on

the one hand, in the Orphic mysteries on the other.' The difficulty of working and publishing during the last eight years has prevented Dr Eisler bringing out this change of mind quite plainly in the volume before us. He has had to compose loosely, to produce a mass of research work in successive instalments, and the last instalment is yet to come.

These difficulties enlist our sympathy from another side also. 'This book (he writes) had been printed and almost finished before August, 1914, when the fatal war began that finally buried the author's native land, the ancient realm of the Hapsburgs, under the ruins of an unfortunate oriental policy. Having done his military duty in the first line until the day of his complete disablement in 1917, he was allowed to return to peaceful research and to wait patiently for the day when the old international relations of friendly competition would be resumed in a spirit of reconciliation. Kind private letters, welcome criticism, the last public manifesto of Oxford professors seem to shew that this time is about to return. Nevertheless, the author feels under great obligation to his publisher for presenting without further delay to the British public the results of the pre-war studies of an Austrian archaeologist, which could not by any means be published in his own land during its present desperate economic plight.'

In spite of hindrance the correction for the press has been careful. On p. 125 line 23 read 'first' for 'fish'. The plates seem to be seventy-three in number, not seventy-six as printed on the title-page. These plates are fine, with scholarly explanations and references to their sources.

A. NAIRNE.

BOOKS ON THE EUCHARIST

The Eucharistic Office of the Book of Common Prayer, by the Rev. LESLIE WRIGHT, M.A., B.D. (Handbooks of Christian Literature). (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919.)

THESE are pages from the notebook of a diocesan inspector who takes a scholarly interest in liturgic study. A busy man he is no doubt, and therefore he writes a little roughly and obscurely here and there. But he uses the right books thoughtfully as a churchman should, and will guide many to a good understanding of the English liturgy and the Western rite from which it is derived.

The English Liturgies of 1549 and 1661 compared with each other and with the ancient Liturgies, by JOHN EDWARD FIELD, M.A., Vicar of Benson. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920.)

MR FIELD has long been known by his *Apostolic Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, of which he gives a frank and sensible criticism on p. 27. He has learned in the school of Dr J. M. Neale, and it is a pleasure to mark the references to *Essays in Liturgiology*, that bewitching volume which has been to so many the Holiday House wherein they first beheld the beauty of the sanctuary. A loyal pupil, Mr Field is still somewhat fanciful in reading liturgic matter into the New Testament. But in the passing years he has harvested wealth of erudition mostly sound and sometimes new. He goes through the English rite with a running commentary in which he pours forth his store. The collected information is not quite unified by the idea, but this is a book to which a reader will profitably return.

Twenty-five Consecration Prayers, with notes and introduction, by ARTHUR LINTON (Translations of Christian Literature: Series iii Liturgical Texts). (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921.)

THESE ancient prayers ring with joy, and there is a happy soul in Mr Linton's collection. The main text (intercessions merely indicated) of each prayer is given in full and in translation. First comes the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, then the chief prayers of the three groups, Antiochene, Alexandrine, Western. The Western group includes the Non-jurors, and Gnostics come in an appendix. As in the last two books the machinery of references does not always run quite smoothly and complete. However, Mr Linton's little volume is of rare beauty, enhanced by a plain introduction in which he draws the main lines of liturgic study with firmness.

The Eucharist in India, a plea for a distinctive Liturgy for the Indian Church with a suggested Form, by J. C. WINSLOW, D. R. ATHAVALLE, J. E. G. FESTING, E. C. RATCLIFF, with a preface by the BISHOP OF BOMBAY. (Longmans, 1920.)

THE Bishop of Bombay writing the preface had his brother bishops of the Lambeth Conference in mind. It is an essay, rich in brevity, on the harmony of worship, and he urges that a liturgy must be worshipped with, not merely read, if it is to be tested, corrected, perfected. It may be hoped that this liturgy is being thus used in India. Mr Winslow writes on 'The need of a Liturgy for the Indian Church'—long and valuable; Major Festing on 'The relation of freedom to catholicity in

liturgical developement'—short, disciplinary ; Mr Ratcliff (with learning) on 'The Eucharistic Office and the Liturgy of St James'. The liturgy here proposed is modified in the interest of that 'great harmony of the eucharistic worship of the world' of which the Bishop speaks, but 'still remains in its general structure an abbreviated adaptation of the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites in its Indian form', that is, of 'the old Syrian Church in South India, which can trace back its descent to the early centuries of Christianity, and which is a Church of the land as no other is, Indian in all its ways'. The proposed liturgy itself (in English) concludes the book. Mr Athavale, considering his view properly represented by his companions, contributes no chapter, but his native devotional mind inspires the whole.

'Indian religion has always been marked by the sense of the transitoriness of all earthly things, and by the effort to enter through mystic contemplation into the appropriation of those spiritual realities which are alone true and abiding. In the highest worship of the Indian Church full scope must be given to this deep-rooted instinct.' In the West the emphasis falls otherwise, as will be plainly seen by comparing the groups of prayers in Mr Linton's collection. It so happens that the Madras publishers, Messrs Ganesh, have sent a number of small books to this JOURNAL which are hardly suitable for review therein, but which illustrate from another side this Indian temper of devotion : *My Motherland*, *The Secret of Asia*, *Sri Krishna*, *The Spirit and Struggle of Islam*, *India in Chains*, *India Arisen* (all these by Professor Vaswani) ; *The Ideal of Swaraj* by Nripendra Chandra Banerji, with Introduction by C. F. Andrews ; *The Chirala Perala Tragedy* by G. V. Krishna Rao ; *The Pilgrims' March* ; *The Scourge of Christ*, from the French of Paul Richard ; *The World as Power (Reality)*, by Sir John Woodroffe. The most illuminating for this purpose are by Professor T. L. Vaswani, a nationalist who believes in no violence, but would have India recover her ancient purity of spirit—'the Ancient which is the echo of the Eternal in man'—her unworldliness, and so lead all nations into a unity of freedom ; love casting out fear. 'Not for the sake of the world is the world dear, but for the sake of the Eternal is dear all that is.' His faith is not the faith of Holy Church, 'Yours in Krishna and Christ' was a salutation which delighted him ; yet he says 'It is the Face of Christ that the modern nations have forgotten : it is the dream of the Kingdom of Souls they have wished to tear from their hearts'. His idea needs discipline to become practical, and he knows that ; 'The Eternal is ever present in sacrifice' is his motto. It is involved in disturbing national aspirations ; but says Mr Winslow, 'We must move specially in the way of stirring up those young Indians of education and initiative, who are beginning to feel strongly the influence of the National Movement, and to realize how

essential it is that the Indian Church should be truly Indian if she is to fulfil her mission. It is these men who will do the work that is required, when once their eyes are opened to the need. It is to them primarily that we address ourselves.' The restlessness of India appeals pathetically to the steadfastness of Christ's Church, to that most 'ancient which is the echo of the eternal' in all men. This scholarly catholic book might be the beginning of an answer to the appeal.

A. NAIRNE.

A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, by G. ABBOTT-SMITH, D.D., D.C.L. (T. & T. Clark, 1922.)

DR ABBOTT-SMITH has certainly made good his claim to meet a real and growing want of the average student of the New Testament, a lexicon which is less bulky than Thayer's monumental work,¹ and incorporates the results of more recent study and discovery. Professor Grimm in his Prospectus refers to 'improvements in classical lexicography embodied in the Paris edition of Stephen's *Thesaurus* and the fifth edition of Passow's Dictionary, and promises to shew at what time and in what class of writers a given word became current, and to notice the usage of the Septuagint and of the Old Testament Apocrypha'. Then he refers to the 'present condition of textual criticism, of exegesis, and of biblical theology'. If we do not actually hear of 'Biblical Greek', we are within the sphere of ideas in view of which the phrase was coined. And we hear nothing of spoken Greek or of the language of the people.

The discovery and decipherment of Egyptian and other papyri, *ostraka*, and inscriptions changed all that. New Testament Greek lived again when it was found to be the language of the people. The work of Deissmann, Moulton, Milligan, and others has done much to throw light on the meaning and usage of many N. T. words. But it had not been collected into a dictionary which dealt with the whole vocabulary of the New Testament in the light of the new evidence. Preuschen's Dictionary of the N. T. and early Christian literature cannot be said to have supplied the needs, either of scholars, or of average students if they knew German.² Perhaps it was fortunate that the need should not have been supplied till the first fervour of the scholars who first made the field of papyri and vernacular Greek their own had spent its force, and it became possible to remember that

¹ A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, being Grimm's *Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti*, translated, revised and enlarged by T. H. Thayer, D.D. T. & T. Clark, 1886.

² *Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*. Von Dr Erwin Preuschen. Alfred Töpelmann, Giessen, 1910.

if there was no such thing as 'Biblical Greek', the writers of the N. T. and their readers read the Old Testament in the Greek of the Septuagint, and the usage and significance of theological and religious terms must be determined in the light of that obvious fact.

The plan of this book is excellent. It gives the average student what he needs, and tells him where to look for more, as his study advances. Most scholars will find these references to the newer literature of great value. Separate marks distinguish the words (1) which are not found in the LXX or other Greek versions of the O. T. and Apocrypha, (2) which occur either in the Apocrypha or the late Greek Versions of the O. T., but not in the LXX Version of Hebrew Canonical books, and therefore have (as a rule) no known Hebrew equivalent, at least as used in a version known to the N. T. writers, (3) which are not found in Greek writers of the classical period (the limit is here drawn at Aristotle, instead of the beginning of the Christian era as in Moulton and Geden). The LXX usage of each word is given, with typical references, a special sign noting the fact if all instances of its use in that version are noted, and the Hebrew words which it is there used to translate are also given. In fact the student is given all the help that is possible, within the limitations imposed by size and price, and the references to works in which the word is discussed enable him to carry on his investigations through all that is known on the subject, if he is within reach of a respectable theological library.

Casual testing of individual words has satisfied me of the fullness and completeness of this system of references. The only meaning that I happened to discover left unnoticed, which should have been included, was in connexion with the word *κατοπτρίζειν*, where the meaning of the verb in the middle, 'to see as in a mirror', should certainly not be hidden away in a reference to the margin of the Revised Version. The use of the word in Philo *Alleg. Leg.* iii § 33 quoted by Thayer (cf. Heinrici on 2 Cor., Meyer), *μηδὲ κατοπτρισαίμην ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν σὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ἐν σοὶ τῷ θεῷ*, establishes this meaning, which so clearly supplies the natural interpretation of the passage in 2 Cor. iii 18.

The records of synonyms, with notes where necessary, to explain differences of meaning are admirably short and to the point. So long as we remember that a change of word does not always denote a change of meaning, it is still important that students of the New Testament should know that such differences of meaning exist, and that it is the business of the careful student to determine in each case their possible significance. The description of the book, which is printed on the paper cover in which it is issued, is justified: 'a volume convenient in size, embodying the results of recent research, and yet within the means of the average student.'

A. E. BROOKE.

Belief, Faith and Proof, by the Rev. J. H. BEIBITZ, M.A. (J. Murray, London, 1922.)

THE sub-title of this book, 'An Inquiry into the Science of Natural Theology', is unhappy; it is apt to suggest that the work is addressed to students familiar with the literature of the philosophy of religion and offers them something new. But the subjects dealt with—the old theistic 'proofs', the comparison of theism with pantheism and pluralism, the bearing of evolution on teleology, &c.—have been made so wearisome by reiteration that such students may well entertain, towards the class of writers to which Mr Beibitz belongs, the emotion to which Joachim, pestered with musical effusions, once gave expression: 'Oh, these composers; why will they compose and compose, when it is so easy not to compose!'

But though there is little or nothing in this work to fulfil the expectations naturally evoked by the word 'inquiry', and no need to call the attention of the philosophically learned to it, there is every reason to commend it to persons desirous of acquiring some knowledge as to what natural or rational theology is. Every pastor will know of individuals who need, consciously or unconsciously, such a course of instruction; and Mr Beibitz's book is just the one to put into their hands. Its thought and diction are both exceptionally clear and simple, its learning and most of its argumentation are sound, its temper is candid and sympathetic, and its discussion is up to date. One hopes, therefore, that the book will be extensively prescribed and read; and the more so, because that part of the religious public of to-day which is tenacious of revealed religion from motives or reasons not connected with romanticism is perhaps rediscovering the truth which the deists of two centuries ago had apprehended, but has in the meantime been largely ignored or suppressed: viz. that in order to be a 'reasonable' Christian it is necessary first to be a good theist, or, in other words, that rational theology is the logical presupposition of Scriptural and dogmatic theology, and not a superfluous adjunct.

There are a few points as to which Mr Beibitz's reasoning fails to convince me. After 'restating' the argument from universal consent in terms of crude primitive theologizing in place of original pure monotheism, he concludes (p. 53) not only that the theistic hypothesis gives an adequate and rational explanation of the facts, but that 'so far as we can see, no other hypothesis succeeds in doing' so. Here I can imagine the sceptic desiring proof for the implication that mankind's religious experience, or—in my uncouth but useful phrase—man's theologizing, requires a supernatural exciting and guiding cause while

his other kinds of thought concerning what is 'beyond experience'—e. g. his magic or his secular philosophy—do not. Given man's natural psychological constitution, does not his theologizing, it may be asked, admit of as natural an explanation, and appear to be as inevitable an outcome, as any other mental functioning and mental product? That the facts as to man's groping and discovering are patient of explanation in terms of divine revelation, is certain enough; but that they imply it, exclusively and necessarily, is just what the modern mind has some reason to doubt. And this scepticism has become inevitable throughout the whole field of theology; it applies to the old evidential use of prophecy and miracle, to the origin and validity of morality, to religious and mystical experience. The agnostic, indeed, now confronts us with the charge that the coercive force of each of our particular arguments is nil, and hints that our proof as a whole is obtained by a summation of noughts. I do not think he can be met by a revival of these particular arguments, whether restated or transformed, in their particularity. The only way to meet him, as it seems to me, is first to concede—what has long been conceded by the most thoughtful—that reason, in the restricted sense of ratiocination, cannot yield demonstrative proof of theism; and then to insist that *if* we are to find a meaning (or a purpose) in the *world as a whole*, the most reasonable is that embodied in the theistic belief. This is indeed the line which I should have expected, from his opening chapters, the author to take; but he rather tries to extract evidence as nearly coercive as possible, from this, that, and the other particular sphere of facts. It is so in the case to which I have just alluded; so also in reference to causality which (difficulties for the moment being overlooked) is identified roundly with divine will; and so again in the moral argument. Mr Beibitz's argumentation in the last-named connexion proceeds on the tacit assumption that the unconditionality of moral truths calls for supernatural origination in some way that the unconditionality of mathematical truths does not; and that absolute ethical ideals must somewhere be 'realized' in a sense in which the limiting concepts of mathematics are not. But if the author here errs, he does so in good company from which I am self-excluded. Lastly, I fear that his 'restatement' of the ontological argument—which is plainly substitution rather than restatement—turns on the usual confounding of the two distinct senses of 'intelligibility' as applied to Nature: in the one sense Nature is indisputably intelligible, but this does not imply theism; in the other, the intelligibility would imply theism, but it is precisely the thesis which the theist has to prove or to believe.

F. R. TENNANT.

The Spiritual Philosophy and Christian Philosophy, by the Rev. Canon J. GURNHILL, B.A. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1914 and 1921.)

IN the former of these works the author argues for a philosophy that is 'animistic and spiritual', as against one that is 'materialistic and mechanical'; in the latter, which is a continuation and further development of this argument, he pleads that Christianity is *the* philosophy of all being. The books may fulfil the writer's hope of bringing the abstruse topics with which they deal within the reach of the less learned, and may serve to indicate to such readers the lines on which the Christian philosopher interprets certain scientific facts and theological doctrines; but the many large problems on which he touches are handled too briefly and too exclusively from one point of view, and are discussed too fragmentarily—and, for the most part, too disjointedly—to satisfy the inquirer who would approach them without prepossessions, or who might be sensible of the profounder difficulties and limitations which beset theological philosophy.

F. R. TENNANT.

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, by P. S. ALLEN and H. M. ALLEN. Tom. iv. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1922.)

IN the Introduction to his *Autobiography* Gibbon gave it as his opinion that 'The lives of the younger Pliny, of Petrarch, and of Erasmus, are expressed in the epistles which they themselves have given to the world'. From this judgement I cannot but dissent. The epistles of Erasmus are too numerous, too detailed, and too allusive to form in themselves a life of their author; it cannot, however, be denied that as edited by Mr Allen they provide an unusually valuable body of material for the gifted author who will, let us hope, at length arise to present Erasmus and his times in a manner entirely worthy of them. Amongst contemporary writers Mr Allen himself would seem to be the best qualified for the task. His edition of the Letters proves beyond all question that he is capable of that minute and careful scholarship which must be the basis of any biography of Erasmus; his *Age of Erasmus* shews that he is also capable of erecting an attractive and interesting superstructure of narrative upon the foundation thus firmly laid. The nature of his present undertaking is, however, so absorbing and so extensive as to make it questionable whether he will ever have the necessary time for any additional enterprise.

In regard to the volume before us it must be confessed that the task of the reviewer who is at all familiar with the period is not an exacting one, since he cannot be supposed, within the limits of space assigned to

him, to comment upon individual letters; nor does Mr Allen's careful scholarship give him any opportunity for criticism. The present collection, it may suffice to say, includes the correspondence from July 1519 to the end of the year 1521, and several letters of much interest and of no little value are to be found in it. There is for example the long communication to Ulrich von Hutten (no. 999)—that ardent and eccentric soul who included within one personality some of the best and some of the least worthy characteristics of his times—containing the earliest known biography of Sir Thomas More; then there is a letter (no. 1162) to More himself describing, in language whose humour barely conceals its writer's pain, the struggles and disputes in which he was involved with the divines of Louvain; another series of disputes, that with Edward Lee, is dealt with in the lengthy epistle to Thomas Lupset (no. 1053). An interesting group of letters which passed between Erasmus and John Slechta is also to be found here. These letters deal with the affairs of the Bohemian Brethren, a part of the life of Erasmus which, in spite of what Mr Allen has written about it elsewhere, has not perhaps received that amount of attention which its importance demands.

Two appendices are added to this volume each containing important matter. In the first, Mr Allen suggests reasons for believing that the copy of Erasmus's *Epistolae ad adversos* (Basle, 1521), at present in the library of the late Dr Seebohm, was once in the possession of Eppendorf, the young Saxon knight whose admiration for Erasmus was turned to hatred by the humanist's refusal to throw in his lot with the more advanced reformers who were working for the independence of Germany. The value and interest of the volume are further increased by a number of marginal notes written by Eppendorf himself, for the most part during the time when he was still associated with Erasmus. The other appendix gives an account of the Heine collection of letters, several of which are printed in full.

In his introduction to the present volume Mr Allen expresses his gratitude to the Clarendon Press for allowing him to continue his great work in spite of difficulties connected with the high cost of labour and materials; his gratitude will be shared by all students of the period, and indeed by the much wider circle of those who are interested in the history of culture and of religion in all ages. One can hardly imagine any more useful employment for the Press of a great University than the production of works such as this; always supposing that they can obtain the assistance of editors of the quality of Mr Allen. The Letters of Erasmus deserve, nay they demand, perfect craftsmanship in both editor and printer; the present edition comes as close to that ideal as seems humanly possible.

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature: an Anthology, by B. HALPER, M.A., Ph.D. Vol. i: Text, notes, and glossary; vol. ii: English translation. (The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1921.)

A good anthology of post-biblical Hebrew literature has long been a *desideratum*. It is true previous collections of this kind have been attempted, of which Ledner's *Auswahl historischer Stücke* (Berlin, 1840) and Corvé's *Chrestomathia Rabbinica* (Berlin, 1844) are excellent examples. But these, though useful, were necessarily restricted in scope. Dr Halper's selection of texts is much more representative and comprehensive, and is, moreover, equipped with a serviceable glossary. The editor has made a praiseworthy attempt 'to give an idea of the variety and extensiveness' of the later Hebrew literature.

'Practically all branches', he says, 'have been incorporated into this *Anthology*, and great care has been taken to select representative authors. Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, liturgy, poetry, philosophy, ethics, history, geography, folk-lore, travel, philology, epistles, ethical wills, and general compositions are represented in this volume.'

In all forty-six extracts are given from the works of such representative writers (to name only some) as the poets Kalir, Abitor, Gebirol, Moses ibn Ezra, Judah ha-Levi, Judah al-Harizi, and others such as Sa'adya, Hai b. Sherira Gaon, Bachya, Maimonides, Gersonides, Kalonymos, Profiat Duran, Abravanel, Manasseh ben Israel, Moses Hayyim Luzatto, and Wessely. The selection has been made with skill, and the Hebrew text has also been edited with care. In many cases errors which have crept into the printed editions have been corrected on the basis of original MS authority. In some cases, where a manifest corruption has invaded the text in the original authorities, the editor has resorted to conjectural emendation. But this method has not been employed recklessly. The notes, too, are brief and to the point. We have noticed but few misprints in the Hebrew, which is set forth in a clear bold type, very pleasant to read.

The second volume, containing the English translation, has been so arranged that it can be used by readers who are not able to read the original texts. In each case (in both volumes) a short summary is given of the name, period, and striking characteristics of every writer who is illustrated. The English reader will gain a very fair idea from this volume of the extent and variety of the later literature, though no attempt is made by Dr Halper to reproduce the form of the poetical pieces. Perhaps the impression he will gain is that the whole of this literature is deficient in originality. It is clever and interesting, but not powerful. For this reason, among others, we rather regret that the

editor has not been able to include some specimens of the Kabbalah. It is perhaps in this mystical literature that the later Hebrew genius is most daring and original in its imaginative work. Some of the finest devotional literature of the synagogue owes its existence to this element. To the Hebraist these volumes will prove of the greatest possible service. The editor has taken care to present the texts in such a way as to raise no insuperable obstacle for those who are approaching the study of post-Biblical Hebrew for the first time. It is, too, a great advantage to the student, whether elementary or advanced, to be able to read a collection of Hebrew texts without being unduly distracted by various readings or textual corruptions. The study of this department of Hebrew is also interesting and valuable from a philological point of view. But, above all, such a collection as this brings home to the student the extraordinary vitality of the Hebrew language. As Dr Halper remarks :

‘Although the Hebrew language ceased to be the vernacular of the majority of the Jewish people during the last years of the second temple, it has throughout the various periods, with but few exceptions, persisted as the literary medium for the noblest productions of the nation. Irrespective of the language spoken by the people in the countries of their adoption, the best thoughts of the Jewish writers found expression in the holy tongue.’

While books written in the vernacular (e. g. Arabic in Arabic-speaking countries) soon fell into oblivion, Hebrew compositions have enjoyed remarkable vitality :

‘While the Hebrew translations of Sa’adya’s *Faiths and Creeds*, Bachya’s *Duties of the Heart*, Judah ha-Levi’s *Khazarite*, and Maimonides’ *Guide of the Perplexed* have been repeatedly printed, the Arabic originals of these books had been mouldering in the various libraries until scholars in comparatively recent years unearthed them and published them for the use of the few scientific investigators.’

And this vitality is asserting itself in a very striking way in the revival of Hebrew as a spoken and written medium, adapted to the needs of modern Jewish communities. The extent of this movement is quite remarkable. At Zionist gatherings all over the world a genuine Hebrew speech is constantly employed, while in Palestine it is one of the three officially recognized languages of the country (English and Arabic being the other two), and is the language taught and spoken in the Jewish schools. The study of mediaeval Hebrew is of great practical importance in this connexion. One of the difficult problems of modern Hebrew speech is how to find *Hebrew* equivalents for many modern terms, which reflect the interests and activities of the modern world. The temptation is often to adopt the modern terms outright, and so

leaven the language with alien elements. This process, though sometimes necessary, may be carried too far, and, as Dr Halper remarks, there is a large amount of treasure in mediaeval Hebrew which ought not to be neglected. He says:

'The philosophers, grammarians, lexicographers, historians, and geographers have freely introduced new words and expressions, and have thereby enriched the volume of the Hebrew vocabulary. These new coinages, which, to a great extent, have been sanctioned by the usage of centuries, are of vital interest to us at present owing to the widespread movement to revive the Hebrew language. Instead of beginning with a *tabula rasa*, as is done by some of the leaders of this movement, it would be more advisable, and certainly more scientific, to explore our old treasures. There is ample material in post-biblical Hebrew for the reconstruction of the language.'

It is to be hoped that this protest will not pass unheeded. Dr Halper's volumes will be cordially welcomed by teachers and students. There is ample room for further work of this kind, which might aim at illustrating in greater detail such important departments of the literature as grammar, exegesis, and Kabbalah. Meanwhile we heartily thank Dr Halper for what he has given us.

G. H. Box.

The Babylonian Talmud: Tractate B'ṛākot. Translated into English for the first time, with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Indices, by A. COHEN, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1921.) pp. xxxix + 460.

THIS valuable and scholarly work deserves a warm welcome. Mr Cohen has succeeded in a most difficult task. He has produced a real English translation of a complete tractate of the Babylonian Talmud—a translation which, while faithful to the Aramaic text, is yet readable and not unduly paraphrastic. The scholarship comes out not only in the translation itself, where difficulties are boldly faced, but in the notes, which are concise and afford just the help required by the student. In addition Mr Cohen has provided a well-written introduction, and a most useful glossary of technical terms. It is safe to say that this edition will be a boon to students who wish to enter upon serious study of the Talmud, and to familiarize themselves with the intricacies of the Aramaic idiom employed in the Babylonian Gemara. For such a purpose a careful working through of the text with the aid of Mr Cohen's edition would be an invaluable discipline, and one, moreover, well within the capacity of the average well-equipped student. But Mr Cohen's edition will be a boon also to non-Hebraists, or rather

to theologians and students who for various reasons may desire to read a tractate of the Babylonian Talmud as a whole in English. Hitherto this has been practically impossible. It is true an English edition of *Chagigah*, edited by Mr Streane, has long been available. But this is much shorter, and less representative in its contents than *Berakoth*. Moreover interest in Rabbinical literature is steadily growing among Christian theologians, who are beginning to realize how much light upon the New Testament writings is to be looked for from this quarter. Such students will find in Mr Cohen's edition an invaluable aid to enable them to estimate the character of this type of work. It is a strange world which the student will enter, and the things he will find there will sometimes repel. But it is thoroughly worth while to study such a tractate as *Berakoth* as a whole, in spite of these drawbacks: for the Rabbinic domain is full of the charm of the unexpected. To illustrate the variety of the subjects discussed, the following topics, which are referred to, may be mentioned: why Psalms i and ii can be reckoned as one Psalm (p. 75), ablution by earth-rubbing (p. 95), the resurrection proved from the Torah (p. 100), communicating with the dead (p. 122), the custom of breaking a goblet or glass at a wedding (p. 203), holy and non-holy tongues (p. 267), salt with food (p. 285), etiquette at meals (p. 299), the obligation on the disciple to repeat the teacher's words exactly (p. 301), the symbolism of the dove (p. 345), dreams as the reflexion of previous thoughts (p. 363), the symbolism of right and left (p. 405). These are but a few out of many examples. The following passages will serve to illustrate the character of Mr Cohen's translation:—

‘R. Isaac said: We must not appoint a leader over the Community without first consulting them: as it is said, “See, the Lord hath called by name Besalel, the son of Uri” (Exodus xxxv 30). The Holy One, blessed be He, asked Moses, “Is Besalel acceptable to thee?” He replied, “Lord of the universe, if he is acceptable to Thee, how much more to me!” He said to him, “Nevertheless, go and tell the people”. He went and asked Israel, “Is Besalel acceptable to you?” They answered, “If he is acceptable to the Holy One, blessed be He, and to thee, how much more so to us!”’¹

The following is a good specimen of the natural way in which the Rabbis can express their thoughts in living picture form:—

‘Ben Zoma used to say: How much labour Adam must have expended before he obtained bread to eat! He ploughed, sowed, reaped, piled up the sheaves, threshed, winnowed, selected [the ears], ground, sifted [the flour], kneaded and baked, and after that he ate; whereas I get up in the morning and find all that prepared for me. And how much labour must Adam have expended before he obtained

¹ p. 357.

a garment to wear! He sheared, washed [the wool], combed, spun, wove, and after that he obtained a garment to wear; whereas I get up in the morning and find all this prepared for me. All artisans attend and come to the door of my house, and I get up and find all these things before me.'¹

As is well known the main theme dealt with in *Berakoth* is the prayers of the Jewish Liturgy. These are enumerated under their Hebrew titles in a separate list in Index II, and references are given to the page in the English edition where each item is discussed. To have the liturgical matter thus classified and made easily available for reference purposes is a boon for which students will be grateful. It may be mentioned here that besides the General Index (III), Mr Cohen has also prepared a very full Index of Rabbinical authorities cited.

By way of criticism it may be pointed out that it would occasionally be an advantage if fuller references were given to the discussion of difficult problems. We should have liked to see a fuller use made of Elbogen's important work on Jewish liturgical matters. Thus, to take an example, on p. 72 a highly interesting and important Mishnah passage is cited with the words, 'We have learnt elsewhere in the *Mishnah*'. The passage describes the liturgical service which the priests conducted in an apartment of the Temple when they were preparing to offer the daily sacrifice. The reference (*Tamid* v 1) should have been given. The Mishnah referred to states that the priests read the Decalogue, followed by the *Shema*. This is an exceedingly interesting piece of information. The *Shema* with its sections is a regular part of the synagogue liturgical service; but in no known rite does the Decalogue figure as an integral part of the formula. The Talmud proceeds to give the reason for its omission. We read:—

'Rab Judah said in the name of Samuel: Also beyond the confines of the Temple they wished to read [the Decalogue with the *Shema*], but it had long been abolished because of the murmuring of the *Minim*. There is a teaching to the same effect: R. Nathan said: Outside the Temple they wished to read [the Decalogue with the *Shema*], but it had long been abolished because of the murmuring of the *Minim*. Rabbah b. Rab Huna thought to establish it in Sura; but Rab Hisda told him it had been previously abolished because of the murmuring of the *Minim*. Amemar thought to establish it in Nehardea; but Rab Ashē told him it had previously been abolished because of the murmuring of the *Minim*.'

Evidently the recital of the Decalogue with the *Shema* was based upon very old custom, which the Rabbis found it very difficult to dislodge. The *Minim*, who were probably Jewish Christians, apparently

¹ p. 380 f.

maintained that the Decalogue or moral law was the only part of the Torah that was permanently valid; hence its elimination by the Rabbis from the *Shema*. It would have been interesting in this connexion if Mr Cohen had called attention to the Nash Papyrus of the Decalogue, which actually gives the Hebrew text of the Ten Words in a special recension, *immediately followed by the Shema* (Deut. vi 4f). The papyrus fragment looks remarkably like a page from an early Jewish liturgy, or prayer-form, which reflects the old practice of the synagogue still surviving, when the papyrus was written, in some parts of Egypt in the second century A.D. Attention might also have been called to Dr C. Taylor's excursus on the same point in his edition of the *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, and also to Elbogen's important discussion of the text of the Mishnah (*Tamid* v 1) in one of his essays.

The Introduction to Mr Cohen's edition is good and well written, though it might well have been fuller. We have noticed a few misprints; on p. 21, n. 5 for 'work' read 'word', on p. 22, n. 3 for '*Kol*' read '*Kal*', and on p. 69, l. 15 for 'has' read 'hast'.

But, criticism apart, Mr Cohen has produced a scholarly and trustworthy edition of a complete Talmudic tractate in English for which students can only be grateful. We hope he may be encouraged to continue work in this field.

G. H. Box.

Psalmenstudien I, von SIGMUND MOWINCKEL. (Kristiania, 1921.)

THIS first study is devoted to an examination of the meaning of the Hebrew word *Ich* and of the nature of the 'Individuellen Klagepsalmen', as Mowinckel calls them. It is a revolt against a fashionable view of some standing. In 1888 considerable stir was made by an article of ninety-nine pages in the *Z. A. T. W.* from the pen of Rudolph Smend entitled 'Ueber das Ich der Psalmen'. 'In nahezu 80 Liedern des Psalters', writes Smend, 'redet ein Ich, das man individuell zu deuten pflegt.' After a somewhat full discussion he comes to the conclusion that in the 'Ich' of these eighty Psalms it is not an individual but the congregation of Israel which speaks. His instances include Pss. xxii, li, lxiii, lxix, and cxix.

Smend's view, though coolly received by Driver (see *L. O. T.* pp. 389 f, ed. ix), commended itself in general to many scholars, and may still be called fashionable. Mowinckel's counterblast is vigorously blown. One difficulty in the path of Smend is that many of these Psalms appear *prima facie* to proceed from a sick-bed and to be in fact prayers for restoration to health. Smend explained the language as metaphorical and as descriptive of the calamities of the State. But suspicion is

aroused when this explanation is repeated time after time and applied to cases which differ greatly from one another. Is the Psalmist never a sick individual? Is the bed always metaphorical? Mowinckel must surely be right at least in reducing the length of Smend's list.

The Norwegian scholar's special contribution to the controversy lies in his explanation of many Psalms as prayers for deliverance from sickness which is due to spells which enemies have cast upon the sick man. He begins his book with a discussion of the meaning of אֹן (which occurs twenty-nine times in the Psalter) and of פְּעִלֵי אֹן, 'workers of mischief'¹ (fourteen times in the Psalter). He concludes that the fundamental sense of אֹן is 'power'. By usage the word means *sinister power*, such as resides in Magic. א' פ' are practitioners of the black art.

Mowinckel next points out that פְּעִלֵי אֹן has several parallel terms in the Psalter, particularly מְרַעִים, 'evil-doers', and רְשָׁעִים, 'wicked'. These terms he believes to be synonymous in fact with פְּעִלֵי אֹן. Thus armed Mowinckel finds allusions to the work of Magic in many unsuspected passages throughout the Old Testament, but especially in the Psalter. Indeed Psalms which contain mention of sickness and also of enemies are regarded by this scholar as ritual formulas composed to counteract hostile magic influence. His list of such formulas includes Pss. vi, xxvi, xxviii, xxxi, xxxv, xxxviii, xli-xliii, li, liv, lxiii, and cxx.

Psalm li is one of the formulas of a cult! It is not 'akultisch', as some suppose, still less 'antikultisch': it is rather an antimagical prayer of the Hebrew religion. It is 'in all probability' a Psalm of Sickness, as Gunkel and Kittel have already supposed. The sickness is caused by the enemy who aims at nothing less than to bring about the death of the patient by magical means: hence the prayer of v. 16 [E. V. 14] וְצִלְנֵי מְרִמִּים, i. e. 'deliver me from the men of blood who plan my death'. Mowinckel is able to offer an interpretation also of vv. 8, 9 [E. V. 6, 7] which accords with his view:

'Behold, thou hast been pleased to give a trustworthy revelation ('truth') through the מַחֲוֹת ('clouds'?) and through that which is secret thou teachest me wisdom; so continue thy good pleasure by purging me with hyssop', &c.

Magic has made the patient sick and therefore unclean, God is besought to cleanse him, i. e. to free him from the spell cast upon him, so that he may recover.

Mowinckel understands both verses in a literal sense. Verse 8 means that God has given the sick man a favourable omen, seen perhaps in the movement of the clouds; and verse 9 is a prayer that the ritual purifi-

¹ Ps. xiv 8 (P.-B. V.).

cation with hyssop may avail for the sick man's recovery. One particular rite, i. e. Sacrifice, is no doubt depreciated in *vv.* 18, 19 [E. V. 16, 17], the reason being that the Psalm was written during the Exile, when the correct sacrificial cult could not be maintained. But, says our author, other rites, rites necessary for the purification of the unclean, must have continued to be practised : the unclean could not have been left to their uncleanness. For this he appeals to Jer. xli 5, asserting that the eighty men who came had no further object than to obtain ritual purification for themselves. They were not mourners for the state of their country, as Giesebrecht supposed.

I have singled out Mowinckel's treatment of Ps. li, because of the interest of the Psalm itself. But it must be confessed that the Norwegian scholar presents a better case when he deals with some other passages. He has indeed done a service to Biblical interpretation in suggesting so forcibly that many passages of the Psalter can only be rightly interpreted when it is seen that they refer to the black art and its effects. His case is put with considerable exaggeration, I believe, but it deserves very careful attention.

W. EMERY BARNES.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1922 (Vol. xciv, No. 188 S.P.C.K.). J. B. SEATON Religion in Czecho-Slovakia—W. LOCKTON The origin of the Gospels—E. H. PEARCE Worcester Priory and its bishop—H. D. OAKELEY The new idealism—W. C. TUTING Tithe Rent Charge: legislation and judicial decisions A.D. 1888-1921—F. P. CHEETHAM Language and style in the New Testament—A. C. HEADLAM Report of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities—Studies in seventeenth-century France—Short notices.

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(2) AMERICAN.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédicte, July 1922 (Vol. xxxiv, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). A. WILMART Le recueil latin des apophtegmes—F. C. BURKITT The oldest MS. of S. Francis's writings—B. LEFEBVRE Un martyr de l'abbaye de Gembloux, Dom Jean Tichon—B. CAPELLE La lettre d'Auxence sur Ulfila—A. WILMART Lettre de l'époque Carolingienne—G. MORIN Une critique qui porte à faux : Une pièce du Breviarium in psalmos mise à tort sur le compte de S. Jérôme—Comptes rendus—Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

ST JEROME AND THE VULGATE NEW TESTAMENT.

II.

§ 7. *St Jerome's Method of Revising the Sacred Text.*

1. THE freedom, or rather licence, which characterizes the commentaries of Jerome, was dropped when he revised the New Testament. The contrast is extreme. The careless, not to say unscrupulous, compiler of comments has become careful and timid. He has told us his theory of translating.¹ In his renderings of Origen and Didymus, and just as much in his hasty translations of deuterocanonical books,² he rendered sense for sense, and insisted that translation ought to be idiomatic and not literal. But it would not be right, he says, to apply this method to the inspired writings: 'Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera uoce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum, *absque scripturis sacris*, ubi ET VERBORVM ORDO MYSTERIVM EST, non uerbum e uerbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu' (*Ep.* lvii 5). That is to say, in his versions from the Greek Scriptures he felt bound not only to render word for word, but even to respect the order of the words. Every tiro in textual criticism is aware that the O.L. versions had almost always observed this rule, and that variations in the order between different Latin versions usually represent variations in the Greek. St Jerome retains the same principle.

2. It is important also to remember that St Jerome never attempts

¹ Above, § 3, p. 36.

² Of the book of Judith he says: 'Huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi, magis sensum e sensu quam ex uerbo uerbum transferens.' He had translated Tobias just as quickly: 'Vnius diei laborem arripui.'

rhythm in revising or in translating Scripture. He never observes the rules for metrical clausulae in either the Old or the New Testament. There is never any reason for attributing a reading to St Jerome because it obeys the strict rules of the *cursus*. His determination was always to be as conservative as was consistent with being literal.

An attempt has recently been made to shew that, on the contrary, St Jerome was careful to observe rhythm in the Vulgate, by G. Gulotta, *Il ritmo quantitativo nella Volgata (Bullettino d. Soc. filologica romana, 1917)*. The writer gives a list of correct rhythms which exhausts almost every possible ending, and then proves conclusively that St Jerome used these endings. There were only six regular endings allowed in the fourth century! St Jerome uses these and no others whenever he is writing carefully. For example, the *Nouum Opus* has only *one* irregular ending, *inueniantur*. So in the very polished translations of the Paschal letters of Theophilus *Epp.* 96, 98, 100, almost every clausula is accurate.

But St Jerome is not always an observer of the rules. On the contrary, he declares that he despises oratorical devices: 'Quorsum haec tam longa *repetita principio*? Ne a me quaeras pueriles *declamationes*, sententiarum flosculos, uerborum lenocinia, et per fines *capitum singulorum* acuta quaedam *breuiterque conclusa*, quae plausus et clamores *excitent audientum*' *Ep.* 52. 4. (I have italicized the correct endings!) But St Jerome suffered from bad eyesight and from cramp in the hands, so that he was obliged to dictate, and he gives this as the principal reason for his frequently unpolished manner.¹ To a modern, the brilliancy of his incomparable style seems due rather to his energy, his wit, his originality, and often to the freshness and directness which

¹ For example, Comm. on Gal. Lib. iii, Praef. 'Accedit ad hoc, quia propter oculorum et totius corpusculi infirmitatem, manu mea ipse non scribo, nec labore et diligentia compensare queo eloquii tarditatem—my secretary frowns and fidgets, if I want to think a little—oratio . . . nisi auctoris sui manu limata fuerit et polita, non est nitida, non habet mixtam cum decore grauitatem.' So in the preface to the Comm. on Matt., which was written in great haste, he promises a more careful work, to be produced later: 'Ut scias quid intersit inter subitam *dictandi* audaciam et elucubratam *scribendi* diligentiam.' In pref. to Comm. on Amos, Lib. iii, he speaks of his temerity, 'ut quod alii stilum saepe uertendo non audent scribere, ego committerem casui, qui semper *dictantes* sequitur . . . quoniam, ut saepe testatus sum, laborem propria scribendi manu ferre non ualeo.' In another preface in Ezek. vii he complains of his eyesight: 'Haec ad lucernulam, qualiacumque sunt, dictare conamur. . . . Accedit ad hanc dictandi difficultatem, quod caligantibus oculis senectute, et aliquid sustentibus beati Isaac, ad nocturnum lumen nequaquam ualeamus Hebraeorum uolumina relegere, quae etiam ad solis dicide fulgorem literarum nobis paruitate caecantur. Sed et Graecorum Commentarios fratrum tantum uoce cognoscimus . . .' But this passage is, of course, much later than the revision of the N. T.

comes from hasty dictation. But his studies and tastes had given him a literary and classical taste which was never at fault in his most careless moods.

3. Timidity in correcting the O.L., and the eventual adoption of readings already to be found in some O.L. codex or other, is characteristic of St Jerome in the Gospels. We have seen the same in the Epistles. There were plenty of variants to choose from: 'maxime cum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria quot codices' (*Praef. in Iosue*), and 'Tot enim sunt exemplaria paene quot codices' (*Nouum Opus*). This timidity is just what we had to expect from St Jerome, for he describes in his preface to the Vulgate Gospels the method which St Damasus had prescribed and which he followed: 'Nouum opus facere me cogis ex ueteri: ut post exemplaria Scripturarum toto orbe dispersa quasi quidam arbiter sedeam, et, quia inter se uariant, quae sint illa quae cum Graeca consentiant ueritate decernam.' He is not to take one copy and correct it according to the Greek, any more than he is to make a new translation; he is to *choose between existing readings*, and adopt the one which is nearest to the Greek. And he did so, he tells us, with much timidity and fear, for it is a 'pius labor, sed periculosa praesumptio, iudicare de ceteris, ipsum ab omnibus iudicandum'. It is certain, from the study of the text of the Vulgate Gospels, that the saint did correct with religious awe and erudite caution. He has omitted as unnecessary an enormous number of small corrections which we should have expected him to make. His own account is that he changed the order of the four Gospels (which was Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, in the O.L.), but preserved the O.L. readings, except where the sense of the Greek obliged him to make an alteration: 'Haec praesens praefatiuncula pollicetur quattuor tantum euangelia (quorum ordo iste est, Mt. Mc. Lc. Jo.), codicum Graecorum emendata collatione, sed ueterum. Quae ne multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperauimus ut, his tantum quae sensum uidebantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.'

4. St Jerome wrote a book on 'how to make a good translation', *de optimo genere interpretandi* (now *Ep. lvii*). No one who studies it will be surprised that St Jerome suggests in his commentary literal renderings of St Paul's expressions, without intending them to be adopted as a good Latin text. For Holy Scripture he wants a word for word translation. Therefore on Gal. v 13 he regretted the necessity of adding *detis*, as we have seen. Similarly on Gal. v 26 he noted 'unum uerbum apud Graecos κενόδοξοι trium uerborum circuitu Interpres Latinus expressit', i. e. *inanis gloriae cupidi*; but he has no conciser wording to propose. On v. 24 he had suggested *recrucifigentes* as a literal reproduction of ἀνασταυποῦντας in Heb. vi 6, instead of *rursum crucifigentes*; and on Titus i 5 he

explains ἐπιδιορθώση as *supercorrigeres*. But he never supposed that any one would think he meant such neologisms as serious renderings: he is only explaining what the single Greek word is. Compare what he says of Aquila, who wished to be more literal than the LXX:

‘Aquila autem, proselytus, et contentiosus interpres, qui non solum uerba, sed etymologias uerborum transferre conatus est, iure proicitur a nobis. Quis enim pro *frumento et uino et oleo* possit uel legere uel intelligere χεῖμα, ὀπωρισμόν, στιλπνότητα, quod nos possumus dicere *fusionem pomationemque* et *splendentiam*?¹ Aut, quia Hebraei non solum habent ἄρθρα, sed et πρόσθρα, ille κακοζήλως et syllabas interpretetur et litteras, dicatque σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν, quod Graeca et Latina omnino lingua non recipit?’ *Ep.* 57. 11.

St Jerome would have been greatly amused if he had known that critics would imagine he really wished to introduce *indolentes* or *indolorios* or *supercorrigeres*, or even *recrucifigentes* into the sacred text. He would as soon have recited in his choir at Bethlehem ‘A fructu fusionis pomationisque et splendentiae multiplicati sunt’.

These four points appear to explain most of the difficulties felt by recent writers with regard to the disagreement between the Vulgate and the Pauline commentaries, and they elucidate for the textual critic St Jerome’s method of revision.

§ 8. *St Jerome’s Method of quoting Scripture.*

It has been constantly denied that St Jerome can be the author of the revision of the whole New Testament, because he regularly quotes the Epistles in the O.L. form. It has been as often replied that this argument proves too much: for he does not quote even the Gospels usually from his own revision, nor does he usually employ his own version of the O.T. from the Hebrew. But the question deserves to be elucidated for the reason of its intrinsic interest.

Let us begin by glancing at his quotations in his Dialogue against the Pelagians, both because it is one of his latest works (415), and because he goes methodically through a good many parts of the Bible in Book II.

¹ The rare word *fusio* was not Jerome’s invention (though it could not stand simply for *oil*) like the other two. He invented *indolorius* and *indolens* (on Eph. iv 19, above, No. 13, p. 42), though in a more serious vein, following on Cicero, who had made up the noun *indolentia*. St Apollinarius Sidonius (pref. to *Carm.* xiv) explains the necessity of inventing Latin terms for philosophy, and declares that Cicero used *indoloria* and *essentia*: one MS however has *indolentia*. But in one place in *de Finibus* some MSS are said to have *indoloria*, which is also in Aug. *de mor. eccl.* i 5 (7). So Jerome had some support in Cicero’s nouns for his two adjectives. He would be acquainted through the grammarians with the literary curiosities of Cicero.

After quoting from St Paul's Epistles (ii 1-10) in a text which is never quite the Vulgate, in 11 he says, 'Transeamus ad Euangelia'. He gives the following differences from the Vulgate :

- Mt. v 22 : adds *sine causa* O.L.
 23 : *donum* twice, against all authorities, for *munus*.
 fuertis recordatus alone for *rec. fu.*
 aduersus for *aduersum*, alone with R.
 37 : *amplius* O.L. for *abundantius*.
 42 : *petenti* alone with R, for *qui petit*. O.L. has *omni*
 petenti from Mk.
 accipere mutuum alone for *mutuari*, Vg. and O.L.
 vi 1 : *Cauete* with Aug. only, for *Attendite*.
 34 : *solliciti esse* for *esse soll.* O.L.
 de crastino for *in cr.* O.L.
 pro se with g, for *sibi ipse*.
 vii 14 : *arcta uia et angusta*, for *angusta porta et arcta uia*.
 This omission is found once in Amb., twice in Aug.,
 once in Gaud.
 viii 20 : adds *suum*, O.L.
 ix 13 : adds *ad paenitentiam*, O.L.
 x 9-10 : Vg. and O.L.
 21 : *frater tradet fratrem* for *tradet autem frater fratrem*,
 alone.
 consurgentque, from Mk, alone for *et insurgent*.
 contra for *in*, alone.
 interficiet eos for *morte eos afficiet*.
 22 : *cunctis* for *omnibus*, alone.
 adds *hominibus* O.L.
 etc., etc.

Some quotations follow from Mark, Luke, and John, of the same general character.

It is obvious that if we are to argue that St Jerome did not revise the Epistles because he does not quote the Vulgate, it follows equally or more certainly that he did not revise the Gospels, *quod est absurdum*. These citations of the Gospels never agree with the Vulgate against all the O.L. The number of otherwise unknown readings suggests that the writer has the Greek before him and not the Latin, and that he translates as nearly as possible to an O.L. text which he knows nearly by heart. For the O.L. resemblances are plentiful. But it is not the Vulgate which he knows by heart.

The quotations from the Epistles, if they do not agree with the

Vulgate, neither do they agree with the text of St Jerome's own commentaries.

Take another book, *Adv. Iovinianum*, written in 393. At first all seems smooth. In i 28-31 we find a series of quotations from the books of Solomon, which Jerome had not yet translated from the Hebrew, and they are naturally cited according to the LXX. Similarly Gen. xxiv 42-44 appears according to the LXX, for the Vulgate of it had not been published. I dip in again at random, and find Jerem. xxi 31-34 and Ezek. xvi 62-63 and xx 43-44 cited in ii 31 almost exactly as the Vulgate, Ezekiel less exactly than Jeremiah, but clearly from the Hebrew, so that one might have argued from these passages that St Jerome had already translated the prophets from the Hebrew, if the fact were not otherwise certain.

But when we look at the citations from the Gospels, they do not agree with the Vulgate, as we should have expected, e. g. ii 23, Lk. xii 47-48, ii 29, Jn. vi 55-56. A long quotation (i 39) covers nearly the whole of 1 Pet. i-ii: it paraphrases, skips, and alters.

On the contrary, in ii 22, there are several quotations from St Paul, and their witness is illuminating. I italicize variations from the Vulgate:

A. Rom. xii 3-8: Unicuique sicut (*two MSS* secundum quod) Deus diuisit mensuram fidei. Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent: ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra. Habentes autem donationes, secundum gratiam quae data est nobis, differentes, siue prophetiam, secundum *mensuram* fidei, siue ministerium in ministrando, siue qui docet in doctrina, qui exhortatur in exhortando, qui tribuit in simplicitate, qui praeest in sollicitudine.

This is exactly the Vulgate, except *mensura* for *rationem*. This rendering, curiously enough, is recommended instead of the usual *rationem* by Rufinus (tr. of Orig. *in loco*). But St Jerome had been quite right in the Vulgate in not putting *mensura fidei* here for ἀναλογία, as he had used the same word just above for μέτρον.

B. 1 Cor. iii 6-9: Ego plantaui, Apollo rigauit, sed Deus incrementum dedit. Itaque neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat: sed qui incrementum dat Deus. Qui plantat et qui rigat unum sunt. Unusquisque autem propriam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem. Dei enim sumus adiutores. Dei agricultura estis (*two MSS om. estis*), Dei aedificatio estis.

St Jerome has left out *autem* after *plantat*: otherwise the passage is exactly Vulgate.

C. 1 Cor. iii 10-15: Secundum gratiam Dei quae data est mihi, ut (*two MSS* quasi) sapiens architectus fundamentum posui, alius autem

superaedificat. Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere, praeterquam id quod positum est, quod est Christus Iesus. Si quis autem superaedificat super fundamentum hoc, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, foenam, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus *apparebit*. Dies enim *Domini illud manifestabit, quoniam* in igne reuelabitur, et *singulorum* opus quale sit, ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit quod superaedificauit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius (*two MSS*: cuius autem) opus arserit, detrimentum patietur. Ipse autem saluus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem.

Here part of verse 10 has been omitted (by a scribe?) *propter homoeotel*: 'unusquisque uideat quomodo superaedificet'.

Next comes 1 Cor. iv 1-2, as the Vulgate and O.L., but that we find *quasi* for *ut*, against both. Then we have:

D. 1 Cor. ix 13-19: Nescitis quoniam qui in *sacrificiis* operantur de *sacrificiis* comedunt: qui altario deseruiunt *de* altario participantur? *Sic* et Dominus *disposuit* his qui euangelium annuntiant de euangelio uiuere: ego autem *non abutar horum aliquo*. Non scripsi autem haec ut *sic* fiant in me. *Melius* est enim mihi mori quam ut gloriam meam quis euacuet. Si *enim* euangelizauero, non est mihi gloria; necessitas *quippe* mihi incumbit. Vae enim mihi est si non (*al. nisi*) euangelizauero. *Nam si uoluntate* hoc ago (*al. fecero*), mercedem habeo. Si autem *nolens*, dispensatio mihi credita est. Quae est ergo merces mea? Ut *euangelizans* sine sumptu ponam euangelium *Christi*, ut non abutar potestate *quae data est mihi* in euangelio. *Cum enim essem liber* ex omnibus, omnium me seruum feci, ut plures lucrificerem.

E. *ib.* xii 4-7: Diuisiones gratiarum sunt, idem autem Spiritus. Et diuisiones *ministeriorum* sunt, idem autem Dominus. Et diuisiones operationum sunt, idem *autem* Deus, qui operatur omnia in omnibus. Unicuique autem data est *adapertio* Spiritus *iuxta id quod expedit* . . . 12. Sicut corpus unum est, et membra *plura* habet, omnia autem membra corporis cum sint multa, unum corpus *est, sic* et Christus.

F. *ib.* xii 28-31: Quosdam quidem posuit Deus in ecclesia, primum Apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores, deinde uirtutes, *et* gratias curationum, opitulationes, gubernationes, genera linguarum. Numquid omnes Apostoli? Numquid omnes prophetae? Numquid omnes doctores? Numquid omnes uirtutes? Numquid omnes gratiam habent curationum? Numquid omnes linguis loquuntur? Numquid omnes interpretantur? Aemulamini autem *dona* maiora, et adhuc excellentiorem uiam uobis demonstro.

If we look back through these quotations,¹ we see at once that there

¹ The difference between O.L. and Vg. in these passages is not very great, but the following selection of O.L. variants may be noted; they shew that the great likeness to the Vg is not fortuitous:—

A. 3, sicut unicuique *Aug.*, diuisit Deus A C D M T *et Ambst.*, Deus partitus est *Aug. Vigil.*, membra autem omnia D O *dgt gue Ruf.*, eundem habent actum C D T *dg, om. alter dg, dona (for donationes) Aug. Ruf.*, diuersa(s) D *Ambst. Aug. Sed., bef. sec. D Ambst. Aug.*, siue qui exhort. *Ambst. Aug. Sed.*, in exhortatione D *dgt Aug.*, qui largitur *Ambst.*, odio habentes *Tert. Aug.*, execrantes D.

is practically no difference in them from the Vulgate, except for the one word *mensuram*, until suddenly in 1 Cor. iii 13 we find variations, *manifestabit*, O.L., and *singularum*. It looks as if St Jerome had been using either the Vulgate or an O.L. copy almost identical with it, until he gets tired of copying, and dictates the last words from memory, or from the Greek, omitting half a verse. The next bit, 1 Cor. ix 13-19, is full of readings otherwise unknown, together with reminiscences of the O.L. Again it seems natural to conclude that the wording is not taken from any actual codex. The same is true of E.¹

I infer that we have some reason for concluding that St Jerome had

B. irrigauit *d ac*, quidquam (*for aliquid*) D *Novat. Ambst. Oros.*, *om. autem Hier. alone*, autem plantat D *Nov. Amb.*, autem plantat I *Vg.*, cultura *d Ambst.*

C. gratiam *om Dei cf Aug. Beda*, quemadmodum *Ambst.*, alius super illud aedificat *Gild.*, superaedificauerit *f Amb. Aug.*, fundam. *om hoc FR al Amb.*, apparebit *Hier. alone* (*for manifestum erit*), manifestabitur *Aug.*, manifestabit D *Hier. Amb.* (*for declarabit*), exustum fuerit *Aug.*

D. sacrificiis *bis Hier. alone*, comedunt (*for edunt*) *Hier. alone*, altari *Clem.-Vg. Aug.*, de alt. (*for cum*) D *gt Hier. Ambst.*, compatiuntur *Aug. saepe*, participant *Beda*, sic *Hier. Aug.* (*for ita*), disposuit *Hier. d* (*for ordinauit*), non abutar horum aliquo *Hier. alone* (*for nullo horum usus sum Vg. Ambst. Aug.*), sic (*for ita*) *Hier. alone*, melius est enim mihi *Hier. alone* (*for bonum est enim mihi magis*), si enim *Hier. d* (*for nam si*), euangelizem *d*, gratia (*for gloria*) *d*, quippe *Hier. alone* (*for enim*), nam si uoluntate (*for si enim uolens*) *Hier. alone*, nolens (*for inuitus*) *Hier. alone*, quae ergo erit mea merces *Ambst.*, euangelizans *Hier. d Aug.* (*for euangelium praedicans*), quae data est mihi (*for mea*) *Hier. alone*, omnibus (*for omnium*) *d*.

E. ministeriorum (*for ministrationum*) *Hier. d Iren. Hil. Aug.*, autem (*for uero*) *Hier. Iren. Hil.*, adapertio *Hier. alone*, iuxta id quod expedit *Hier. alone*, plura (*for multa*) *alone*, est (*for sunt*) *Hier. d Hil. Tyc. Aug.*, sic (*for ita*) *Hier. Hil. Tyc. Aug.*

F. et (*for exin*) *Hier. Hil.*, gratias curationum *Hier. with Vg. only* (gratiam cur. *Amb. Ambst.*), dona sanitatum *Hier. in Ephes.*, donationes sanitatum *d Aug.*, curationes infirmitatum *Hil.*, maiora *Hier. in Naum. and adu. Pelag.*, with best MSS of *Vg. AG*, meliora *ceteri omnes*, supereminentiorum or supereminentem *Aug.*, magis excellentiorem *Sed.*

¹ We have but to turn over one page to find an example of Hieronymian carelessness, ii 26: '... sciat in Matthaeo et in Marco, apostolis qui uniuersa sua dimiserant *centuplum* repromissum. In Euangelio autem Lucae *multo plura* id est πολλὰ πλείονα, et penitus in nullo euangelio pro *centum* scriptum esse *septem*.' In reality the Greek MSS of Lk. xviii 30 have *πολλαπλασία*, except D, *ἐκταπλασία*; and every O.L. codex extant, I believe, reads *septies tantum*, viz. *abcdeffilqr*, with Cyprian thrice, Ambrose, Augustine! Though the Old Syriac (*cur sin*) has 'a hundred-fold', with the Greek cursives 472, 1241, yet Ephrem (ap. Moesinger) cites *sevenfold*. It seems certain that the usual (if not universal) reading of St Jerome's day in the Latin copies must have been *septies tantum*, as Jovinian evidently read. All *Vg. MSS* have *multo plura*. Of the semi-*Vg. MSS*, *gig* has *septies tantum*, but *f* and *aur* have the *Vg.* reading. The Arabic Diat. has 'twice as many'. In Matt. xix 29 most Greek MSS have (as Jerome reads) *ἐκατονταπλασία*, with the 'Western' D *Tifl. Iren.* and all the Latin MSS, *Hil.*, &c.; whereas the Neutral B L al (but not N) have *πολλαπλασία* with *Orig.* and *sah*, and among the Latins *Auct. prom.* (*multiplicia*).

not the Vulgate Gospels before him, but that it is much more probable that he was using the Vulgate Epistles !

§ 9. *St Jerome's Quotations from the Gospels in the Commentary of St Matthew.*

We have seen how variable and how arbitrary is St Jerome's method of citation. But there is more surprising evidence in store. In his commentary on St Matthew he uses the Vulgate (though not very accurately) as his text. We should expect him, therefore, always to quote the other Gospels from the Vulgate. He does not. We should expect him at least to quote St Matthew from the Vulgate which he is using as text. He does not !

I give the quotations as they occur in the first book of the commentary :

1. Lk. xii 49 (on Mt. iii 12) : Ignem ueni mittere *super* terram, et *quam* (al. *quem*) *uolo ut ardeat*, so in six other places St Jerome quotes, against all other authorities.

2. Mt. xvi 23 (on Mt. iv 10) : uade *retro* me, Satana (as in Mk. viii 33) with *c* Rufin (*Bened. Patr.*). Vg. with *d e g f k q* uade post me ; *b d f f Hil. Amb. Hier. (in Isai.) u. retro* post me ; *Aug. redi* post me.

3. Jn. xviii 23 (on Mt. v 41) : Si male locutus sum, *argue* de malo ; *sin* autem bene, quid me caedis ? argue *Hier. alone* ; *sin d.*

4. Lk. xxiii 34 (on Mt. v 44) : Pater, *ignosce* illis, *quod enim* faciunt nesciunt. *Hier. alone.*

5. Mt. vii 4 (on Mt. vi 1) : *Dimitte ut tollam* festucam de oculo tuo. *Hier. alone.*

6. Mt. xxiii 24 (on Mt. vii 3) : *culicem liquantes* et camelum glutientes ; *a c d e g f f h* liquantes culicem ; Vg. *excolantes* culicem.

7. Mt. xxvi 72 (on Mt. vii 18) : *nescio* hominem, *with h* quia nescio hominem ; Vg. *b f f f g* quia non noui hominem.

8. Lk. v 8 (on Mt. viii 34) : exi a me, *Domine*, quia *uir* peccator sum. *Domine before* quia, *with G Q b c f f l q, after* sum a Vg. ; *uir (for homo) a d.*

9. Mt. iii 7 or Lk. iii 7 (on Mt. ix 14) : *generatio* uiperarum, quis ostendit uobis fugere *ab ira uentura* ? *generatio with b f f Amb. Aug. (progenies Vg. in Mt., genimina Vg. in Lk.) ; ab ira uentura Hier. (a uentura ira Lk.), Vg. etc. a futura ira.*

10. Lk. xii 6 (on Mt. x 29) : Quinque quoque passeris, secundum Lucam, qui *duobus assibus* ueneunt. *duobus assibus Hier. alone* ; *di-* pondio Vg. O.L.

11. Jn. i 29 (on Mt. xi 1) : Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit *peccata* mundi. *Hier. with O Wal, c l r rur Cypr. Opt. Zeno : peccata for* peccatum.

11. Jn. iii 26 (on Mt. xi 1) : *Magister, cui tu perhibuisti* (al. *praeuisti*) *testimonium ad Iordanem*, ecce *discipuli* eius baptizant, et *plures* (al. *omnes*) ueniunt ad eum. *Jerome quotes the same. strange form in Ep.*

121, 1, *exc.* iuxta Iordanem. Vg. and O.L., with Greek: Rabbi, qui erat tecum trans Iordanem, cui tu testimonium perhibuisti, ecce hic baptizat, et omnes veniunt ad eum.

12. Lk. vii 35 (on Mt. xi 19): In quibusdam euangeliiis legitur: iustificata est sapientia ab operibus suis; i. e. the singular reading of \aleph $\epsilon\pi\gamma\omega\nu$. Vg. etc. ab omnibus filiis suis. (*om.* πάντων Greek DLXΨ 1-18-131-209, 28, 703, *arm.* *cur.*)

13. Lk. xi 20 (on Mt. xii 28): In Luca istum locum ita scriptum legimus: Si autem ego in digito Dei eicio daemones. Vg. of Lk. has porro si in digito Dei eicio daemonia. Evidently Jerome has intentionally preserved the wording of Mt., while substituting *digito* for *spiritu*.

14. Jn. i 26 (on Mt. xii 28): Medius stat inter uos, quem nescitis. inter uos *Hier. alone* (for uestrum) *om.* A E a; *Hier.* D E Ep^{ms} R T X* (i. e. Irish family of Vg.) O.L. (*exc.* c Aug.) stat; Vg. stetit; stat inter uos a; nescitis C D E G H R T c f l q δ aur Aug.; ignoratis a b r Cypr.; non scitis Vg. etc.

15. Mk. iii 30 (on Mt. xii 32): quia dicebant, spiritum immundum habet. quoniam dic. eum (illum a c f f) spiritum immundum habere a b c f f g g; but f has quoniam dicebant, spiritum immundum habet.

16. Mk. viii 11 or Lk. xi 16 (on Mt. xii 38): in alio euangelista: uolumus a te signum uidere de caelo. Here Jerome simply adds *de caelo* from Mk. or Lk. (= Mt. xvi 1), while retaining the wording of Mt. xii 38.

17. Jn. xiv 31 (on Mt. xii 45): surgite et abeamus hinc *Hier. alone*. Vg. and O.L. surgite, eamus hinc.

18. Jn. viii 56 (on Mt. xiii 17): Abraham cupiuit diem meum uidere; et uidit et laetatus est. *Hier. Ambst.* cupiuit, *Aug. Auct. Prom.* concupiuit, Vg. O.L. exultauit. *Hier. Ambst. Aug. Auct. Prom.* uidere, Vg. O.L. ut uideret. *Hier. alone* laetatus (for gauisus).

19. Lk. xvii 5-6 (on Mt. xiii 32): Adauge nobis fidem . . . Amen dico uobis, si habueritis fidem quasi granum sinapis, et dixeritis monti huic, *migra* de loco isto, *migrabit*. Adauge n. fid. is only in Lk., amen di. uo. is only in Mt. xvii 19-20. Lk. has huic arbori moro etc. Mt. has monti huic etc. *Hier. alone* *migra* . . . *migrabit*, *Hier. in Ezech.* 42 et c. Lucif. transmigra, Vg. O.L. transi . . . transibit. Notice that in Luke d (with Greek D) has si haberetis fidem sicut granum sinapis, dicebatis utique monti huic, transi hinc ibide et transibat et moro transplantari in mari et obaudisset uobis, so syr cur. *Hier. alone* quasi for sicut.

20. Mt. iv 19 or Mk. i 17 (on Mt. xiii 47): sequimini me, et faciam uos piscatores hominum. *Hier. alone* sequimini for uenite post. Vg. O.L. uos fieri, *om.* fieri *Hier. with h Amb. Aug. (saepē) Auct. Prom.*

21. Lk. iii 1 (on Mt. xiv 3): Anno quintodecimo imperii Tiberii Caesaris . . . Philippo uero . . . regionis. *Hier. alone* uero for autem.

22. Mt. x 23 (on Mt. xiv 13): Quum uos persequuti fuerint in ista ciuitate, fugite in aliam. *Hier. with d Aug.* persequuti fuerint for Vg. O.L. persequuntur; Vg. ciuitate ista.

23. Jn. vi 9 (on Mt. xiv 17): Est hic quidam puer, qui habet quinque panes. *Hier. alone* est hic quidam puer, *Aug.* est hic puer quidam,

be est hic puer, *ad* est puer hic, *ff* est hic puer unus, *Vg.* est puer unus hic.

24. Jn. xxi 7 (on Mt. xiv 28): accinctus *ependyte* suo. *Vg.* O.L. tunicam.

To these examples must be added the places which agree with the Vulgate.

1. Jn. vi 51 (on Mt. vi 11): ego sum panis uiuus, qui de caelo descendi. *Vg.* O.L.

2. Mt. xxviii 19 (on Mt. x 5): euntes docete . . . sancti. *Vg.* O.L.

3. Mt. iii 17 (on Mt. xi 1): hic est . . . complacui. *Vg.* O.L.

4. Mt. ix 14 (on Mt. xi 1): Tunc accesserunt . . . non ieiunant. *Vg.* O.L.

5. Lk. xvii 21 (on Mt. xii 28): regnum Dei intra uos est. *Vg.* O.L.

6. Mt. iii 2 (on Mt. xii 28): paenitentiam agite . . . caelorum. *Vg.* O.L.

7. Mt. xxi 43 (on Mt. xiii 28): auferetur . . . fructus eius. *Vg.* O.L. *exc. b* (fructum).

8. Mt. xiv 15 (on Mt. xv 33): supra legimus: uespere autem facto accesserunt . . . locus, et reliqua. *Vg.* O.L.

9. Mt. x 5 (on Mt. xi 23): In uiam gentium . . . intraueritis. *Vg.* O.L.

These are not only fewer in number, but also represent the O.L. (either all or nearly all authorities) as well as the Vulgate.

We reach the conclusion that St Jerome in his Commentary did not quote the Vulgate Gospels or even the (almost) Vulgate text of St Matthew on which he was commenting.¹ If we are to infer that his non-Vulgate quotations from the Epistles prove that he is not the reviser of the Vulgate epistles, we must here infer that he is not the reviser of the Vulgate Gospels, nay, that the author of the commentary (as he does not quote his own text) is not the author of the commentary.

¹ St Jerome did not adopt his own translations from the Hebrew for liturgical use in his own monastery, for he tells us in 395-396 that he regularly explained the Septuagint text to the community—no doubt the lessons or Psalms for the day: 'nec inimicum debere aestimari eorum (sc. LXX) quos in conuentu fratrum semper edissero' (*Praef. in Paralip.*). In his (early) *Commentarioli* on the Psalms he uses his 'Roman' Psalter; in the *Tractatus* on the Psalms he seems to use his Gallican Psalter. He does not comment on his version from the Hebrew, to which the *Tractatus* may be posterior. Of course he may have adopted his versions from the Hebrew for liturgical use after the completion of the whole. But his freedom of quotation up to his last years certainly suggests that he did not even introduce his own revision of the Gospels. Probably the same choir books remained in the monastery without change, except that he introduced the Gallican Psalter, later than the date of the *Commentarioli* and before the delivery of the *Tractatus*. But then a Psalter would wear out, whereas a lectionary would endure for generations.

§ 10. *St Jerome's Quotations from the Epistles in the Commentaries on St Paul.*

We find the same phenomena in the Commentaries on St Paul that have astonished us in the Commentary on St Matthew. St Jerome quotes in them from Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus, but not usually according to the text which he had carefully made up as a basis for his comments! I cite the text of the Commentary as *Text* wherever it differs from Vg.

1. Gal. i 4 (on Eph. ii 1-5): ut *eruat* nos de praesenti seculo *nequam*; and (on Eph. iii 8-9): ut eriperet nos de praesenti saeculo *nequam*. *eruat alone*, *eriperet Vg.*; *nequam Vg.*, malo *Text*.

2. Gal. ii 20 (on Gal. i 11-12): uiuo autem iam non ego, uiuit autem in me Christus. autem *for uero alone*. (Jerome has *uero* in transl. Orig. Luc. xv.)

3. Gal. iv 1, 4 (on Eph. i 9): haeres *quamdiu* paruulus est . . . ut autem uenit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus filium suum. *quamdiu with d g Vict. Ambst. Aug. Sed.*, quanto tempore Vg. ut *alone*. In Ep. 112. 14 (in 404) Jerome has *temporum plenitudo* against Vg.

4. Gal. iv 24-25 (on Gal. i 17): quae *quidem* sunt per allegoriam dicta. Haec enim sunt duo testamenta; unum *quidem* a monte Sina, in seruitutem generans, quae est Agar. Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui *iunctus* est ei quae nunc est Ierusalem. *quidem (so Corssen reads) with Tert.*, Vg. *om.* *iunctus alone*, coniunctus *Aug. Vg.*, conterminus *Text. Hil.*, confinis *Aug.*, consonat *d g*, affinis *Sed.*, coniungitur *Ambst.*

5. Gal. v 8 (on Gal. i 10). See above, p. 50.

6. Gal. v 17 (on Eph. ii 1-5): caro *quippe desiderat* aduersus spiritum, et spiritus aduersus carnem. *quippe alone*, enim Vg. *al*, nam *d Ambst. Vict.* (Text nam, autem, or enim—the MSS vary). *desiderat alone for* concupiscit Vg. O.L. et *alone for* autem.

7. Gal. v 19 (on Gal. v 13): manifesta autem sunt opera carnis (= Vg. O.L.), and (on Eph. v 11): man. a. s. op. c. quae sunt fornicatio, et rel. (= Vg. O.L.), and (on Eph. vi 12): (A) fornicationem, immunditiam, luxuriam, *idololatriam*, inimicitias, contentiones, aemulationes, iras, rixas, dissensiones, *haereses*, *insidias*, ebrietates, comessationes, et *reliqua* his similia, and (on Tit. iii 10-11): (B) Manif. autem s. op. c. quae sunt fornicatio, immunditia, luxuria, *idololatria*, ueneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, irae, rixae, dissensiones, *haereses*, inuidiae, ebrietates, comessationes, et *caetera* his similia, quae praedico uobis, sicut praedixi, quoniam qui *haec* agunt, regnum Dei non *possidebunt*. (The omission in A of *ueneficia*, and *insidiae* for *inuidiae* are slips of a scribe or a printer.) *For* luxuria *Corssen gives* impudicitia as *Text*, but the comm. shows that Jerome gave luxuria Both A and B agree with *Text* (and comm.) against Vg. in omitting homicidia (see p. 45). *idololatria with g Iren. Cypr. Lucif. Ambst.*, *idololatrocina d*, *idolorum* seruitus Vg. *Text Aug.*, *haereses with Text d Ambst.*, *sectae Vg. om.* *reliqua (A) or caetera (B) Vg. etc.* *haec with Text, Conc. Carth. apud Cypr. for*

talia Vg. *Iren. Cypr. Lucif. Ambst. Aug.* possidebunt *Text with d Iren. Aug. for consequentur Vg. Lucif. Ambst.*

8. Gal. vi 2 (on Eph. iv 2): *alterutrum onera uestra portate.* Alterutrum . . . uestra *with Cypr.* Alter alterius Vg. *d Aug. (bis) Text, inuicem . . . uestra Tert. Opt. Ambst. Aug. (saepe) Sed. with Hier.* (Ep. 11).

9. Gal. vi 17 (on Phlm. 1): de caetero nemo mihi molestus sit; ego enim stigmata Domini nostri Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto. D. n. I. C. *Auct. prom. and Text (Corssen) Auct. prom. Ambst., Domini Iesu Text (Vallarsi) and Comm. with Vg. Clem., Domini I. Ch. d Aug., Iesu Vg.*

10. Eph. ii 2 (on Eph. vi 12): In quibus *ambulistis aliquando iuxta saeculum mundi istius, secundum principem potestatis aeris, spiritus qui nunc operatur in filios diffidentiae. aliquando ambulistis Vg. O.L., iuxta alone (for secundum Vg. O.L.), istius alone for huius Vg. Text (and comm.) O.L., aeris add huius Vg. O.L. om. Text. filios with Vg., filiis Text (and comm.).*

11. Eph. ii 3 (on Gal. ii 15): eram filii natura irae sicut et ceteri. eram natura Vg. O.L.

12. Eph. ii 7 (on Eph. iii 8-9): ut ostenderet in *uenturis saeculis. uenturis alone, superuenientibus Vg. O.L.*

13. Eph. v 16 (on Eph. ii 1-5): redimentes tempus, *quoniam dies mali sunt, and (on Eph. vi 13) quia dies mali sunt. quoniam Vg., quia d Amb. Pel. (Ep. ad Dem.).*

14. Eph. vi 12 (*Praef. in Eph. p. 542*): non est nobis *pugna aduersum carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersum principatus et potestates, aduersus rectores tenebrarum istarum, aduersum spiritualia nequitiae in caelestibus, and freely (on Eph. vi 12): sed quasi principatus et potestas, rector tenebrarum et nequitia spiritualis. pugna with Hil. Tyc. Hier. in Ezech. (xvi 29 and xxviii 1), conluctatio Vg. Text. principatus with Text Cypr. Amb. Ambst., principes Vg. Hier. (in Ezech. and c. Iov.), om. principes et d Lucif. Hil., rectores with Ambst., mundi rectores Vg. etc. istarum alone for harum Vg. O.L.*

15. Titus i 12 (on Gal. iv 24): dixit quidam ex *eis, proprius eorum propheta: Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, uentres pigri. eis alone, illis Vg., ipsis Ambst.; eorum Text (Vg. A C V) d g, ipsorum Vg. (best, D F G H).*

Only two quotations agree exactly with the Vulgate and the O.L.

1. Eph. v 18 (on Gal. v 19-21): unum in quo est luxuria.

2. Titus i 6-7 (on Eph. vi 4): filios habentem fideles, non in accusatione luxuriae, aut non subditos.

It is clear, again, that on the principles of those who deny that St Jerome revised the Epistles, he is not the author of his own commentary, since his quotations differ from his text!

JOHN CHAPMAN.

(To be continued.)

THE PETRIE-HIRSCHFELD PAPYRI.

ON April 30 last Prof. Flinders Petrie delivered the Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture¹ at University College. His subject was 'The Jews in Egypt'. After an account of his excavations on the site of the Onias Temple, Prof. Petrie referred to his discovery of some Hebrew papyri, in square characters and of an early date. These papyri had been handed to Dr Hirschfeld, whose report appeared in the *Jewish Guardian* of June 9. Before venturing to offer a few further remarks on these papyri, I must pay a tribute to Dr Hirschfeld's success and to Prof. Petrie's foresight. The records are so tattered and so faint that, at the first glance, one cannot but express surprise that they attracted any attention at all. It is a marvel that they escaped being thrown away as mere scraps. Their preservation is a testimony to Prof. Petrie's care as an archaeologist and to Dr Hirschfeld's labours in the sphere of palaeography. Except in one or two instances, I have not attempted to depart from his readings, but I will try to extract a few conclusions from the material which he has provided and for which the credit must, in reality, be ascribed to Dr Hirschfeld. Before doing so, let me quote Dr Hirschfeld :—

'The four Hebrew papyrus fragments, discovered by Professor Flinders Petrie, form a most welcome addition to the very few already known. However scant and broken they are, they deserve full attention, from both palaeographical and literary points of view. As regards the former, the writing, although slightly different in each fragment, brings us near the time when the Hebrew square alphabet was still in its early stages. The affinity between the fragments A and C is more marked than is the case with the other two.

'In all four fragments, the size of the letters, being about a quarter of an inch, is, in itself, a sign of great age. This view is supported, especially in fragment A, by the shape of various letters, notably *waw*, which, with its hook-shaped head, not only justifies its name, but greatly resembles its Palmyrene prototype. Similar resemblances to early forms can be found in the letters *beth*, *gimel*, *qof*, and *taw*. A notable feature of the writing in all four fragments is the absence of any tendency towards cursiveness, which is more marked in the pre-massoretic Nash Papyrus, published by Mr S. A. Cook, M.A., Cambridge, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1903, pp. 34 and 99. This is a most interesting publication, and I only differ from the learned author in not styling this fragment a biblical one in the strict sense of the word because it seems to me to be rather of liturgical character. Hence the greater freedom in the spelling by the addition of occasional vowel letters. The fragment contains the Decalogue followed by a

¹ Since published under the title *The Status of the Jews in Egypt*. G. Allen and Unwin, p. 44 (with a photogravure of fragment A). Price 1s.

mixture of the verses of Leviticus xxvi. 46, and Deuteronomy iv. 45 (probably the result of writing from memory), and the opening paragraph of the *Shema*. Now this faithfully reflects the procedure outlined in the *Mishnah, Tamid* v. 1, where a similar arrangement is given.

'The same freedom in adding vowel letters is visible in our fragments. They seem all to be of a liturgical character. This is clearly visible in *Fragm. A*, which I feel inclined to style a lament on the destruction of the Temple by the Romans. It is evidently older than the Nash papyrus, and several letters show distinct resemblance to those of the Beni Hezir, which are commonly ascribed to the first century of the present era.

'We shall not thus go far wrong if we see in this fragment, as well as in *C*, the remainders of the oldest known *Piyyuṭim*. Their language is poetic. No sentence is large enough to reveal any of the features of biblical poetry, whilst later forms did not, at that time, exist, and the absence of any trace of them in the fragment is another indication of its great age. The broken character of the fragments, and the faded appearance of many letters make a coherent translation impossible, and it only remains to take each line singly.

'Fragment *D* differs in so far as it occurs to be the remnant of a legal document, whilst *Fr. B* is beyond reconstruction.'

Dr Hirschfeld's Text and Translation are as follows:—

TEXT.		TRANSLATION.	
FRAGMENT A.		FRAGMENT A.	
l. 1	סל •	l. 1	(relic of) Selah.
l. 2	מק חצובים	l. 2	Wells . . . hewn.
l. 3	להנחין] לואת ה	l. 3	to lead . . . to this.
l. 4	ששו ב בבון	l. 4	They rejoice . . . they decay.
l. 5	במ באור	l. 5	In the light (or with <i>heth</i> added, the <i>path</i>) . . .
l. 6	מזבול] הוב] יש יד(?)	l. 6	Of the Temple . . . He has put to shame.
l. 7	רנוז בלו שעו לך	l. 7	They trembled, languished, turned to Thee . . .
l. 8	בגיל ומקרא קוד[ש]	l. 8	With glee and holy convocation.
l. 9	בסוד רבבות קודש	l. 9	In the assembly of holy myriads . . .
l. 10	ברצד נבנונים ?	l. 10	When mountain peaks frowned (see Ps. lxxviii 16-17).
l. 11	מור וקנמון ב	l. 11	Myrrh and cinnamon . . .
l. 12	פץ מלח] אנוכי	l. 12	I am inundated with tribulation.

FRAGMENT A (*continued*).

- l. 13
 l. 14 מלכים
 l. 15 חרותם
 l. 16 זכור זו
 l. 17 אם לא

FRAGMENT A (*continued*).

- l. 13 ...
 l. 14 ... Kings ...
 l. 15 ... Engraved ...
 l. 16 Remember ...
 l. 17 ?

FRAGMENT B.

- l. 1 ?
 l. 2
 l. 3 ?
 l. 4
 l. 5
 l. 6

- סובב
 [מ]סלול
 חמה
 על הא[רץ]

FRAGMENT B.

- l. 1 ?
 l. 2 surrounding.
 l. 3 ?
 l. 4 path ...
 l. 5
 l. 6 upon the earth (land)

FRAGMENT C.

- l. 1 ?
 l. 2
 l. 3
 l. 4
 l. 5
 l. 6
 l. 7
 l. 8

- שלם
 ה ושמי
 ת זכרים
 נקום נקמת מק[?] דש] קש
 אתה דא? י? תנו ממלכת כהנים
 [מ] מלכה
 כתר

FRAGMENT C.

- ll. 1-3 ? ? ? illegible.
 l. 4 ... males.
 l. 5 ... and avenge the sanctuary.
 l. 6 Thou hast ... ? ... as a
 kingdom of priests.
 l. 7 a kingdom.

FRAGMENT D.

- l. 1
 l. 2
 l. 3 ?
 l. 4
 l. 5
 l. 6
 l. 7
 l. 8
 l. 9 ?
 l. 10 ?

- קול ...
 אה א
 באות ש
 ש
 יואל ש? הנמיה
 ונחמיה נחור בדין
 וחב תוקפין

FRAGMENT D.

- ll. 1-5 ... illegible.
 l. 6 Joel ...
 l. 7 And Nehemiah Nahor in
 judgement
 ll. 8-10 Illegible.

This, then, is the material with which Prof. Petrie and Dr Hirschfeld have presented us.

There is one more fragment which, for the present, may be called the colophon, as the top has not yet been deciphered. It would appear to be a column of foreign words in Hebrew—or rather in Aramaic—characters. The words may be gnostic charms or just a list of Latin names. The colophon, also deciphered by Dr. Hirschfeld, below runs:—

אנה שאל בן א לעזר כתב חי

אלין כתבין שלום על

ישראל אמן ואמן סלה

I, Saul son of Eleazar, have written these writings. Peace be upon Israel. Amen and Amen : Selah.

This colophon must be regarded as separate from the other four fragments. It looks older and, in any case, it is in Aramaic and not in Hebrew. Hence though found together with the rest, it must be treated by itself.

In A. 5 possibly בִּאִיר and not בִּאִיר is to be read. In A. 3 the fourth letter of the first word may be ה not ח, and in 10, after נִבְנוּנִים, a ל is visible.

The first point that engages attention is the occurrence in l. 10 of A of two rare words, בִּרְצֵר נִבְנוּנִים. This direct adaptation of Ps. lxxviii 16, 17 attests the present M. T. reading of this difficulty in the Psalter. Each of these words is a *hapax legomenon* and, in each case, the meaning has, more or less satisfactorily, to be inferred from¹ cognate languages.

¹ The root letters which underlie נִבְנוּנִים offer some freedom of choice in regard to a suitable meaning, e. g. נִבְּן hump-backed, crook-backed, whence N. H. נִבְּן a mountaineer (according to Levy); נִבְנוּנִי or perhaps נִבְנוּנִי, name of a tribe of mountain dwellers who circumcised themselves; נִבְנוּנִי eyebrow; נִבְנוּנִי swelling, lofty (of a hill); נִבְנוּנִי cheese. Any one of these ideas is metaphorically applicable to mountains, e. g. shaggy or tree-covered; white like cheese, because of snow which is mentioned in the previous verse נִבְנוּנִי בְּצִלְמוֹן; the LXX τετραπύλον, mons ex lacte quasi coagulatus adopts this interpretation; so do the Vulgate and the Arabic مُجَبَّن. Sheer or abrupt may be suggested by the idea of circumcision and, finally, peaked or rounded of summit, either from the swelling of cheese or from the hump of the crook-backed (so ibn Ezra). Each of these epithets, snow-covered, tree-clad, abrupt or peaked, suits the context and it is hard to select any one as pre-eminently fitting.

The other *hapax*, רִצֵּר, is not capable of such easy explanation. Commentators follow three main lines of interpretation: I, to leap; II, to rush out as from an ambush; III, to watch stealthily. As regards I, the idea of mountains 'leaping' is, of course, known from Ps. cxiv 6 (הוֹרִים תִּרְקְרוּ), and רִקֵּר is extraordinarily like רִצֵּר. In fact, on the basis of the equation אֶרֶץ = אֶרֶע = אֶרֶץ it has been suggested that רִצֵּר is but a by-form of רִקֵּר. This explanation is

LXX, was that counting should begin on the evening of the Second Day of Passover. In order to instruct the laity how to meet controversy, the disputed passages in the Pentateuch were publicly read and expounded on the Festival concerned. The *Hafšara* or prophetic lesson began with a few verses illustrating or amplifying the lesson from the Pentateuch. Sometimes, when the *Sedra* or Pentateuchal Lesson was chosen for reasons of *Halakha* or Canon Law, the *Hafšara* inculcated some other aspect of the festival, and, like the Festival Psalm, brought out, in poetic form, reminiscences of the primitive cause and celebration of the Holy Day. Thus three stages may be traced: I, the ordinance; II, the poetry; III, the praise; in other words, law, mysticism, and hymn.

Now the two *hapax legomena* in Fragment A come from Psalm lxviii 16 and 17, and this Psalm is, to this day, the Pentecost Psalm in the Italian and *Sefardi* rites of the Synagogue. In the *Ashkenazi* rite it is often omitted, but that it still exists may be seen from p. 63 of Heidenheim's *Mahzor* or p. 36 of Davis and Adler. Nevertheless it was not the earliest Pentecostal Psalm for, according to *Maṣṣ. Šoferim* xviii 3, the appropriate one for the day was xxix, in which, by the way, the root רקר is also used metaphorically. Dr Thackeray gives various reasons why this Psalm was chosen for Pentecost. One of these is that the Psalm commemorates both a Maccabean victory in Gilead and the wheat harvest; the former event, according to 2 Maccabees xii 31 foll., occurred just before Pentecost and the victors went up to Jerusalem to keep the Feast.

Now as the two *hapax legomena* in Fragment A can come only from Psalm lxviii and from nowhere else, and as that Psalm is Pentecostal, one link between Fragment A and Pentecost may be regarded, in all likelihood, as established. Another is close at hand. One of the themes common to the Psalm and the two *Hafšaroth* for the two days is that of the מרכבה, the Divine chariot, the triumphal march of the Deity from Sinai. The working out of this *motif* is clearly demonstrated by Dr Thackeray. He also shews a further phenomenon, namely that Ps. lxviii is replete with reminiscences of Deut. xxxiii. Now both of these phenomena are exhibited in Fragment A. For the triumphant march from Sinai is mentioned in l. 9, and, moreover, it is an unmistakeable citation from Deut. xxxiii 2, ואתה מרכבת קדש. Here, then, we may claim a second and a third link between Fragment A and Pentecost.

That the Fragment refers to a festival and not to a fast, as suggested by Dr Hirschfeld, is indicated by l. 8, which contains a highly significant phrase, viz. מקרא קדש. Dr Büchler (*J. Q. R.* v 425 foll.) shews the importance of this phrase in connexion with the controversy of the

Festivals and the establishment of the lectionary: the 'holy reading out of the Torah' became synonymous with 'holy convocation', a term applied (Lev. xxiii 4) to the three Pilgrim Festivals. And since Pentecost is one of these, it is not unjustifiable to see in l. 8 a fourth link between the Fragment and that festival.

In l. 6 the only complete word that is legible is מִזְבֹּחַ. This root occurs six times in O. T., once as a verb יִזְבֹּחַ (Gen. xxx 20) and five times as a noun. As the root is rare and as the noun occurs but once in the Habakkuk *Hafṭara* for Pentecost (and in no other portion of Habakkuk), it might be inferred that the use in the Fragment implied an allusion to the *Hafṭara*. If so, there is another link between the Fragment and Pentecost. Further, the remainder of the line is not clear, and nothing but tops and bottoms of consonants survive. I am inclined to read [ע]מְרוּ שְׁמֵשׁ יִרְחַ [ק] מִזְבֹּחַ on the basis of verse 11 in the Habakkuk *Hafṭara* וְכָל עַמּוֹ וְכָל שֵׁשׁ יִרְחַ עִמּוֹ. As some confirmation it may be noted that the verse in Habakkuk continues וְלֹא יִרְחַ צִדִּיק וְלֹא יִזְבֹּחַ and the only legible word in l. 5 is בָּאֹר (unless this be בָּאֹךְ). It is not impossible, therefore, that ll. 5 and 6 of the Fragment formed a couplet based on the Habakkuk *Hafṭara* for Pentecost. Whether this suggestion be adopted or not, the allusion contained in מִזְבֹּחַ may, alone, be regarded as sufficient to increase to five the number of links connecting Fragment A with Pentecost.

L. 12 begins with פֶּן, about which I shall have further to say below. For the moment I would observe that these root letters are to be found twice in the Habakkuk *Hafṭara* for Pentecost, וַיִּתְפַּצְצוּ הָרָרִי עַד (verse 6) and יִסְעָרוּ לְהַפְצִיעַ (14), and at the beginning of the Pentecost Psalm, יָקוּם אֱלֹהִים יִפְצֹו.

L. 12 of the Fragment is so near in thought to לְהַפְצִיעַ that one can scarcely doubt the connexion, and one feels constrained to admit another link between the Fragment and Pentecost.

Similarly the root רָנַ in l. 7 occurs no less than four times within fourteen verses in Habakkuk. There is first רָנַ רַחֵם תִּזְכֹּר in v. 2. Then we find רָנַ יִרְנֹן יִרְעוֹת אֶרֶץ מִדִּין in v. 7, and in 16 שְׁמַעְתִּי וְתִרְנֵנִי בְמִנִּי and, finally, in the same verse, וְתִחַתִּי אֲרָנִי. In the rest of the book of Habakkuk the root never occurs: when, therefore, four instances are crowded into the short Pentecost *Hafṭara*, and when, further, the root is used in the Fragment, one cannot help thinking that not only was the writer of the Fragment familiar with the vocabulary of the Habakkuk *Hafṭara*, but that he consciously imitated it because the purpose of the poem which he was composing was identical with that of the writer of Habakkuk iii, i. e. a Pentecostal theme.

The one word left in l. 15 is חֲרוּתִים, engraved. The word occurs only in Exod. xxxii 16, with reference to the tablets of stone. A famous

play upon words is recorded of R. Joshua b. Levi in *Aboth* vi 2 : 'And the tables were the work of God and the writing was the writing of God, graven on the tables. Read not *תְּרִית* but *תְּרִית*, for there is no free man save he who is occupied in Torah.' Whether l. 15 is to be read *תְּרִיתִים* or *תְּרִיתִים*, there can be little hesitation in connecting it with the giving of the Torah and hence with Pentecost.

Myrrh and Cinnamon in v. 11 occur in juxtaposition twice, viz. Prov. vii 17 and Cant. iv 14. The phrase is so general that no definite source need be sought. Were it not that there is no evidence for such a custom before the Middle Ages, one might have been tempted to see here an allusion to the practice of strewing fragrant boughs in the Synagogue on Pentecost.

In Fragment C the allusion in l. 6 to *מַמְלַכַת כְּהֻנִּים* can only be to Exod. xix 6, a passage which is the Pentateuchal lesson for the First Day of Pentecost.

The foregoing evidence may, possibly, be regarded as cumulatively sufficient to establish the connexion of the Fragments with Pentecost. If this be conceded the enquiry may be pushed a stage further. To what category of writing do these fragments belong? Dr Hirschfeld calls them *Piyyuṭim*, and he is clearly right. This can be judged by defining a *piyyuṭ* and noting its essential characteristics, which the fragments will be found to display. An easy method is to see on what grounds the opponents of *Piyyuṭim* based their opposition. Perhaps the *locus classicus* is ibn Ezra's sarcastic passage in his commentary on Ecclesiastes v 1. He attacks the *Piyyuṭim* (1) because they are cryptic riddles unsuitable for prayer; (2) because of the impurity of their language by reason of the use of foreign words; (3) because, even when Hebrew words are employed, distorted forms are introduced, *hapax legomena* are borrowed, verbs are made into nouns, &c.; (4) because the *Piyyuṭim* are improperly based on *Midrashim*, in which poetical figures are introduced too boldly and quite unsuitably. Metaphors are transferred in improper ways, and thus there is produced bathos and even blasphemy. Ibn Ezra enumerated these defects in the twelfth century. He was, more or less successfully, answered by Heidenheim¹ in the nineteenth.

As will be seen later, it is of some importance to draw a line of demarcation round the *Piyyuṭ*, hence this present insistence on the question of characteristics. Now the first characteristic which determines a *piyyuṭ* is its indebtedness to the Bible. No doubt parallels and borrowings can be found within the Bible itself, but these are

¹ See his commentary on *אֲנָשִׁיכָה מַלְכִּי* in the *Musaf* of the first day of New Year (=f. 70 a of his own Roedelheim ed. of 1832) and on *שׁוּשַׁן עֵמֶק אִיוֹמָה* in *Musaf* for Atonement (=f. 9 b).

different in nature. Not that *piyyuṭim* lack originality, but it is not the originality of the biblical writers; it is of quite another kind. True, the Canon is closed and the *piyyuṭ* writer can never hope for inclusion, but this very circumstance elevates the Bible to a model and gives the *paielan* actual phrases and not merely ideas that can be incorporated. The *piyyuṭ* writer had a wider range, for he had the Psalmist's work which could be extended, his subjects for bases, and his actual vocabulary for technical use. True, *piyyuṭ* writing tended sometimes to approximate to jigsaw effects, just as in mediaeval ecclesiastical hands the works of classical authors became fountains whence *clichés* might be drawn. But the general result was pleasing. The adroit use of a rare biblical term conjured up scenes and reminiscences: the cumulation of several citations of this nature produced a wealth of ideas and imagery in a concise and indescribable manner. Hence *piyyuṭim* can scarcely ever be translated with any expectation of success, unless the rendering is greatly expanded.

Now the Fragments use the Bible: there are direct citations; of the thirty legible words in A no less than three are *hapax legomena*; they are cryptic—as any one who attempts a translation will see; they contain rare forms, e.g. פֶּן (A, 12), and, finally, verbs become nouns, e.g. the תרצרו of the Psalter is turned into the infinitive רצר. One cannot therefore go very far astray in describing the Fragments (1) as portions of *piyyuṭim*, and (2) composed for Pentecost.

This brings us to the third stage. What is the period to which these documents must be assigned? On palaeographical grounds Dr Hirschfeld postulated an early date. The letters are large and the forms of some are archaic. They indicate a fairly advanced stage in the evolution of the square characters. There is no trace of any cursive tendency. The individuality of each consonant is preserved and repeated whenever written. Dr Hirschfeld adduces for comparison the Nash papyrus and the Bene Hezir inscription. At first sight such a comparison seems impossible; the fragment looks much younger. But as soon as details are examined Dr Hirschfeld's choice is justified by consonant after consonant. The whole looks younger than its parts, but, as will be seen, the dates of the three records are close enough to each other to enable deductions to be drawn.

The Nash papyrus is attributed by Prof. Burkitt to *circa* A. D. 55, and the Bene Hezir inscription was regarded by the late Prof. Driver as belonging to the end of the pre-Christian era. This date is accepted by Prof. Chwolson. Prof. Cooke (p. 342 of *N. S. Inscriptions*) suggests the reign of Herod the Great. One feature the three documents have in common, the use of *plene* spellings. In the Fragment this use is consistent, e.g. מבור, קודש, אנוכי, &c. But, on the whole, as stated,

the writing has a later look than that of the other two records. Yet it is interesting to note the reasons which induced Prof. Burkitt to claim an early date for the Nash papyrus and to see how the test can be applied to the fragments. The reasons are given on pp. 400-1 of vol. xv of *J. Q. R.* 1903. He says:—

‘The nearest parallel of all is to be found in a Nabataean inscription of A. D. 55, and I am inclined to assign this papyrus to about the same date. Those who place it later will have to account for

- (1) The archaic ה (ה).
- (2) The large broken-backed medial ב.
- (3) The occasionally open final מ.
- (4) The ק with a short foot like Palmyrene and Syriac.
- (5) And the looped ת.

Now as regards the Fragment:—

- (1) The only ה that occurs in A (להנחות in l. 3) is certainly not archaic. Neither is every ה of the Nash papyrus. On the other hand, the ה of כהנים in C 6 is ה.
- (2) In C 4 the כ of זכרים is ל, though in A the כ has a more developed head than in the Nash papyrus. In the colophon it is כ, but the colophon is, perhaps, not directly admissible.
- (3) The final מ is open in the three instances that occur in the Fragment, מננונים, מלכים, and חרותים.
- (4) The foot of the ק is longer in the Fragment than in the Nash papyrus, but it is still fairly short.
- (5) The ת is never looped in the Fragments except in the colophon, where ת occurs. But there are numerous instances in the Nash papyrus of ת similar to ת of the Fragments.

It will therefore be admitted that Dr Hirschfeld was on firm ground in choosing his two standards of comparison; the Fragment and the Nash papyrus stand in close relationship, but I would venture to differ from Dr Hirschfeld and regard the Nash papyrus as slightly earlier.

Palaeographical evidence is supported by archaeology. Prof. Petrie states that these papyri came from an untouched mound that was finally closed in the days of Severus. This gives as a *terminus ad quem* the year 211 in which Severus died at York. As a *terminus a quo* there is the circumstance that one of the other documents is a letter written during the lifetime of Augustus, whose death occurred in 14. The two centuries then that elapsed between, let us say, the years 11 and 211 of the present era give, roughly, the limits within which the Fragments may be placed. For the present no greater precision need be attempted. An important fact has been gleaned.

We have, then, before us a Pentecost *Piyyuṭ* composed not later than the beginning of the third century. A statement so revolutionary demands further consideration and raises important questions.

The origin of the *Piyyuṭ* is too vast and disputed a subject to be

treated here. Hitherto the oldest and anonymous *piyyulim* have been assigned to the era of the early *Geonim* about the seventh century, four centuries after the latest date to which the Fragment may be attributed. The oldest known *paṣṣanim* or writers of *piyyuṭ* are Jose b. Jose hay-yathom, Jannai and Elazar ben Qalir. Since Jose was known to Saadya, he must have lived before 850. Jannai's lost writings have been recovered from Egypt; some were found as the upper writing of the Aquila palimpsest discovered by Taylor and Burkitt in the Schechter collection of Geniza documents. Jannai's *Maḥzor* has been edited by Prof. Davidson. Qalir's *piyyuṭim* may be seen in any Ashkenazic liturgy. It is interesting to observe how Jannai's themes throw a side-light which illustrates the principle, pointed out by Dr Büchler and Dr Thackeray, that the festival lectionary was selected to meet controversy. Jannai's Sabbatical *piyyuṭim* expound *halakha*. Canon law, not poetry or mysticism, was the main purpose of this *paṣṣan*. He wrote to instruct the laity, and among the matters he treated are just those laws which the Qaraites attacked. Now if we work backwards from Qalir it is not hard to trace the stages which the *piyyuṭ* underwent. In the hands of Qalir, the author of *אין קריין בן קוריין*, that astounding jingle for *פרשת זכור*, the *piyyuṭ* was a maze of intricacy, acrostic, riddle, and allusion; no wonder that the wrath of ibn Ezra was aroused. Rhyme was the end for which no sacrifice was too great. Jannai, Qalir's teacher, who generally wrote in rhyme and who used alphabetical arrangement, is much simpler than his pupil. Jannai's well-known Passover *Piyyuṭ*, *אז רב נסים הפלאה* (to be found now in every *Haggada* for Passover), is a good example. In that alphabetical composition, which is far easier to understand than an average Qalirian *piyyuṭ*, he does not use rhyme, as in his others, but each verse ends with the word *לילה*. But the further back we get, the simpler are the phrases. This can readily be seen from the Singer's Prayer Book, by examining the oldest anonymous compositions such as *אל אדון* (p. 129), *הכל יודין* (p. 128) for Sabbath, *והוא רחום* (p. 57) for week-days, *אשר הניא* (p. 276) for Purim. If this line be prolonged backwards, from the complicated mosaics of Qalirian artificiality, through simpler songs of Jannai and Jose to the freedom which marked the anonymous writers, we shall not find it hard to carry the line over the gap and see its beginnings in our Fragments.

Regarded as a *piyyuṭ*, Fragment A fulfils all the conditions one might expect. From an examination of the papyrus it is clear that the right-hand side, with the beginnings of lines, is complete.¹ Nor can much

¹ Dr. L. Belleli courteously suggested to me that Frag. A might be a complete left-hand half of a leaf, each line containing responses to the corresponding line on the lost right-hand portion.

have gone from the left-hand side, for lines 7 and 8 are almost perfect, and they are the only two that can be read in mutual conjunction. From these two lines it can be deduced that rhyme was not used but assonance, just as in many passages of ben Sirach and Psalms, where endings such as **ם**, or **ך**, follow each other in frequent succession. This is what one would expect when the *piyyu!* was in its infancy. Again, if assonance is used, words cannot be divided at the ends of lines. Hence **פן** at the beginning of 12 is not the incomplete end of such a word as **הפין** or **פנין**. Here, as in **ברצד** in 10, are the germs of the adaptation of rare biblical words, a tendency which reached its zenith in Qalir. Further, as the beginnings of the lines are perfect, it can be established that there is no attempt at alphabetical arrangement, though this system is to be found in the Psalter and Ecclesiasticus: nor is there any attempt at acrostic. The opportunity afforded by initials was rarely neglected by later writers. In this fragment it was unrecognized.

Perhaps the most interesting phenomenon is the absence of the name of God.¹ True, in so small a fragment, the argument from silence is dangerous, but, so far as it goes, it is significant, for in *piyyu!im* the divine title is regularly avoided.

That the fragments are hard to translate is due not to their composition, but to the state of their preservation. Line 4 stands alone in presenting a real *crux*. One is entitled to infer that the style was simple in character, just what one would postulate for the germ of the *piyyu!*.

That these *piyyu!im* are to be associated with Pentecost is of some special interest. To this day, in certain rites, the Synagogue Service on that Festival is peculiar in having *piyyu!im* not merely for the liturgy but also for the lectionary. One cannot now speak of the liturgical use of the Targum among the Yemenites, nor of the old Spanish translation of the Ninth of Ab *Haflara*, still recited at Bevis Marks. But the compositions **יצב פתנם** and **ארכין** and **אקדמות** (their date is irrelevant) are still interpolated in the *Sedra* and *Haflara* for Pentecost. It has been said by Dr Büchler that all these compositions, being in Aramaic and following the first verse of the lesson, were *piyyu!im* on the *Targum* and not on the Hebrew. There is no *piyyu!* to-day for the Ezekiel *Haflara*, only for the Habakkuk *Haflara*, and it is significant that Fragment A has plenty of allusions to Habakkuk, but none to Ezekiel. Fragment C mentions **מסלכת כהנים** and would seem to have alluded to the Decalogue, the giving of which to Moses is the theme of the *piyyu! ארכין*. Here again, though the precarious validity of our argument from silence cannot be denied, the positive evidence, small though it be, has claims to be admitted. One can scarcely doubt that this fragment represents an

¹ Is C, line 3, an exception?

Egyptian Pentecost *Piyyu!*, possibly composed for the lectionary and not for the liturgy.

If, then, *piyyutim* existed in Egypt during the second century, what became of them? Qalir's compositions are recited to this day in innumerable synagogues: the latest edition of the *Ashkenasi Mahzor* has, it is true, somewhat curtailed the recital of *piyyutim*, but one need not go to papyri to recover them. Possibly the changes of fashion caused earlier and simpler poems to be discarded, and the more intricate and later ones to be preserved. Possibly local patriotism preferred the products of the home synagogue. Yet Qalir, whose country of origin is unknown, was sung all over Europe. At any rate, one cannot do more than guess why the Egyptian *piyyu!* lived and died by the banks of the Nile. In a land where Ecclesiasticus could disappear and be recovered, it is not strange to find a similar fate overtaking the poems of a humble hymn-writer of an obscure synagogue.

Besides, Jewish history in Egypt is one long list of gaps and disappearances, as well as of unexpected reappearances. Tabari's account of the treaty between Amr ibn el-As, the Arab conqueror, and the Mukaukis does not include the Jews among the sects enumerated. Yet a century or so later, in the time of Saadya, there were flourishing communities in the Fayoum: a few centuries earlier, and the Jewish quarter of Alexandria was the home of an important congregation, the records of which can be carried on for a considerable time. Yet another instance is furnished by the primitive Jewish congregation of Elephantine, which suddenly swum into our ken on the day when the Mond-Cowley papyri were found.

Who were these Jews of Oxyrhynchus? The history of that town still has to be written: the material¹ has been provided by Drs Grenfell and Hunt in the series of volumes of Oxyrhynchus papyri which they have edited with so much scholarship. The Jewish settlement, of which the author of the Fragments formed a member, has to be accounted for. At present it is isolated: neither its beginning nor its end is known.

Certain links are, however, to hand. These are three in number. The first of these is another of Prof. Petrie's marvellously lucky discoveries. Across the Nile, not far from the mound where the Fragments were unearthed, he came upon some tombs. One long passage is covered with Jewish Aramaic inscriptions, sixty feet in length. These

¹ This article was in type before the appearance of Dr A. N. Modena's *La vita pubblica e privata degli Ebrei in Egitto nell'età ellenistica e romana* in the 1922 issues of *Aegyptus* (Milan!), and of Prof. Umberto Cassuto's article in the Italian periodical *Israel* of Nov. 2. It was read before the Society of O.T. Study, at Keble College, Oxford, in July last.

inscriptions have not yet been copied and their position precludes their being photographed. Prof. Petrie drew a few words in his note-book, which he was kind enough to shew me. The lettering is practically that of the Aramaic papyri at Assouan. Here we have continuity at once. Oxyrhynchus is joined to Elephantine across the centuries. The fragment containing the colophon is in Aramaic. Possibly then Oxyrhynchus was founded by an offshoot of the body of Jews who penetrated further south and settled at Elephantine. Perhaps when Prof. Petrie reaches a lower stratum in his excavations at Oxyrhynchus, evidence, contemporary with the Aramaic inscriptions, will be forthcoming, and perhaps some also which will bridge the gap between the inscriptions and our Fragments.

The next information about Oxyrhynchus is much later. It consists of some Hebrew papyri which, too, Prof. Petrie discovered and which he has handed to Dr Cowley. Prof. Petrie tells me that these belong to the fifth century of our era. Therefore we can trace Jews at Oxyrhynchus five centuries before and three centuries after the period of the present fragments, and so the isolation in which the present fragments stood is thus broken down on both sides.

I can, however, add just a few more little pieces. I have not examined Grenfell and Hunt's volumes carefully, but a cursory glance at vol. iv, No. 735, revealed a small fact of interest. This document is a military receipt, dated A. D. 205, for provisions supplied to soldiers. Among the names recorded are Malichus (twice) and Μαλωχῶς (Malik, though Semitic, is not necessarily Jewish), Zabdius or Zebidius, Barichius, Iebael. These one may regard as Jewish with tolerable certainty. Trypho occurs here and in other documents, but is, of course, not bound to denote a Jew. One may, however, infer that in A. D. 205 there were Jewish soldiers in the Oxyrhynchus garrison, and A. D. 205 is within the limits of time that have been assigned to the papyrus.

Two more papyri in vol. iv throw light on the Jews of Oxyrhynchus. No. 707 is dated A. D. 136, and deals, on the *verso*, with legal proceedings connected with the lease of a vineyard. The *recto* contains a survey of land, and includes *ψιλοὶ τόποι ἐν οἷς κέλλαι ἐμποιοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*. The only meaning given by Scapula for *κέλλη* is *cella* (Byzantine); the word is not to be found in Liddell and Scott. One is almost tempted to translate it by *Tabernacle*.¹

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Hunt for the following note which he kindly sent me. He writes :—

κέλλα = *cella*, and is used, I think, in just the same sort of sense, e. g. P. Oxyrh. 1128, 14-15 (vol. viii) *τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ κέλλαν*; Berl. Gr. Urkunden, 98, 12-14 [*πυρ*]οῦ ἀρταβῶν . . . ἀποκειμένων ἐν [κ]έλλῃ οὕσῃ ἐν τῇ . . . οἰκίᾳ; *ibid.*, 606.

No. 705 is dated A. D. 205 and is a petition of Aurelius Horon, of Oxyrhynchus, to Severus. In it he refers to a local Jewish rising against Rome which seems to have happened just before; Horon mentions on behalf of the Oxyrhynchites their *φιλία ἣν ἐνεδείξαντο καὶ κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Εἰουδαίους πόλεμον συμμαχήσαντες*.

There are two earlier papyri in the second volume. No. CCLXXXVI is dated A. D. 77. In it a Jew . . . son of Jacob of Oxyrhynchus, a steersman of a cargo boat, gives a receipt to the *sitologus* of the village, probably for a cargo of corn. No. CCCXXXV is dated A. D. 85. It records that Theon son of Sarapion gave notice to the *Agoranomus* to register the sale of a sixth part of a house ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Ἰουδαικοῦ bought from Παῦλος by Νικαία Σιλβανῶ Ψουβίου τῶν ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως Ἰουδαίων. From this important record it seems clear that by A. D. 85 there was a Jewish quarter in Oxyrhynchus. That there were Jews as late as A. D. 295 is shewn by vol. i, No. XLIII, *verso* ii 13, where, in a list of military accounts, supplies and watchmen of Oxyrhynchus there is mentioned Jacob son of Achilles.

All the foregoing tends to shew that apart from the Hebrew papyri there is plenty of documentary evidence for the existence at Oxyrhynchus of Jews, of a Jewish quarter, and hence, one may infer, of a congregation.

Many questions arise that one dare but adumbrate. Was there in early days any ritual of sacrifice at Oxyrhynchus, analogous to that of the Onias Temple, seeing that the Elephantine papyri give a strong hint of the existence of a temple at Assouan, and seeing that Aramaic inscriptions have been found at Oxyrhynchus also? Did the author of the Fragments write for a congregation that used the annual or the triennial cycle? Did he keep one day of Pentecost like the author of Jubilees or two days, as ordained in the Mishna? Did he use the LXX or the Targum? Did he know of the *Haftara* from Ezekiel or was it still prohibited in his day on account of its mysticism?

To these questions answers cannot be attempted here: indeed one doubts whether any attempt is justifiable at present on such slender material as is at hand. It will, however, be profitable to try to collect the main results which an examination of the Fragments may be said to afford.

After protecting one's statements by the strongest of saving clauses and after disarming criticism in advance by freely admitting the con-

5-6 αὐλὴν βοῶν ἐν ᾗ κέλλαι δύο [πρὸς] ἀπύθρῃσιν ἀχύρου καὶ χύρτου. The diminutives *κελλίον* and *κελλάριον* also occur, and the masculine derivative *κελλάριος* = *cellarius*.

In Oxyrh. 707 the expansion of the abbreviation *εμπ*() is uncertain, and *ἐμπ(ρησθείσαι)* as well as our *ἐμπ(οιούμεναι)*, has been suggested.

jectural nature of much that follows, one may be allowed to postulate a Jewish congregation at Oxyrynchus during the first and second centuries of the present era. That congregation was, perhaps, established by the founders of Elephantine Judaism, and it lasted, certainly, till the fifth century. It observed Pentecost and, in its ritual, the Lesson from Exodus, the *Hafara* of Habakkuk, and the 68th Psalm were used. In that congregation *piyyu!* was known and possibly of a lectionary as opposed to a liturgical nature. But there was a striking contrast between the primitive religion of Elephantine and the developed form that existed in Oxyrhynchus. Between the two stages a wide gulf is discernible, whereas the affinity between Oxyrhynchus and later Rabbinic Judaism is close. At all events, four or five centuries before it can be traced elsewhere, there was to be found in this obscure settlement on the Nile the germ of that wonderful form of poetry that spread all over the Jewish world, giving light and pleasure to thousands of worshippers, and stimulating and inspiring hosts of writers and translators up to the present day. It is indeed appropriate that these fragments of the earliest known *piyyu!* should have been given to the world at the Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, which was instituted to commemorate the life work of one who, together with his daughters, has done such yeoman service in the cause of the *piyyu!* and of the Jewish liturgy.

HERBERT LOEWE.

THE DOXOLOGY IN THE PRAYER OF ST POLYCARP.

It is told of an eminent scholar whom we have lately lost, that when a friend confronted him with a passage from Justin Martyr, which destroyed a generalization to which he had imprudently committed himself, he gently replied, 'I am afraid I had rather forgotten Justin'.

In my article on 'The Apostolic Anaphora and the Prayer of St Polycarp' (*J. T. S.* xxi pp. 97 ff, Jan. 1920) I gave some account of Dom Cagin's extraordinary theory of an 'Apostolic Anaphora'. For this theory, which I myself could not possibly accept, he had found support as he believed in an article which I wrote many years ago ('Liturgical Echoes in St Polycarp's Prayer', *Expositor*, Jan. 1899), and he had done me the honour of quoting almost the whole of it in his book. In that article I had mentioned a number of parallels from liturgical sources to the language of the Prayer, abstaining however from drawing any conclusions. The last of these parallels was concerned with the doxology at the end of the Prayer. It was the form, not the substance, of this doxology which at that time struck me as remarkable—'Thy Beloved

Son, *through whom to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit* be glory . . . I noted the occurrence of this formula 'no less than seven times in the *Canons of Hippolytus* and the *Egyptian Church Order* (Achelis, pp. 47, 57, 58, 59, 60, 67, 99)'. These documents are preserved to us in Arabic and Ethiopic translations respectively, and I observed that where we happened to have Greek forms of the prayers in question this formula was not found in them. In the Ethiopic Liturgy I found it as the regular formula of doxology; and shortly afterwards I came across it in several Coptic documents. The only occurrence of the actual Greek words ($\delta\iota' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon \sigma\omicron\iota \sigma\upsilon\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omega \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$) which I could discover was in the course of the Anaphora (not in the concluding doxology) of the Liturgy of St Mark (Swainson, p. 30; Brightman, p. 126), that strangely composite Liturgy which comes to us from Egypt.¹

At the time at which I wrote, the *Canons of Hippolytus* were generally believed to be of a much earlier date than would be allowed to them now. The place of honour which they then held has been taken by the so-called *Egyptian Church Order*. This document Dom Connolly has reconstituted with the aid of the new materials provided by Hauler for the Latin and by Horner for the Oriental versions, and he has successfully claimed it as the work of St Hippolytus. The *Apostolic Tradition*, as we may now call it, does not contain the particular doxological formula with which we are now concerned.²

In my review of Dom Cagin's book on 'The Apostolic Anaphora' I took occasion to refer again to the doxological formula in question, and to express my increasing astonishment at its presence in St Polycarp's Prayer—not only now on account of its form, but also on account of its substance. I prefaced my remarks by a plea that some one would give us a careful collection of all the doxologies extant in the Christian literature of the Ante-Nicene period. I said that we should then be able to answer some important questions. 'What for example is the earliest reference of any kind in a doxology to the Holy Spirit? There is none in the doxologies of the New Testament, nor in the numerous doxologies of the Epistle of Clement of Rome. Can we find one in any doxology which can be securely dated before we come to Clement of Alexandria or Hippolytus?'

In a recent number of this JOURNAL (vol. xxiii, p. 390) Mr J. W. Tyrer writes: 'Dr Robinson has failed to notice that Justin Martyr, in describing the Great Thanksgiving in the Liturgy of his day, says that the celebrant

¹ Dr Brightman has now pointed out a number of interesting examples of formulae which are somewhat similar, though not actually coincident.

² I have asked Dom Connolly to add a note on the forms of doxology with which the various versions present us. It will appear that one particular form may reasonably be held to come from the original Greek of the *Apostolic Tradition*.

αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει (*Apol.* i 65) . . . The natural interpretation of Justin's words is, that the Son and the Holy Ghost were named in the doxology which concluded the Great Thanksgiving. Hence we may infer that when he wrote (150-155) the threefold doxology was already established in the public prayers of the Church, so that there is no difficulty in supposing that St Polycarp may have used it at the time of his martyrdom (155 or 156).'

I might plead that I was speaking of extant doxologies and not of those which we might hypothetically reconstruct. But I prefer to say that 'I had rather forgotten Justin', and I am grateful to my critic for jogging my memory. I can take Justin's evidence a step further than he has done in his article. In my recent edition of the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, the lost treatise of St Irenaeus now recovered in an Armenian version (S.P.C.K. 1920), I had occasion to deal somewhat fully with St Justin's statements regarding the Holy Spirit. I cited (p. 30) the passage to which Mr Tyrer refers (*Apol.* i 65), and also another passage of a similar kind (*Apol.* i 67). In the former passage we are told that he who presides over the brethren receives the Bread and the Cup, and 'sends up praise and glory to the Father of all through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and makes thanksgiving (eucharist) for being accounted worthy of these gifts from Him'. This statement that praise and glory are offered 'to the Father of all through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit' may be accounted for as a mere reference in advance to a closing doxology. On the adequacy of this explanation opinions will differ. I am myself inclined to think that something more lay behind these remarkable words: and my reasons will be clear to any one who will read what I have said on pp. 38-44 of my book. In the later passage Justin says: 'And over all our food we bless the Maker of all things through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit'. Here I am more ready to accept the explanation that nothing more is referred to than a doxology which closed the thanksgiving.

Something must now be said on the really serious problem which Mr. Tyrer's article raises. Granting that St Justin attests a form of doxology in which a mention is made of the Holy Spirit, let us be careful to note that according to him glory or blessing is directed to the Father through the Son and through the Holy Spirit. This is a point on which it is proper to insist.

The difficulty which writers of the second century felt in defining the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son is so little recognized that it is possible for my critic to write as though it would be quite natural to expect the 'conglorification' of the Spirit in the

doxologies of that period. In the last sentence of the passage which I quoted from him he allows himself to speak of Justin's words as proving that 'the threefold doxology' was in use between 150 and 155, so that we need not be surprised at its use in St Polycarp's Prayer. But Justin's doxology ascribes glory to the Father alone; whereas that in the Prayer ascribes it to the Father with the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Two things surprise me in the doxology attributed to St Polycarp. One is the particular form in which it is phrased: 'through whom to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit'. Of this enough has been said until new examples of its use can be produced. The other is the 'conglorification' of the Holy Spirit. It is expressed indeed in the lower form—by the word 'with', and not by the word 'and', which was insisted upon in the final stage of the great controversy: but even so its appearance in the year 156 is to me no less than amazing.

Mr Tyrer suggests that I might find some relief by reading with Eusebius *σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, instead of *σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*. I have already said that on this point I accept the judgement of Lightfoot, Zahn, and Harnack. It is not in this direction that I look for the solution of the difficulty. I hope that attention will be given to the other parallels of a liturgical character in the Prayer, and that the Martyrdom as a whole may be submitted to a new examination. We need not fear that the main outlines of this beautiful story will be taken from us, even if the authenticity of the famous 'Letter of the Smyrnaeans' goes the way of other martyrological expansions.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

The doxology at the end of the eucharistic prayer, or Anaphora, in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus as preserved in the Verona Latin fragments is as follows: 'per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor, patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia tua, et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen'.

The same form occurs after the prayers of ordination for a bishop and a presbyter, except that in the former 'et potentia' is added after 'gloria', and 'in sancta ecclesia tua' is omitted, and in the latter 'virtus' is read in the place of 'honor', and 'tua' is omitted after 'ecclesia'. (The end of the prayer for the deacon, with its doxology, is lost.)

After the eucharistic prayer are two short blessings to be said, the first over oil, the second over cheese and olives. No doxologies are attached to them, but after the second is this direction: 'In omni vero benedictione dicatur: "Tibi gloria, patri et filio cum sancto spiritu, in sancta ecclesia, et nunc et semper et in omnia saecula saeculorum"'.

Finally, at a later point in the treatise there is a prayer to be said over firstfruits, which has this doxology: 'per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, dominum nostrum, per quem tibi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen'. The Greek of this is preserved (see *J. T. S.* xix pp. 134-135, Jan.-Apr. 1918): διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ (καὶ?) σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. This formula presents a different type from the foregoing, ascribing glory to the Father alone.

The doxologies in the Ethiopic version¹ of the *Apostolic Tradition* are as follows:—

1. Ordination prayer for bishop: 'through whom to thee be glory and might and honour, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in thy (two MSS read "the") holy Church, now', &c. (Horner, p. 139).

2. Anaphora: 'through whom to thee be glory and might in the holy Church, now', &c. (p. 141).

3. Ordination prayer for presbyter: 'through whom to thee be glory and power, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in the holy Church, now', &c. (p. 144).

4. Ordination prayer for deacon: 'through whom to thee with him (two MSS omit "with him") be glory and might and power and praise, with the Holy Spirit, now', &c. (p. 145).

5. Prayer over firstfruits: 'through whom to thee (some MSS add "with him") be glory, (some MSS add "and") with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever' (p. 179).

The Ethiopic has besides a quantity of interpolated matter containing a considerable number of prayers: (a) a series of five prayers added after the Anaphora, (b) a long baptismal service (Horner, pp. 163-178), (c) a form for blessing the Evening Lamp (pp. 159-160: this is certainly ancient, and may possibly be part of the original work). In (a) at p. 142 (twice), and in (b) pp. 164, 167, 168, 170 (twice), 175, 176, we have the formula: 'through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit', without MS variants worthy of note. On p. 165 the same form occurs, but with a difference of order: 'through whom to thee with him be glory . . . and with the Holy Spirit'. The Arabic and Coptic versions of the prayer over firstfruits (Horner, pp. 259, 323) offer what is only another slight variation of the same form: 'through whom be glory to thee with him and the Holy Spirit'. The doxology of the prayer in (c) is: 'through whom to thee (only one MS adds "with him") be glory and might and honour with the Holy Spirit, now', &c. On p. 174, under (b), 'with him' is absent.

Thus the certainly interpolated sections (a) and (b) have regularly

¹ The Arabic and Coptic recensions do not contain the prayers.

the formula 'through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit'. In the genuine prayers this appears only in the Ethiopic form of the doxology at the end of the deacon's prayer, and there two MSS omit the words 'with him'.

We have seen that in the *Apostolic Tradition* the Latin version presents, in all but secondary details, a single form of doxology in the Anaphora and the ordination prayers for bishop¹ and presbyter. We may conjecture that the same form concluded the deacon's prayer. What is of importance now to observe is that this form has the support of the Ethiopic in the case of the prayers for bishop and presbyter. That must mean that a common Greek text stands here behind the Latin and the Ethiopic. We may therefore say with some degree of confidence that the Latin has faithfully preserved the original form of doxology with which Hippolytus concluded the greater prayers of his treatise. The departures from this in the Ethiopic doxologies of the Anaphora and the deacon's prayer may probably be set down as corruptions due to the many vicissitudes through which the text must have passed before it reached the state in which this version presents it to us.

Having now established as characteristic of the *Apostolic Tradition* this particular doxology (the Greek words of which would seem to have been: διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τιμὴ (or τὸ κράτος) πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κτλ.), it becomes of interest to compare with it other forms of doxology which are found in the works of Hippolytus. The *Contra Noetum* closes with a solemn ascription of glory to Christ as God and Man (conformably with the scope of this treatise) together with the Father and the Holy Spirit: αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. Here again we have the remarkable and almost unique feature of the leading doxologies of the *Apostolic Tradition*—'in the holy Church'. With the shorter form at the end of the prayer over firstfruits we may compare the doxologies with which Hippolytus concludes each of the four books of his commentary on Daniel and the tract *De Antichristo*. Bk. I ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας: bk. II αὐτῷ γὰρ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: bk. III αὐτῷ γὰρ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: bk. IV ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: *De Antichr.* ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ The words 'in sancta ecclesia', absent from the Latin doxology of the bishop's prayer, may confidently be restored to it on the authority of the Ethiopic.

THE USE OF THE *DIDACHE* IN THE *DIDASCALIA*.

THE *Didache* in the form in which it was edited by Bryennius in his *editio princeps* (1883) is embodied with modifications and additions in the seventh book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Bryennius expressed the opinion that books i-vi of the same *Constitutions* were also inspired by and founded on the *Didache*, and he cited a number of parallels on which he rested his case.¹ Dr Harnack, in his edition of 1884, denied the cogency of Bryennius's proof, and declared that a careful reading of these parallels would convince any critic that neither in their original form (i. e. the *Didascalia*, as then known only in the Syriac version), nor in the interpolated form in which we now read them, was there any literary relationship between these first six books and the *Didache*: the most that could be said was that there was a bare possibility that the original composer (i. e. the writer of the *Didascalia*) might have read the *Didache*.² Harnack was right as to the constitution of the *Didascalia*; but he somewhat under-estimated the knowledge which it shews of the *Didache*. The late Dr Funk defended the contention of Bryennius to the extent of upholding the validity of his parallels as proof that the author of the *Didascalia* knew and made some use of the *Didache*.³ A few years later C. Holzhey, in a paper often since quoted,⁴ wrote in support of Funk's position, but claimed to shew a very much larger influence of the *Didache* than Funk would have allowed. It may be said, I think, that since that time the judgement of Funk has been for the most part acquiesced in.

But in the meantime the *Didascalia* has become better known; several translations from the Syriac version have appeared, and large portions of it in an ancient Latin version have been found and edited.⁵ By means of these Latin fragments the evidence of the Syriac, and of

¹ pp. va'-fθ'.

² *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, Leipzig 1884, p. 242. In his article *Apostellehre* in Herzog-Hauck's *Realencyclopädie* (1896) Harnack says: 'Bereits die Grundschrift der 6 ersten Bücher der apostolischen Konstit. (I. i-vi Syr.) scheint sie [sc. the *Didache*] vorauszusetzen, obschon eine direkte Abhängigkeit nicht nachweisbar ist'.

³ *Die apostolischen Konstitutionen*, Rottenberg 1891, pp. 65-69.

⁴ *Die Abhängigkeit der syrischen Didaskalia von der Didache*, in 'Compte rendu du quatrième congrès scientifique des Catholiques à Fribourg', 1897, first section pp. 249-277. The writer covers twenty pages with an immense list of 'parallels' between the *Didache* and the *Didascalia*, in German translations from the Greek of the former and the Syriac of the latter. About 95 per cent. of this collection is worthless, and the whole does not advance the discussion much beyond the point reached by Funk.

⁵ By E. Hauler *Didascalie apostolorum fragmenta ueronensia latina*, Leipzig 1900.

the Greek in so far as it is preserved in the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, can be supplemented on one or two important points.

The aim of this Note is first to collect in a convenient form the chief points of evidence, and secondly to indicate the bearing of this evidence on the question of the date and integrity of the *Didache* in the form in which it has reached us. All the passages which are here brought together, except, I think, the last have been already noted by other writers, and I think that the list contains all that is of real value for the discussion.

The *Didascalía* is cited by book, chapter, and section, as in Funk's edition, in which the division of the text is co-ordinated with that of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (AC). Where it is quoted in Latin the text is that of the Verona Fragments. The passages in English are translated from Lagarde's edition of the Syriac version, 1854. .

I. *Didache* i 3 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἐξετε ἐχθρόν.

Didascalía i 2. 3 'Nam iterum in evangelio dicit: Diligite odientes vos, et orate pro maledicentibus vos, *et inimicum nullum habebitis*' (Hauler, pp. 3-4).

'And again He says in the Gospel: Love them that hate you, and pray for them that curse you, *and ye shall have no enemy*' (Syriac, Lagarde, p. 2).

AC alters, substituting ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, and other clauses from Lk. vi 27-28 and Mt. v 44-45.

The *Didascalía* has two points of agreement with the *Didache* as against the Gospel text: 'love them that hate you', whereas in Mt. v 44 and Lk. vi 27 it is 'love your enemies'; and the words 'and ye shall have no enemy', which are not in the Gospels but form in the *Didache* the first of three fanciful additions, or riders, to texts from Mt. v and Lk. vi. Further, in both *Didache* and *Didascalía* the passage forms part of a commentary on the negative form of the Golden Rule, quoted in each a little before, though not with the same text.

II. *Didache* i 5 μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν, ἀθῶος γάρ ἐστιν. οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνα τί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί.

[Cf. *Hermas Mand.* ii 5-6 οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ, διατί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικαιοσύνην, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην. ὁ οὖν διδοὺς ἀθῶος ἐστιν.]

Didascalía iv 3 'Nam vere *beatus* est qui potest iuvare se, ut non tribulet locum orfani, peregrini et viduae; haec autem gratia a Deo est.

Vae autem his qui habent et cum dolo accipiunt, aut qui possunt sibi iuvare et accipiunt. Unusquisque vero de accipientibus dabit rationem domino Deo in die iudicii, quare acceperit' (Hauler, p. 53).

The Syriac is in agreement, except that the words 'aut qui possunt sibi iuvare et accipiunt' have been left out, apparently by accident.

AC ibid. καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς μακάριός ἐστιν ὃς ἂν δυνάμενος βοηθεῖν ἑαυτῷ μὴ θλίβῃ τόπον ὀρφανοῦ, ξένου καὶ χήρας, [ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κύριος μακάριον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν δίδόντα ἥπερ τὸν λαμβάνοντα, καὶ γὰρ εἶρηται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·] οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν, ἣ δυνάμενος βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἐτέρων βουλομένοις· ἐκάτερος γὰρ ἀποδώσει λόγον κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως.

When the passage in the *Didascalia* is considered in its context there is no room for doubt that the author's main source is Hermas, with whom he elsewhere shews signs of acquaintance. But the 'Woe' to them that receive is shared with the *Didache* and not with Hermas; and the preceding beatitude, though pronounced on those who are able to help themselves and not on those who give, is naturally to be traced to the same source.

The words οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσιν . . . βουλομένοις (as in *AC*) have been ascribed to Clement of Alexandria on the authority of the Catena of Nicetas (c. 1080), and Ropes¹ and Resch² regard the attribution without suspicion. If the words were used by Clement, we should have to consider the possibility that the author of the *Didascalia* derived them from him or from some document used by him. But Zahn³ had already shewn that Clement was not to be held responsible for the passage; and this is accepted as final by Stählin, who remarks on Resch's failure to notice what Zahn had pointed out.⁴ That the Catena fragment is taken in reality from the *Apostolic Constitutions* is proved by its agreement with the latter in the reading καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἐτέρων βουλομένοις. The Latin of the *Didascalia* represents only καὶ λαμβάνουσιν (the participle), and the change in the *Constitutions* is evidently a stylistic one.⁵ Funk (*Didasc. et Const. Apost.* ii 34) also recognized that the fragment is not from Clem. Alex., though he seems to be wrong in suggesting that the Clement mentioned in the Catena was intended to be Clement of Rome, the pretended author of the *Apost. Const.* (see Stählin *loc. cit.*).

III. *Didache* ii 4 (= Ep. of Barnabas xix 7) οὐκ ἔστι διγνώμων οὐδὲ δόγλωστος.⁶

¹ *Die Sprüche Jesu*, in *Texte u. Untersuch.* xiv 2 pp. 64 ff.

² *Agapha*, in *Texte u. Untersuch.* NF xv p. 195.

³ *Forschungen* iii, 'Supplementum Clementinum', p. 320.

⁴ *Clem. Alex.* iii p. LXVII, Berlin edition.

⁵ For the substance of this note thus far I am indebted to the Dean of Wells.

⁶ For δόγλωστος in Barnab. cod. N reads γλωσσώδης, and this is adopted by Gebhardt and Harnack. Some MSS read also διγνώμος for διγνώμων. As regards

Didascalía ii 6. 1 (among the qualifications for a bishop): 'And let him not be double-minded nor double-tongued' (Lagarde, p. 12).

AC ibid. μὴ δῖγνωνμος, μὴ δῖγλωσσος.

The expression in the *Didascalía* may come either from the *Didache* or from Barnabas. But traces of Barnabas in the *Didascalía* are slight as compared with those of the *Didache*. Moreover, the preceding words in the latter are οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις (these not in Barnabas), οὐ μνησικακήσεις, and a few words before in the *Didascalía* we find (according to *AC*) μὴ κατάλαλος, μὴ ψευδομάρτυς.

IV. *Didache* iii 7-8 ἴσθι δὲ πρᾶύς· ἐπεὶ οἱ πρᾶεῖς κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν. γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους (Isa. lxvi 2) διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. [Cf. Barnabas xix 4 ἔσθι πρᾶύς, ἔσθι ἡσύχιος, ἔσθι τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας.]

Didascalía ii 1. 5 'Unde etiamsi iuvenis est (sc. the bishop), tamen ut (? et) mansuetus sit, timidus et quietus, quoniam dicit per Eseiam dominus Deus: Super quem respiciam nisi super mansuetum et quietum et trementem verba mea *semper*? (Isa. lxvi 2). Similiter et in evangelio dicit ita: Beati mansueti, quia ipsi hereditabunt terram' (Hauler, p. 15).

AC ibid. ὥστε εἰ καὶ νέος, ἀλλὰ πρᾶος ὑπαρχέτω, δειλὸς τε καὶ ἡσύχιος, ὅτι λέγει διὰ Ἡσαίου κύριος ὁ θεός· ἐπὶ τίνα ἐπιβλέψω ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν πρᾶον¹ καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντά μου τοὺς λόγους διαπαντός; ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὕτως· μακάριοι οἱ πρᾶεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

The Syriac reading is discussed below.

That the author of the *Didascalía* has either the *Didache* or Barnabas in mind is indicated by his manner of introducing the quotation from Isaiah: the key-word πρᾶύς is placed at the head of a list of qualifications which includes ἡσύχιος, and the Scripture text follows in support. That the *Didache* and not Barnabas is his source is shewn first by the conjunction of the two texts, Isa. lxvi 2 and Mt. v 5 (? or, for the *Didache*, Ps. xxxvi [xxxvii] 11); but more conclusively by the addition to the Isaiah text of the word διαπαντός. It is true that two of the five MSS used by Funk for this part of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (but not his leading MS *a*), and also the Syriac version of the *Didascalía*, omit this word. But the presence of the equivalent *semper* in the Latin version makes it as good as certain that διαπαντός was taken over from the *Didascalía* by the author of the *Constitutions*, and therefore stood

the text of *Didache* it is to be noted that *Ap. Const.* vii 4 and the 'Apostolic Church Order' vi 2 read δῖγνωνμος for διγνώμων. Cf. the *Syntagma Doctrinae* and the *Fides Nicaena* (Migne *P. Gr.* xxviii coll. 837, 1640): the words are φυλάττεσθαι δὲ μὴ εἶναι δίλογον (*Fid. Nic.* δίγλωσσον), μὴ δῖγνωνμον.

¹ The LXX read ταπεινόν, but a couple of MSS prefix πρᾶον καὶ. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii 19. 101 has the text as in *AC* except for the διαπαντός at the end; Clem. Rom. i 13 has πρᾶν for ταπεινόν, and ends with μου τὰ λόγια.

in the original text of this work. Its later introduction from the *Didache* into MSS both of the *Didascalia* and the *Constitutions* is well-nigh unthinkable. On the other hand, the disappearance of the word from some MSS of either document¹ is easily explained, for it does not belong to the Scripture text (appearing there in no other known authority),² and so was always in danger of being omitted—as it is omitted in the Apostolic Church Order xi and in *AC* vii 8.³

V. *Didache* viii ι αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν νηστεύουσιν γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν.

Didascalia v 14. 18-21: 'But (fast) not after the custom of the former People, but according to the new testament which I have appointed you: that you may be fasting for them on the fourth of the week, because on that day they began to destroy their souls and apprehended me . . . But fast for them also on the Friday, because thereon they crucified me' (Lagarde, p. 89).

The Latin of this passage is wanting. In *AC* it is reduced to a couple of lines: τετράδα δὲ καὶ παρασκευήν προσέταξεν ἡμῖν νηστεύειν, τὴν μὲν διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν, τὴν δὲ διὰ τὸ πάθος.

The words quoted from the *Didascalia* occur in a passage in which our Lord is represented as addressing the Apostles after His resurrection, when He found them fasting and mourning for Him. He tells them that they were not to fast for Him but for their brethren, the Jews.⁴ The whole section is a long and rather confused discussion of the week of the Passion and the days to which the several events in it are to be assigned, with special reference to the fast of six days before Easter. But the author turns off somewhat abruptly from the Passiontide fast to

¹ We have no reason for supposing that the word was omitted in a Greek MS of the *Didascalia*: its absence from the Syriac may well be due to the translator, who constantly shews the influence of the Peshitta in his rendering of O. T. quotations.

² The Dean of Wells gives me a reference to *Hermas Mand.* v 2. 3 ἢ δὲ μακροθυμία . . . παραμένουσα διὰ παντὸς πραεῖα καὶ ἡσύχιος. This is quite possible as the source of διὰ παντὸς in the *Didache* (where notice also γίνου μακρόθυμος), but hardly in the *Didascalia*—unless we are ready to maintain either (1) that the authors of both works independently turned the *Hermas* passage in the same curious way; or—if *Hermas* be considered later than the *Didache*—(2) that the author of the *Didascalia* accidentally got back through *Hermas* into such remarkable agreement as he shews with the *Didache*. Neither of these suppositions can claim any probability.

³ The Latin version of the *Didache* reads: 'esto patiens et tui negotii, bonus et tremens omnia verba quae audis'. Here διὰ παντός would seem to be represented by the *omnia* (perhaps originally *per omnia*!). The *Synlogma Doctrinae* and the *Fides Nicaena*, based upon it, have both: γένου ταπεινὸς καὶ ἡσύχιος, τρέμων διὰ παντός τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου (Migne *P. Gr.* xxviii 840 and 1641).

⁴ We are reminded of the sentence in the *Didache* i 3 νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

the regular weekly days of fasting. The injunction in both *Didache* and *Didascalia* to avoid fasting like the Jews, and to make the difference by fasting on other days of the week, is sufficiently remarkable to justify the inference that the later treatise is here dependent on the earlier. It may be added also that the author of the *Didascalia* seems to speak of the Friday fast as replacing a Jewish fast of the *fifth* day of the week, for a little earlier he cites the words 'The fourth fast, and the fifth fast' (from Zech. viii 19), adding at once, 'which is the Friday'—i.e., as it would seem, which represents, or is represented by, the Friday fast of the Christians.

VI. *Didache* xiii 3 *πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν.*

Here the right of the prophets to receive all manner of firstfruits is based upon the claim that they stand to the Christian people in the place of the priests of the Old Law. The author of the *Didascalia* has much to say as to the right of the bishop and other ministers to be maintained by the offerings of the people, and he, too, appeals to the former legislation. Having quoted Numbers xviii 1-32, he goes on at once (ii 26. 1) to apply this text to the Church: 'Quae primum dicta sunt, tu nunc audi: delibationes et decumae primitiva sunt principi sacerdotum Christo et ministris eius' (Hauler, p. 36). Then after a few lines he continues (ii 26. 2):

'quae tunc fuerunt primitivae et decumae et delibationes et dona, nunc sunt prosforae quae per episcopos offeruntur domino Deo in remissione peccatorum: *isti enim primi sacerdotes vestri*' (Hauler, p. 37).

The Syriac (Lagarde, p. 36) is in agreement, except that it omits the words 'in remissione peccatorum'.

AC ibid. αἱ τότε ἀπαρχαὶ καὶ δεκάται καὶ ἀφαιρέματα καὶ δῶρα νῦν προσφοραὶ αἱ διὰ τῶν [ὁσίων] ἐπισκόπων προσφερόμεναι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ [διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος] οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν ὑμῶν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.

VII. *Didache* xvi 6 καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ.

Didascalia vi 15. 3 'Lex vero est decalogus et iudicia, sicuti testimonium praebet Iesus dominus dicens: Iota, id est unus apex, non transiet a lege. Iota quidem est quod non transiet a lege: iota autem significatur per decalogum nomen Iesu, apex vero *signum* est *extensionis* ligni' (Hauler, p. 68).

'Now the Law is the Ten Words and Judgements, to which (Law) Jesus bore witness and said: One yod letter shall not pass away from the Law. Now that "yod" which passes not away from the Law (is) that which may be known from the Law itself, which is the name of

Jesus. But the "letter" is the extension of the wood of the cross' (Lagarde, p. 107).

AC quotes the text of Mt. v 18 in the ordinary form, but omits the exegesis.

The author of the *Didascalía* is arguing that the true and abiding Law, as distinguished from the *Deuterosis* or Second Legislation (according to his use of this term: i. e. mainly the ceremonial law of the Old Testament), consists of the Decalogue and 'Judgements'.¹ He proves this by finding in the Decalogue the name of Jesus (the number *ten* = *iota* = the first letter of Ἰησοῦς).² Hence when Jesus said: 'One iota or one tittle shall not pass away from the Law', He meant by the *iota* His own Name; but by the *tittle* He meant the 'sign of (the) extension of the wood', i. e. no doubt the horizontal beam of the cross. But why 'the sign'? The remarkable expression 'sign of extension' occurs elsewhere only in the *Didache*³: there can be little doubt that our author took it from thence, and that his Greek was σημεῖον ἐκπέτασως τοῦ ξύλου.

The Syriac does not express 'sign'. But this can be explained by the fact that the translator uses the curious old Syriac rendering 'One yod letter shall not pass away from the Law', where the 'tittle' is not represented. He is thus left with only one term, whereas the exegesis requires two; so he is obliged to make a distinction between the 'yod' and the 'letter'. But 'letter' (*āthūtha*) and 'sign' (*ātha*) are two forms from the same root, and to the Syriac mind 'letter' would be merely the kind of 'sign' used in writing. To say therefore 'the letter is the sign' would probably have seemed a tautology.

It is to be observed that the passages borrowed from the *Didache* are distributed over all parts of that work, and in so far testify to its existence, at the time when the *Didascalía* was written, in the full form in which our one Greek manuscript presents it—the same full form which was used by the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* in his seventh

¹ The 'Judgements' are no doubt the laws of equity as between man and man which follow the Decalogue in Ex. xxi: cf. v. 1 καὶ τὰ ταῦτα τὰ δικαιώματα ἃ παραθήσῃ ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν.

² Cf. Barnabas ix 8, where IH = Jesus, and T = the cross, a passage which may have been in the writer's mind.

³ Though the Odes of Solomon twice come very near it: 'I expanded my hands, and sanctified my Lord: for the extension of my hands is His sign, and my standing-erect is the wood that is upright' (xxvii 1-2); 'I expanded my hands, and drew nigh unto my Lord; for the extension of my hands is His sign, and my standing-erect is the erect wood' (xlii 1-2). Here 'standing-erect' (lit. 'expansion') is from the same root as 'I expanded'; but the verb is also used in the sense of standing erect, and no doubt the author means to describe the cross formed by his attitude in prayer—his hands outstretched, and his body erect.

book. The first four passages are from the first part, which deals with what may be called *moralia* (the Two Ways); the next two are from the second part, which deals with *ecclesiastica*; the last is from chapter xvi, which deals with the 'last things'.

Moreover, the first two passages are from the section i 3^b-ii 1, which has been supposed to be an interpolation into the *Didache* as at first composed.¹

What is of chief interest, therefore, is that our nos. I and II take back the evidence for the supposed interpolation to the third century, whereas apart from the *Didascalia* the evidence for it was traceable only to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, i.e. to the latter part of the fourth century. How does this affect the problem of the date of the *Didache*?

The passage *Didache* i 3^b-ii 1 contains a piece of text copied from *Hermas Mand.* ii 4-7.² On the strength of this Bryennius, its first editor, and Harnack in his edition of 1884, concluded that the *Didache* could not have been written at an earlier date than between A.D. 140 and 160. Reasons were soon brought forward, however, for regarding the whole passage as a later addition, and this obstacle in the way of an earlier date was felt to have been disposed of. Here it must be remarked that this view of the passage cannot be made to rest on its absence from the Two Ways in the Epistle of Barnabas xix-xx, for the Two Ways of the *Didache* has other pieces (notably iii 1-6) which are not in Barnabas, but are not for that reason rejected as later insertions. The relation of the *Didache* to Barnabas forms a separate problem. But other evidence could be cited against the passage: it is absent from the document called the 'Apostolic Church Order' (or 'Ἐπιτομή ὁρων'), in which the Two Ways is embodied in a form which in other respects is substantially that of the *Didache*; it is absent also from the Latin version, which shews the same kind of dependence on the *Didache*, and from certain later texts. The case against it, therefore, is at first sight a strong one.

But the Dean of Wells, Dr Armitage Robinson, has argued with force (1) that the compiler of the *Didache* derived his teaching on the Two Ways from Barnabas, its original author; and (2) that the different arrangement and the additional matter which appear in the Greek MS of the *Didache* are alike to be attributed to the compiler of this manual.³

In regard to the passage we are considering the Dean points out (p. 74) that the Latin version 'is not strictly speaking a Latin version

¹ The seventh also is from a section which has been regarded as an interpolation; but of this it will not be necessary to speak here.

² That the borrowing is on the side of the *Didache* is, I think, evident; but if it be held to be on the side of *Hermas*, he would have to be added as a witness to the authenticity of the passage.

³ *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache*, by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1920).

of the *Didache*, but a Latin homily based on the first part of the *Didache* only', and that the author of the homily, besides using 'great freedom of omission and alteration, . . . has gone on his own account both to Barnabas and to Hermas to supplement what he presumably found in his copy of the *Didache*'. The homilist, moreover (at a later point), has either quoted a sentence from the 'interpolated' passage of the *Didache* or gone to Hermas for the corresponding text.¹ This strongly suggests that the sentence had a place in the document which he was using—even if his own wording of it was influenced by a recollection of Hermas.

In the case of the Apostolic Church Order, again, the Dean observes that its author also had the Epistle of Barnabas before him (pp. 75–76): his opening words are the opening words of the Epistle, and he inserts from Barnabas phrases not found in the *Didache*. It is pointed out also that in a document in which the teaching of the Two Ways is distributed among the Apostles the author would very naturally shrink from making any one of them utter as his own contribution a selection of our Lord's most familiar words, drawn from the great Sermon (Mt. v and Lk. vi). We may perhaps add that for later writers a treatise like the *Didache* would be of interest mainly for what it *added* to the Gospels and other apostolic writings. A string of thinly disguised sentences from the Gospel could have little interest for those who knew the original texts by heart. Nor is the section i 3^b—ii 1 the only considerable portion of the Two Ways that the author of the document has omitted in his use of the *Didache*: as he passes over this passage near the beginning, so he omits at the end about twelve lines from the Way of Life (*D.* iv 9–14) and the whole of the Way of Death, substituting here a passage adapted from the last chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas (xxi 2–4, 6). How minute was his knowledge of Barnabas is shewn further in his twelfth chapter, where he attempts to harmonize, or cover up, an awkward difference between *Didache* iv 1 and Barnabas xix 9–10.

As regards the date of the Apostolic Church Order, its composition can hardly be placed so early as even the end of the third century. In attempting to find its age two points deserve special notice. (1) The author prefers that a bishop should be unmarried (*ἀγύναιος*): though he is willing to acquiesce in one who is *ἀπὸ μᾶς γυναικός* (xvi 2)—whatever may be the force of the *ἀπό*. Presbyters, again, are to be elderly, and so *τρόπῳ τινι ἀπεχομένους τῆς πρὸς γυναίκας συνελεύσεως*² (xviii 1). Nothing is said in either case of duties in regard to the upbringing of

¹ The sentence is 'omnibus enim dominus dare (? read *dari*) vult de donis suis', which is added after iv 8. See Armitage Robinson *op. cit.* p. 75.

² Cf. the *Syntagma Doctrinae* for monks, ascribed to St Athanasius, c. 8 *εἰ δέ τις ἱερεὺς ἀκριβῶς θέλῃ ἱερατεύειν . . . ἦτω νηφάλιος . . . ἀπεχόμενος γυναικός*.

children, though 1 Tim. iii and Titus i are under contribution. Only when he comes to speak of deacons does the author say unequivocally that they are to be *μονόγαμοι, τεκνοτρόφοι* (xx 2). This is all in a different region of ideas from the *Didascalia*, the author of which has nothing to say about celibacy, and does not even mention virgins: he assumes that the bishop will have a wife and children, and he urges all parents to have their children married as soon as they are of a proper age. (2) There is another passage which may well arouse suspicion. In ch. xxv Peter is made to say *περὶ δὲ τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἀκριβῶς μνηνύσμεν*. This is decidedly not early eucharistic terminology: references to the Eucharist as 'the body of Christ' or 'the body and blood of the Lord' are familiar enough in early Christian writings; but can any parallel be brought from an ante-Nicene document to this absolute use of 'the oblation of the Body and the Blood'? It seems more likely that the use of earlier sources in the Apostolic Church Order has lent a false air of antiquity to it as a composition, and that 'Egyptian and monastic' would be a fair description of it.¹

The *Didascalia*, which is certainly of the third century and may be no later than the year 250, is thus in all probability the earliest document that throws any light on the question whether the 'interpolation' in *Didache* i 3—ii 1 is really an interpolation or due to the author of the *Didache* himself.

We have then three independent witnesses to the authenticity of the supposed interpolation: the *Didascalia*, of the third century; the *Apostolic Constitutions*, of the fourth century; and the Greek MS, which gives us the whole document. Against this testimony is set the absence of the section from the version offered by the Latin homilist, from the Apostolic Church Order, the Life of Schnudi, the *Syntagma Doctrinae* attributed to St Athanasius, and the *Fides Nicaena*. This looks an imposing list, but it cannot be allowed to pass as a catalogue of independent witnesses against the suspected passage. Of the first two members something has been said above; let us briefly consider the other three.

I take the last two first. The *Fides* is only another recension of the *Syntagma*,² from which it appears to have been derived. It adds at the beginning a long exposition of the Nicene Creed, and omits at the end about eighteen lines (of Migne's print). For the rest the two recensions are closely parallel, though the *Fides* shews a certain amount of amplification. In both there are clear traces of the Two Ways according to the text of the *Didache*. The author of the *Fides* shews

¹ Harnack places it between 300 and 350, Bardenhewer at the close of the third century (later than the *Didascalia*).

² These two treatises may be read in Migne *P. Gr.* xxviii 836 and 1637.

further that he had an independent acquaintance with the *Didache* text : he borrows thence a clause which is not used in the *Syntagma* (*Didache* vi 1), and in one or two places he brings the wording into closer agreement with that of the *Didache*. What is important to observe is the manner in which the Two Ways is used in these tracts : its matter is evidently familiar, but there is no systematic use of the document. Only a precept or a phrase is here and there taken over—scarcely more than half a dozen lines if all be put together. It is quite impossible to say that any part of our *Didache* was *not* in the hands of the author of either *Syntagma* or *Fides*, and these two documents should be left out of the discussion.

In the discourse of Schnudi,¹ contained in his *Life*, the passage *Didache* i 3^b—ii 1 is passed over, as in the Apostolic Church Order. But Schnudi has another point of agreement with this document which indicates some line of literary connexion between the two : he, too, omits the section *Didache* iv 9–14 (see p. 155 above). Harnack took note of this fact and suggested as an explanation of it that there may have been copies of the Two Ways which did not contain the passage.² It is to be observed, however, that the author of the Apostolic Church Order quotes the words 'Thou shalt keep the things which thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away' (*Didache* iv 13 = Barnab. xix 11) at a later point (at the end of his ch. xiv). He may, of course, have taken them from Barnabas ; but that is less probable, and it remains possible that the agreement of Schnudi with the Apostolic Church Order is due to direct influence of the latter document. His omission of the 'interpolated' passage may be due to the same cause ; if so, these two witnesses are reducible to one. Schnudi is another example of a homilist who quotes only so much as he wants of the Two Ways, and has no special interest in preserving what would seem to him a perverted form of the sayings of our Lord.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that the *Didascalia* offers the earliest known testimony to the existence of the *Didache*, and that this testimony, so far as it goes, points to its existence in the form in which our only Greek MS gives it to us. Its quotations or allusions include passages from the supposed interpolation at the beginning and from the supposed interpolation at the end. On the other hand, the evidence which has been drawn from various sources to substantiate the theory of interpolation does not when cross-examined appear to be of a kind that carries conviction.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

¹ Translated into German from the Arabic by L. E. Iselin in *Texte u. Untersuch.* xiii 2 pp. 6 ff (1895).

² *Die Apostellehre*, 1896, p. 29.

MEMRA, SHEKINAH, METATRON.¹

It seems worth while to draw special attention in the JOURNAL to this important paper by Prof. G. F. Moore, because many students of the Gospels, not specially interested in Rabbinical lore, might fail to realize from its title that it has to do with an all too popular method of dealing with the beginnings of the doctrine of the Johannine Logos.

Most writers are accustomed to derive the idea of the *Logos*, that comes before us so abruptly at the beginning of the Fourth Gospel, from Philo or the Stoics: in either case from something essentially Greek. Another school of expositors have attempted to regard the Johannine Logos as a Jewish idea, which is supposed to be traceable in the use of the term *Memra* (usually translated 'Word') in the Aramaic Targums. 'The belief in a divine Word, a mediating Power by which God makes Himself known to men in action and teaching, was not confined to any one school at the time of Christ's coming. It . . . moulded the language of the Targums. . . . In Palestine the Word appears, like the Angel of the Pentateuch, as the medium of the outward communication of God with men.' So Dr Westcott (*Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, 6th ed., p. 151), who goes on to speak of 'the recognition of a twofold personality in the divine Essence', and the teaching of Dr Westcott, derived, I suppose, mainly from Schöttgen, has often been re-echoed in later days by writers who have not been so careful to keep close to the words of their authorities.

The main object of Prof. Moore is to shew that the use of *Memra* in the Targums has nothing whatever to do with the use of *Logos* in the Fourth Gospel, or in any other Greek composition. He points out that the Targumists are not so much concerned with the elimination of anthropomorphic ideas which occur in the Hebrew Scriptures, as with the avoidance of certain anthropomorphic expressions. It is misleading to translate *memra* by 'the Word', with a capital letter (p. 45). Moreover, 'the *memra* of the Lord' in the Targums does not correspond to 'the word of the Lord' (רַבֵּר יְהוָה) in Hebrew, e. g. Gen. xv 1, Isa. xl 8: 'wherever the "word of the Lord" is the medium or instrumentality of revelation, or of communication to men, in Greek λόγος or ῥῆμα, the term employed for this medium in the Targums is not *memrā*, but *pitgāmā*, or (as in Psalm xxxiii 6) *millā*' (p. 46). 'God's *memrā* has sometimes the connotation of command—we might in imitation of the

¹ 'Intermediaries in Jewish Theology (*Memra, Shekinah, Metatron*)', by George Foot Moore: reprinted from the *Harvard Theological Review*, Jan. 1922.

etymology say "edict"—the expression of his will which is an effective force in nature and providence; sometimes it might best be translated "oracle", the revelation of his will or purpose (not, however, a specific word of prophecy); sometimes it is the resolution of a metaphor for God's power, his protection, and the like. In many instances it is clearly introduced as a verbal buffer—one of many such in the Targums—to keep God from seeming to come too close quarters with men and things; but it is always a buffer-word, not a buffer-idea; still less a buffer-person' (p. 53). 'The sum of the whole matter is that nowhere in these Targums is *memrā* a "being" of any kind or in any sense, whether conceived personally as an angel employed in communication with men, or as a philosophically impersonal created potency' (p. 53, end). '*Memrā* is found only in the Targums; not in such Aramaic texts as are preserved in the Midrashim, nor in the voluminous Aramaic parts of the Talmuds, nor, so far as I am aware, in the Zohar. In other words, it is a phenomenon of translation, not a creature of speculation' (p. 54).

'Like *memrā*, *shekināh* acquires what semblance of personality it has solely by being a circumlocution for God in contexts where personal states or actions are attributed to him' (p. 59).

In the second part of this study Prof. Moore gives convincing reasons for believing that the old traditional view of the derivation of *Metatrōn* is correct, viz. that it is nothing more than the Latin word *metator*, i. e. 'pioneer', a military word like 'legion' and 'street', which it is not surprising to find taken over by a Palestinian dialect. He rejects the modern derivations from Mithra and from Metathronos and Metatyrranos. The original function of Metatron was to conduct the Israelites across the desert, and it is sometimes a name for Michael. In later Jewish Cabbalistic speculation the name is used for a sort of emanation of God, but Metatron is never in function or in essence an 'intermediary' or 'mediator' (p. 79).

These quotations of Prof. Moore's leading conclusions will shew that neither *memra* nor *metatron* have anything to do with the Johannine λόγος. From whatever channel the Fourth Evangelist derived his ideas or his phraseology, this paper shews that it is useless to look for the explanation in the *memra* of the Targums or the *metatron* of the Talmud. The paper is therefore cordially to be recommended to that large number of Christian scholars who have to take their ideas about Rabbinical thought at second hand from popular works on the religion and the thought of the Synagogue.

F. C. BURKITT.

KOHELETH AND THE EARLY GREEKS.

WHEN students have thought of the possibility of Greek influence on the Book of Ecclesiastes, their attention has been generally turned towards the abstract philosophy of the times, to Heraclitus, Aristotle, the Stoics, Epicureans, &c. But does not Ecc. xii 9 f suggest that a much better object for comparison is the practical gnomonic philosophy of the ordinary man? 'He tested and sought out and set in order many proverbs.'

Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) tells us in *ad Nicoclen* (43) that in his own day Hesiod, Theognis, and Phokylides were admitted to be the outstanding teachers of practical morality; and we find from Dio Chrysostom that in the first century of our era they were still reckoned teachers of the popular wisdom.

Now you have only to open Hesiod's *Works and Days* to find a passage which immediately compels comparison with Ecclesiastes iv 4-6. A glance at the commentaries will shew the efforts spent in the endeavour to form a satisfactory connexion between these three verses. Some critics simply excise verse 5 as out of harmony with the context. But look at Hesiod. First (11-26), like Koheleth in iv 4, he writes of the good rivalry that lies behind toil and the arts. Then Ecc. iv 5 is an excellent summary of the Greek's description of the idle loungee Perses which immediately follows (26-35; cf. 302, 413). Then comes (37 ff) Hesiod's famous words against corrupt judges: 'Fools! they know not how much more is the half than the whole, nor how mighty a blessing there is in mallow and asphodel', which is just the lesson of Koheleth in iv 6. The quiet contentment of the life of humble fortune is best. Can it be accidental that the verses and the Hesiodic passage follow the same order? Does it not look as if Koheleth has simply summarized the lessons of the passage in his three apparently disconnected aphorisms, although in his usual fashion he must regard even the good rivalry as vanity? Compare also Ecc. vi 9 with the *Works and Days* 366, and especially fr. 18: 'Foolish is he who leaves what he has and pursues what he has not'. Note, too, that woman in Hesiod (*Works and Days* 83; *Theogony* 589 f) is deadly, a sheer snare from which escape is hopeless. Koheleth (vii 26) thinks her more bitter than death. She also is a snare. If Hesiod was known to Koheleth there is then no reason to cut out the latter half of the verse as a gloss. He improves on his source. Escape may be hopeless to the sinner, but not to the man good before God. The student may easily find other parallels.

Turn now to the gnomonic poet Theognis (c. 520 B.C.), and compare

his work with that of Koheleth. Both writings consist of opinions and meditations upon human life and society anything but coherently and systematically arranged. There are loose connexions, arguments little developed, abrupt changes of subject, apparently inconsistent expressions of opinion. The history of criticism shews the framing of somewhat similar theories for both writings.

Mark that both writers claim more than ordinary wisdom (Ecc. i 16, ii 15, xii 9 ff; Th. 370, 418, 769 f, &c.). This last passage is specially noteworthy: 'It is meet that the servant and messenger of the Muses, if he has any signal knowledge of wisdom,¹ should not begrudge it: no, some things he must seek, some he must present, and others compose; to what profit is his sole knowledge?' Here is the Greek's own view of his function. Inasmuch as he is intellectually superior to others he must not keep his wisdom to himself; he must seek out the writings and thoughts of others, and such as he has tested, approved, or even modified are to be presented with his own original work. Compare Ecc. xii 9-10. Self-praise should not be a reason for the excision of these verses in view of i 16 and ii 15, as Drs Plumptre and Barton thought. The language is uncommon.² May not the very similar words of Theognis be in mind? 'And because Koheleth was superior in wisdom³ he taught the people knowledge; yea, he tested and sought out and set in order many proverbs. Koheleth sought to find words of fact,⁴ and he wrote uprightly words of truth.' In each case the possession of superior wisdom is felt to carry the responsibility of teaching. Their methods, too, were the same. Both, together with material of their own, presented such thoughts as had been tested and approved after careful search of the writings of the wise (cf. Ben Sira xxxix 1 ff). The similarity of the passages is striking, and many other parallels can be traced.

Attention was drawn by the present writer to the relation between Theognis and Ecclesiastes in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* for Jan. 1918. Since then criticisms have compelled enquiries from other points of view, and more light has been thrown on

¹ εἰ τι περισσὸν εἰδείη σοφίης.

² D. S. Margoliouth in the Jewish Enc. thinks of it as foreign Hebrew.

³ The Vulgate has: 'Cumque esset sapientissimus Ecclesiastes, docuit populum', &c. The Septuagint is: καὶ περισσὸν ὅτι ἐγένετο δ' Ἐ. σοφὸς ὅτι ἐδίδασκεν πᾶσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. As Dr Ginsburg points out, the Targum paraphrased the Hebrew as if it were וְשִׁהִיָּה קְהֵלֶת חֲכָם יִתְרֵי מִכָּל. It is difficult not to think that at a very early date the יִתְרֵי became misplaced, the eye getting confused with the one at the beginning of verse 12. Perhaps Koheleth wrote לְמַד עַד-יִתְרֵי חֲכָם קְהֵלֶת חֲכָם.

⁴ חֲפִץ is so taken by Dr Marshall, = 'matter', 'business' as in iii 1, 17; v 7; viii 6.

the subject. This paper points out the chief similarities in the hope that British scholars not so isolated from the centres of learning as its writer is, and equipped with finer tools, may give the matter a much more thorough examination.

In both our writers a common theme is the complete dependence of man upon Deity for all the good or evil of life (Th. 133, 133 f, 165 f, 271 f, &c. ; Ecc. i 13, ii 24 ff, iii 10, 13 f, v 18 f, vi 2, vii 11 f, ix 1, xi 5, &c.). In almost the same language they tell of man's helplessness in the grip of arbitrary and resistless Power: 'Tis not for mortals to fight with Immortals, or to argue with them' (Th. 687-688). 'He (man) is not able to contend with Him who is mightier than he' (Ecc. vi 10). Mark the phraseology (Οὐκ ἔστι . . . οὐδὲ δίκην εἰπεῖν. לֹא-יִצִּיל לְדָן עִם)

For the sentiment cf. also Th. 139 f, 727 f, 817, 1033 f, 1187 f; Ecc. iii 14 f, vii 13, viii 8, ix 1.

How Koheleth is oppressed by man's ignorance of the future and inability to penetrate the Divine plan! 'He has put ignorance (read עֲלָם) in man's heart so that he cannot find out the work that God does from beginning to end' (iii 11). Examine also i 2-11, vi 12, vii 24, viii 17, ix 1, 12, x 14, xi 5. So, too, Theognis: 'Nothing is defined by God for mortals nor the road in which a man must go to please the Immortals' (381 f). 'No man toils, knowing within his heart whether the issue be good or ill, . . . our thoughts are vain, we know nothing; the gods accomplish all things according to their own mind' (135 ff). See also 159 f, 585 f, 1075 f. Also Hesiod's *Works and Days* 484 f, and fr. 177 (Goettling). Solon, too, utters similar thoughts (xiii 65 f, xvi), and so also Simonides of Amorgos (i 3). Other parallels can be found in Babylonian Penitential Psalms: 'Men are hardened and no one has understanding. Among all who are, who knows anything? Whether they do evil or good, no one has knowledge' (iv R. 10). 'If I but knew that before God such was well-pleasing! But what seems good to oneself, that is bad with God; what is despicable to any one's mind, that is good to his god. Who can understand the will of the gods in heaven? The plan of a god is full of mystery—who can fathom it? How can dim-sighted men understand the way of a god?' (iv R. 60).

Both Koheleth and Theognis conclude from their survey of the world that God treats wicked and righteous alike, or even the former better than the latter (Th. 149, 377 f, 383 ff, 589 f, 749 ff, 865; Ecc. ii 14-16, vi 8, iii 16, iv 1, vii 15, viii 10, 14, ix 2 f, 11). And both again lament that the tardiness and uncertainty in Divine judgement encourage men in their evil practices and help to increase their wickedness and madness (Th. 279-280, 747 f; Ecc. viii 11, ix 3). Both again elsewhere inconsistently refer to the sure punishment of wrong-doing, &c. (Th. 143 ff, 197 ff; Ecc. ii 26, v 6, 8, vii 17, 26, viii 13, x 8 f). (Some

of these verses are suspected.) If, with the BDB Lex. and the Gesenius-Kautzsch Grammar, we take the נְבָרִים of v 8 as a plural *maiestatis* referring to God as The Superior Officer, the peculiar expression may have been suggested by Theognis's use of ὑπερέχω for the mind of the gods in 202. The thought in both is: 'Let men oppress and pervert justice, in the end the will of Deity will prevail'.

In neither writer do we find any belief in retribution or redress after death. Death, wrote Theognis, takes the sinner out of the reach of justice altogether (207 f). Both lack even the slightest hope of immortality (Ecc. iii 17, xi 9 c, xii 14 are generally regarded as interpolations). See Th. 244, 567 ff, 708 ff, 877 f, 973 ff, 1191 ff; Ecc. ii 16, iii 19 ff, ix. 2, 5, 12. Good and bad share the same fate. Theognis speaks of an immortality of Fame (237 ff, 867), the Jew denies even remembrance (i 11, ii 16, iii 5-6).

Convinced as Theognis is that facts point to the Deity as not righteous (135 f, 279 f, 373 ff, 382 f, 404, 687, 743 ff, &c.) he was never led into atheism or the repudiation of popular beliefs, though sometimes he cannot restrain his feelings of resentment. His advice is, 'Reverence and fear the gods; for this prevents a man from doing or saying unholy things' (1179). See also 734, 738, 1140, 1144, 1148. So also Koheleth. He, too, was not tempted to deny his faith in God. He exhorts his readers to fear Him (v 1, 7, vii 18, viii 12, xii 1, &c.). Sometimes he seems to have thought of a moral order in the world (iii 11, 14, viii 12, 17), and he never goes so far as Theognis in directly challenging the Divine justice: but every chapter indicates a calm assumption of the universal crookedness of things. Certainly he has nothing of the Hebrew saint's passionate hold on God in spite of all perplexities. At heart he is more Greek than Jew.

To the Greek not virtue (ἀρετή), nor wealth, nor wisdom was of importance, but Heaven-sent good luck (τύχη). Even though one do wrong, if dear to Deity all will be well (Th. 129 f, 134 f, 169, 589 f, 653 f, 1119 f). So with Koheleth. Success is not due to ability or merit. Time and chance are in all events; though it must be noticed that it is also no blind chance, as all things are wholly dependent upon the Divine pleasure (xi 5, ii 24, iii 13, v 19, vii 14, ix 1). Look at Ecc. ix 11: 'The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all'. Then turn to Theognis: 'Some toil with good counsel and ill luck (lit., a bad daemon) and success does not follow their works' (163 f, cf. 639 f). God gives wealth to the useless (149, 321, 865, &c.). With Divine aid even the slow man 'hath caught

the swift in the pursuit' (329 ff). 'The wise man errs, and glory oft attends the senseless, and honour even the base man obtains' (662 ff). And also notice that both Ecc. ix 11 and Th. 129 ff are followed by the statement of man's ignorance of the future (ix 12 and 135 f). The possibility, however, must be granted that Amos ii 14 f was in Koheleth's mind.

It is not surprising that such views led in both cases to pessimism. Life is full of misery. No one is happy (Th. 167 f; cf. 441, 617). Even Hope is a cruel Deity (637). Ecclesiastes's book has been called 'a Catechism of pessimism'. True, his pessimism is rather different from that of the Greek. The latter was mainly occupied with his personal woes and those of his party; Koheleth looked away from himself to humanity at large. Further, while things were bad, the world was not getting worse (vii 10. May not Koheleth have had in mind here Hesiod's account of the successive ages of mankind?).

Both men long for death, and give expression to it in very similar words: 'Of all things to men on earth it is best not to be born, nor to see the beams of the piercing sun; but once born, as swiftly as may be to pass the gates of Hades and lie under a heavy heap of earth' (Th. 425 ff; cf. 1069). 'And I congratulated the dead who have already died more than the living who are yet alive, and (I regarded) as happier than both of them—him who had never been born', &c. (Ecc. iv 2 f, cf. ii 17, vii 1; also Job iii 2 f and Jerem. xx 14 ff). But such expressions are only literary. Neither writer was *really* tired of living. They only meant that death was better than certain kinds of life (Ecc. vi 3; Th. 181 f, 343 f, 820). Actual death was abhorrent (Ecc. ix 4; Th. 977 f). 'Truly the light is sweet, and it is good for the eyes to see the sun', wrote the Jew (xi 7); while the Greek complains concerning his own death: 'I shall leave the lovely light of the sun, and though I be a good man I shall see nothing any more' (569 f).

Since human life, bound as it is by iron law, is such a misery, our two sages take the same motto: *Carpe diem*. Get all the joy out of life that comes your way (Ecc. ii 24, iii 12, 22, v 18 f, ix 7 f, viii 15, xi 7 ff; Th. 256, 1047 f). Let young men enjoy themselves and gratify their desires while they can (Ecc. xi 9 ff; Th. 983 ff, 1007 ff). The Hebrew, however, unlike Theognis, was no mere sensualist. He was far from counselling debauchery (vii 25 f). What he has in mind is the enjoyment in moderation of the simpler pleasures of life (ix 7-10).¹

¹ Many scholars do not take this view of ix 7-10, but regard verse 9 as an exhortation to sensual intercourse with any woman who pleases one. This was the opinion of St Jerome and also of the author of the Book of Wisdom (ii 6 ff). If

In the passage v 18 there is the strange phrase מִן הַיָּשָׁרִים which is without parallel.¹ Some take it as the translation of the common Greek καλὸν κάγαθόν. Nearer is the τερπνὸν ὁμῶς καὶ καλόν of 1019 in a context where Theognis is lamenting the passing of precious youth and the coming of old age. Koheleth is stressing his *Carpe diem* philosophy, which in xi 9 ff he again does for the very same reason as the Greek here. The phrase that the one applies to the flower of youth, the other applies to the enjoyments characteristic of youth.

While Koheleth gives a somewhat different turn in his reference to hope (ix 3 f) from that of Theognis in 1135-1146 it is embedded in a similar context of sacrifice, oath-taking, the wickedness and madness of mankind. And both find really good men a rarity (Ecc. vii 28; Th. 150, 415 f, 635 f, &c.) or even non-existent (Ecc. vii 20; Th. 615, 647, 1140 ff).

Again, if the one is grieved to see the elevation of the unworthy and the degradation of the noble, so is the other (Ecc. x 6 f; Th. 57 f, 315, 679, 683, 893, 1109 ff). The two pictures of old age are essentially the same. Youth is advised to enjoy itself while it can (Th. 983 ff, 1007 ff; Ecc. xi 9-xii 7. Cf. Th. 272, 527, 768, 1011, 1132, &c.). Compare also the oath sworn before Deity with respect to the king in Ecc. viii 2 and Th. 823 f. If we interpret Ecc. ix 1 of the ignorance of man as to whether God hath provided him love or hatred *from his fellows*, we have a parallel in Th. 121 f where the man whose love or hatred is uncertain is of God's providing. Note that in lines a little further down (133 ff) is the same thought as in the preceding verse of Ecclesiastes—human inability to fathom the Divine plan for man.

Theognis has much to say on ingratitude. Note specially 233-234: 'Although citadel and tower to an empty-minded people a good man gets little share of honour'. In ix 13-16 Koheleth gives an example illustrating the general principle of Theognis. In both passages there is siege warfare; the poor man (the good were reduced to poverty) who saves the city by his wisdom (in opposition to 'the empty-minded') but goes unrewarded. Moralizing on ingratitude the Megarian teaches: 'Tis the vainest thanks one gets who benefits the mean, equal to sowing the waters of the grey sea; for neither by sowing the waters would you reap a good crop, nor by benefiting the base would you secure benefit in return' (105 ff; cf. the Phokylidea 152). Is not Koheleth deliberately controverting this exhortation in xi 1 f? Scatter broadcast the seeds of kindness even on the thankless waters; be sure that

this be the true interpretation, and Koheleth is not ironical, he stands much nearer the position of Theognis. Dr Barton, however, has pointed out a very close parallel to Koheleth in the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic.

¹ Hosea xii 9 cannot be cited as the text is very doubtful.

sooner or later you will be rewarded. In another point the Hebrew opposes Theognis. To the latter God is directly responsible for man's sin (133 f, 151 ff, 402 f). Koheleth (vii 29) denies this. Sin is not innate through any Divine agency. God made man upright; sin is his own doing.

Our authors write of the use and abuse of wine in several places. Among these note: 'To drink much wine is bad; but if one drink it *ἐπιτραμένως* he is not a bad man but good' (Th. 211-212). There is Ecc. ii 3. Some reject the clause 'and my heart was behaving itself with prudence' as a gloss. This is unnecessary. At the back of the writer's mind is the *ἐπιτραμένως* of his predecessor.

Dr Plumptre sees in the times and seasons of Ecc. iii 1 ff a parallel to Th. 402: 'Strive after "nothing too much"; in all the works of men the fitting time is best'. It is worthy of note that both complain immediately after (Th. 403 ff; Ecc. iii 10-11) that man walks in the dark. Theognis follows up his statement by another that a man may be divinely led to mistake evil for good and good for evil; while Koheleth writes that God purposely keeps man ignorant of His plan. Hesiod also (*Works and Days* 694) gives expression to the same thought of the fitting season. And mark his list of days for certain actions (765 ff). As in the case of the Preacher's times and seasons, these also are divinely fixed (765, 769). There are days on which to be born, days for planting, for plucking up what has been planted, for building, for embracing, and refraining from embracing, &c. But who knows which are the right days? He thinks his own list is correct, but admits (824) that 'different men praise different days, but few know their nature'; while elsewhere he has written that it is hard or even impossible for man, even though a prophet, to understand the Divine purpose and plan for man (*Works and Days* 484; fr. 117 [Goettling]). Dr Buchanan Gray (*Exp. Times* xxxi 440) sees, in a Babylonian text recently published, a parallel to that of Koheleth's times and seasons in its development of the doublesidedness of all activities. It seems, however, that Ecclesiastes is expanding an idea suggested by Hesiod or Theognis.

Ecc. vii 16-18 is strange for a Hebrew: 'Be not righteous overmuch; neither make thyself overwise; why shouldst thou destroy thyself? Be not overmuch wicked, nor be a fool; why shouldst thou die before thy time? It is good that thou take hold of this, and that thou refrain not thy hand from that; for he that feareth God goes along with both', i. e. he seeks to keep the just medium, to take the middle course.¹ 'This' and 'that' refer to 'righteousness' and 'wickedness'. This is

¹ So Rashbam, Hitzig, Ginsburg, &c., with Vulgate and Syriac.

surely a Greek atmosphere. Again and again does Theognis stress the necessity of 'nothing too much' and 'going the middle way' (335 f, 401 f, 614).

Dr Plumptre comments on Ecc. iii 12: 'Doing good is in some sense the best way of getting good'. Cf. Th. 573: 'Do good and fare well'. The same thought is in Ecc. xi 1 ff. Both sing in various passages the praises of wisdom. Note that the one prays in 789 ff that while ever keeping his wisdom (prudence, sound judgement, as in 218, 1074 f) he may delight himself in music, dance, and song; the other (Ecc. ii 1-9) says that he indulged in pleasures of every kind, but his wisdom remained with him (9). So also both can see that in the disorders of the world the good are sifted from the bad (Ecc. iii 16, 18. Verse 17 an interpolation. Th. 319 f, 393 f, 441 ff, &c.).

We read in Theognis: 'Be patient, my heart, in troubles, even though you have borne intolerable sufferings; the hearts of base men are too hasty' (1029 ff). 'One must endure the gifts of the Gods to mortal men and readily bear the lot of both (weal or woe); do not in misfortunes be over-vexed at heart, nor be delighted at good fortune on a sudden, before you have seen the extreme end' (591-594). Compare Ecc. vii 8 f: 'Better is the end of a thing than its beginning; better the patient of spirit than the haughty of spirit. Be not hasty in thy spirit to be vexed', &c. And the meaning of vii 14 a is: Whether your lot be adversity or prosperity, act fittingly. Anger, again, is unwisdom to our two writers in common with teachers the world over (Ecc. vii 9; Th. 365 f, 631 f, 1223 f, &c.).

Both condemn the man who talks big (*ἔπος μέγα*, יִרְבָּה דְּבָרִים) about the unknown future (Ecc. x 12 ff; Th. 159 f, 659 f. For the sense of the Hebrew see the BDB Lex.). Compare again Th. 221 f and Ecc. x 3: 'Whoso thinks that his neighbour knows nothing, but that he only understands subtle matters, he is without sense (*ἄφρων*), deprived of sound mind'. 'When the fool walketh in the way, his sense is lacking (*לִבּוֹ חָסֵר*) and he says of every one, he is a fool.' The close connexion with this verse (3) suggests that the meaning of verse 2 is: the wise man minds his own business; the fool attends to that of others. So also Th. 439 f: 'Foolish is he who has my mind well-looked-after, but pays no heed to his own matters'. And if here and in ii 14 Koheleth can speak of the wise man's eyes being in his head, or his mind at his right hand, so too his predecessor can speak not only of these but also of his tongue and ears being within his breast (1163 f). On indiscreet speech see Ecc. x 12 f; Th. 421 f, 1221 f.

Both offer the advice: 'Be very cautious when you approach the house of God'. Let the man whom religious duty takes to the temple, writes the Greek, 'be on his guard and go straighter than compasses,

rule, and square'; while Koheleth similarly advises: 'Guard thy feet (i. e. keep them straight [Ginsburg]) when thou goest to the house of God'.

With respect to wealth moralists everywhere have written. Still, certain similarities are worthy of mention. We have already noted the complaint of both that God gives riches to the unworthy. They are impressed with the insatiability of avarice (Ecc. v 10, iv 8; Th. 227 ff, 1158) as well as with the changefulness of fortune (Ecc. v 14, vi 2, ix 11 f, x 6 f; Th. 157, 318, 662 ff) and the sorrow and labour entailed by wealth (Ecc. ii 18, iv 6, 8, v 11-13 [cf. Xenophon *Cyrop.* viii 3. 40], 17; Th. 153, 230, 276, 605). It is interesting that each couples wealth with wisdom (Th. 1157; Ecc. vii 11) and repeats the commonplace that no man can take his money with him when he dies (Ecc. ii 18, iv 8, v 15; Th. 725 f); and that it rules the world (Ecc. x 19; Th. 699 f, 718). Better a modest portion than wealth and its care (Ecc. iv 6; Th. 1155; Hesiod *Works and Days* 40-41). And Koheleth (vii 11) finds wisdom better, and Theognis (317) prefers ἀρετή.

In 915 ff the Megarian tells of a wealthy man who lived very poorly, and who descended to the house of the dead before he had accomplished his purpose of saving all he intended. The chance-comer (evidently he had no blood-heirs) received his wealth; and so he laboured in vain, not giving his wealth to whom a man would wish, i. e. to children of his own. In similar fashion the Hebrew writes (iv 8): 'There is a lone man, without a second; yea, he hath neither son nor brother; yet there is no end of all his labour, neither are his eyes sated with wealth. For whom (saith he) am I labouring and depriving myself of good? This also is vanity and an evil task'. While Theognis complains that he has been dispossessed of his wealth and others hold his flourishing fields (825 ff, 1200), Koheleth tells of the well-to-do man dispossessed of his means which a stranger now enjoys (vi 1 ff). And both our sages appreciate the virtues of a good wife (Ecc. ix 9; Th. 1225, cf. 1126 ff).

The phrase 'under the sun'='on the earth' is peculiar to Ecclesiastes, being used twenty-nine times. The Greek ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ has been compared with it. Further, 'to see the sun'=living is found in vi 5, vii 11, xi 7 (also in Ps. lviii 8). Compare such passages as Th. 168, 425 ff, 569, 616, 850, 1143, 1184 f; Ecc. iv 3. And, further, in both men do we find the figure of the chariot of the sun drawn by panting steeds (Th. 997; Ecc. i 5).

What is the explanation of these similarities? True, some of the thoughts are not peculiar to these sages; writers everywhere and at all times have given expression to them. And similar types of mind may produce similar ideas quite independently. Dr G. A. Barton, the editor

of our best commentary of recent years, thinks that the kinship between Theognis and Koheleth is probably due, not to direct transference of thought from one to the other, but to a common descent from an earlier Semitic type of thought, Theognis being influenced by Babylon. This is attractive in view of the similarities already quoted. It is noteworthy that Solon stands with the Megarian in some of his most characteristic positions, and he was a great searcher-out of foreign wisdom. While Theognis was alive the conquests of Cyrus opened a pathway for Babylonian thought to his very doors, as Prof. Barton points out. And the new Babylonian fragment which Dr Buchanan Gray called attention to in *Expos. Times* xxxi 440 is in the same spirit as the book of Koheleth.

Nevertheless, in view of the many general parallels in idea, and the similarities in language found here and there, the best explanation of the facts seems to be found in some connexion between Koheleth and Hesiod and Theognis, especially the latter. Even if Theognis is a compilation it existed as such long before the time of Ecclesiastes. Prof. Margoliouth¹ has pointed out that the almost contemporaneous Ben Sira is directly indebted to Theognis. Whether Koheleth knew the books of Hesiod and Theognis as we have them now is a question for further study. The main passage from Hesiod was famous enough to be quoted by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristotle, and four times by Plato. The parallels with Theognis suggest either acquaintance with the actual book or that the Hebrew lived in a circle in which the thoughts of the Megarian were the common property of the man in the street. Koheleth did not company so much with the abstract philosophers as with people who had found Theognis used in their schools as a standard text-book. Prof. D. S. Margoliouth (*Jewish Encyclopedia*) thinks it possible that Ecclesiastes is an adaptation of a work in some other language. Perhaps Theognis is this work.

HARRY RANSTON.

THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

‘As the Scripture hath said, Out of his (or its) belly shall flow rivers of living water’ (St John vii 38).

There seems fairly good reason to suppose that this Feast of Tabernacles followed close after the Transfiguration, which may, indeed, have taken place on the preceding day, or on the first day of the feast itself; for we read that our Lord did not go up to Jerusalem until it was well on its way. If this is so, it would explain the mental pre-occupation of St Peter which is shewn by his remark to our Lord:

¹ In his article in *The Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*.

'Let us make three tabernacles . . . not knowing what he said' (St Luke ix 33 ; St Matt. xvii 4).

Originally, no doubt, the Feast of Tabernacles was a harvest festival, coming at the end of the ingathering of the fruits ; but by the time of our Lord this characteristic had been overlaid and almost obliterated in the minds of the worshippers, and it had become a feast of remembrance, looking back to the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness, and of anticipation of the blessings of the Messianic reign. Thus the dwelling in booths was doubtless a survival of a custom of living in booths during the fruit harvest, a custom which has been continued in Palestine to this day ; but it was regarded as typifying the manner of life of the Israelites during their wanderings (cp. Lev. xxiii 42). The ingathering also was held to typify the final harvest of the nations of the world which was symbolized by the offering of the seventy bullocks during the feast, it being supposed that the inhabitants of the world were divided into seventy nations.¹

The feast itself began shortly after midnight of the 14th-15th of Tishri, when the temple gates were thrown open. The time intervening before the offering of the morning sacrifice was occupied in examining the offerings to be made during the day. While the morning sacrifices were being prepared (unless the day happened to be the weekly sabbath, when the water would have been already stored in a golden vessel in the temple) a priest went down to the pool of Siloam and thence drew water in a golden ewer, which he carried through the water-gate (so named from this ceremony), timing his arrival at the altar so as to coincide with the laying of the sacrifice upon it. Ascending the slope on the south he turned eastward, and poured the water into a silver basin, which was provided with a funnel leading to the base of the altar, doing this at the same time as a colleague poured the wine of the drink-offering into the corresponding basin next to it.

Though this ceremony was considered by the Rabbis as having reference to the dispensation of rain, the annual fall of which was regarded as being determined by God at that feast,² yet it represented also the coming of the water out of the rock in the wilderness, and signified the future outpouring of the Spirit predicted in Isa. xii 3, which was possibly an allusion to this very rite, unless, indeed, the rite was derived from his language. Thus the *Talmud* says distinctly 'Why is the name of it called "The Drawing-out of Water"? Because of the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, according to what is said, "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation".'

But if the water represented the Spirit, it is hardly less clear that

¹ Sukkah 55 b ; Pesikta, ed. Buber p. 17 a ; Shabb. 88 b. [Deut. xxxii 8 LXX.]

² T. B. Rosh hash. I 2 ; Taanith 2 a.

the source from which it was obtained is our Lord Himself. Indeed, St John almost says so expressly. When the man born blind is bidden to wash in the Pool of Siloam that he may receive his sight (John ix 7) the Evangelist explains that Siloam means 'He who has been sent', and, that there may be no mistake in the reference, he studs the surrounding narrative with other parts of the same verb. Thus v 36 'the works bear witness of Me that the Father hath sent Me'; v 37 'the Father which sent Me'; v 38 'Him whom He sent'; vi 29 'This is the work of God that ye believe on Him whom He sent'; vi 57 'As the living Father sent Me'; vii 29, viii 42 'He sent Me'; x 36 'Whom the Father sent'. Thus the miracle of giving sight to one born blind is a parable of baptism by water and the Spirit, which our Lord was to send, and is connected with the discourse to Nicodemus (iii 1-15) in much the same way as the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand (vi 1-13) and the discourse which followed it (29-40) has reference to the other great sacrament of the Eucharist.

When the priest poured the water into the basin the choir sang the great Hallel, Ps. cxiii-cxviii, and at the words 'O give thanks to the Lord', 'O work now salvation, O Lord', all the worshippers shook their lulavs towards the altar. The lulav was composed of palm with myrtle and willow on either side of it, and was carried in the right hand, while the left held the aethrog or citron. This ceremony probably forms the foundation of the symbolism in the Book of Revelation (vii 9-10) 'After this I saw, and behold a great multitude, out of every nation, and of all peoples and tribes and tongues, standing before the throne of God and the Lamb'—from which proceeded the river of the water of life'—'arrayed in white robes'—the 'beauty of holiness' or the festal array of the worshippers—and palms in their hands', and they cry with a great voice, saying, 'Salvation unto our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb'. And similarly 'the glory of God did lighten it, and the lamp thereof is the Lamb' (*ib.* xxi 23), looks back to the special illumination of the temple which took place on the first, and possibly on the succeeding nights, of the feast. This had a historical reference to the pillar of fire in the wilderness which, according to Jewish tradition, had first appeared on the 15th of Tishri, on which day also Moses was said to have come down from the Mount and announced that the Tabernacle of God was to be reared among the people; and Solomon's temple was dedicated, and the Shekinah descended upon it. It is probably in allusion to this ceremony that our Lord twice declares 'I am the Light of the world' (viii 12 and ix 5), once publicly in the Treasury,

¹ Rev. xxii 1-7.

and once to the man born blind, in reference to the recovery of his sight.

But as the water signified the Spirit which 'they that believe on Him were to receive' (vii 39) and Jesus was to give after His glorification, it is all but certain that He identified Himself with the rock of the wilderness which the altar symbolized, the rock on which the temple was built, that here came to the surface and formed the living base or core on and around which the altar was constructed. The identification of our Lord with the rock in the wilderness is made by St Paul, 'they drank of a spiritual rock which followed them: and the rock was Christ' (1 Cor. x 4). This comparison may be original in St Paul, but it is not impossible that Saul, the disciple of Gamaliel, was in Jerusalem at this time,¹ and privy to the orders of the Pharisees to send soldiers to take Him who spoke as never yet man spake (John vii 38-46), and in consequence it may have been derived from our Lord Himself.

Before discussing the precise origin of the quotation in chapter vii 38 two points are to be noted. 'The Scripture' in the singular number occurs eleven times in St John's Gospel, and in eight of those eleven the reference to a particular passage of the Old Testament is obvious, while in the two others, besides this one, it is not hard to find (ii 22 and xx 9). Hence it is highly probable that this too has a definite reference, and the reference must have been one familiar and in the minds of the audience at the time. Now both the ceremonies of the water and the lamps are post-Mosaic, and obviously require the existence of a central sanctuary. There is no allusion to either in the lessons read at the feast. The sections from the Torah² are Lev. xxii 26-xxiii 44, Num. xxix 12-34, or, when a sabbath occurs, Exod. xxxiii 12-xxxiv 26, and with these Zech. xiv 1-21, 1 Kings viii 2-21, Ezek. xxxviii 18-xxxix 16, and Ecclesiastes, which book Solomon was supposed to have read to the assembled people. But besides the lessons there was also a cycle of psalms sung at the drink offering after the festive sacrifices. These were, on the feast day, Ps. cv; on the second day, Ps. xxix; on the third day, Ps. 1 from verse 16; on the fourth day, Ps. xciv from verse 16; on the fifth day, Ps. xcvi from verse 8; on the sixth day, Ps. lxxxi from verse 6; and for the last day, Ps. lxxiii from verse 5. It is, therefore, from among these that the quotation must be selected; and, in fact, the nearest parallel in the Bible to the wording of the quotation is Ps. cv 41, 'He opened the rock, and waters gushed out; they ran in dry places (like) a river', which

¹ Cf. Weiss *Paul and Jesus* p. 54 Moulton. *From Egyptian Rubbish Heaps* p. 73.

² Meg. 31 a.

follows hard after verse 39 'He spread a cloud for a covering, and fire to give light in the night', to which the lighting of the lamps looked back. That the quotation is not verbally exact need not greatly trouble us. We are familiar with this feature in other quotations from the Old Testament in the New. Of the fourteen quotations in St John's Gospel half are inexact, and this freedom of wording extends even to our Lord's own discourses. 'Out of his (or its) belly' can be dismissed as a paraphrase for 'from him' (or it), or 'out of the midst of him' (or it)¹; and 'living' may be an addition, standing, as it does in the original, the last word in the sentence. But the passage in Ps. cv contains the three important words 'flow', 'river', and 'water', and, as I have said, there is no passage in the Bible which comes closer to the quotation.

But if this is so, there is no doubt that 'his belly' must be the belly of Christ, or of the Rock, and not of the believer. We have already quoted St Paul's testimony to this effect; and St John, or his later Editor, is hardly less decisive on the point. 'This spake He of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him were to receive; for the Spirit was not yet (given), because Jesus was not yet glorified' (vii 39). Our Lord Himself could not give the Spirit while He was on earth, but only after His glorification, which He did at Pentecost; therefore, *a fortiori*, no earthly believer can give It. To this direct testimony might be added reasons of a more theological kind. To give the Spirit is a divine function, characteristic of God Himself; and our Lord could, as man, only give the Spirit after He was risen to the dignity and power of God, at the right hand of the Father. No saint and no bishop gives the Spirit; he does but ask that God may send It.

The highest Christian saint is in no better position than was our Lord between His baptism and His crucifixion. Christ was as man the embodiment of the Church, as, according to St Paul, mankind was embodied in Adam, or, according to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Jewish nation, including the Levitical priesthood, was embodied in Abraham. Nor is there any text of scripture which states that the believer could ever give the Holy Spirit, though there are many that promise that he should receive It as an ever-flowing stream. Thus Jer. xxxi 12 'Their soul shall be as a watered garden'; Isaiah lviii 11 'The Lord shall . . . satisfy their soul in drought . . . and thou shalt be a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not'.

But this interpretation suggests that the previous verse should be re-pointed so as to read 'If any man thirst let him come unto Me, and let him drink that believeth on Me; as the scripture hath said, Out

¹ Cp. Jonah ii 2, of Hades; Job xv 35; Prov. xxii 18, &c.; Sir. li 21.

of his (or its) belly shall flow rivers of living water'. The ancient manuscripts have, of course, no stops, therefore no objection can be taken on that ground. On the other hand, there are considerations that favour such a reading. In moments of elevated thought we constantly find the Jewish mind running to that form of parallelism which is most familiar to us in the Psalms. Our Lord Himself uses this method of speech more than once. Thus to the woman of Samaria He says, 'Everyone that drinketh of this water shall thirst again, but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst'. So in chapter v 36:

'Ye shall seek Me—but shall not find Me, and where I am—ye cannot come.'

And similarly xii 44-45:

'He that believeth on Me believeth not on Me but on Him that sent me.'

'And He that beholdeth Me, beholdeth Him that sent Me.'

And examples may be multiplied.

Thus at the head of the list of authorities given by Prof. Turner in the last number of the JOURNAL should stand St John and St Paul. And supplementary to them we may notice Justin Martyr *Dial.* 135 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ λατομηθέντες Ἰσραηλιτικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἔσμεν γένος. λατομηθέντες clearly refers to Isa. li 1 ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὴν στερεὰν πέτραν ἣν ἐλατομήσατε . . . ἐμβλέψατε εἰς Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν, and the thought of Christ as the πέτρα suggests this passage, so that he adds ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας, though it is not required by his argument.

To the codex Palatinus should probably be added the codex Bezae; see Dr Armitage Robinson under the reference given.

Probably also we may quote Tertullian *adv. Iud.* 13 'Quoniam duo haec mala fecit populus meus: Me, inquit, dereliquerunt fontem aquae vivae, et foderunt sibi lacus contritos, qui non poterunt aquam continere. Indubitate non recipiendo Christum, fontem aquae vitae (cp. ὕδατος ζῶντος v. 38), lacus contritos coeperunt habere, id est synagogas in dispersiones gentium (εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων v. 35), in quibus iam spiritus sanctus (πνεῦμα v. 39, where some MSS add ἄγιον) non immoratur, ut in praeteritum in templo (ἱερόν v. 14) commorabatur ante adventum Christi, qui est verum Dei templum. Nam et istam sitim divini spiritus (ἐάν τις διψᾷ v. 37) eos passuros dixerat propheta Esaias' etc.

F. J. BADCOCK.

ORIGIN OF THE HEBREW *PĀRĀSH*.

THE origin of the Hebrew *pārāsh* 'horseman' or 'riding horse' has been hitherto obscure. The corresponding Syriac word has been probably borrowed from Hebrew as the Ethiopic has been from the Arabic *faras*, and etymologists have been divided between deriving the word from the name of Persia and assigning it to an Arabic root. It is not found in Assyrian, which has only *sūsu*; this, we may infer from the borrowed Egyptian *sems* and *semsem* (with the Babylonian mimmatum?), comes from an earlier *samsu*.

A new light has been thrown upon the question by a cuneiform text from Boghaz Keui which has just been published by the Museum of Berlin (*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* ii p. 3, ll. 16-18). Here the ideographic KUR-RA-as-tar 'plenty of horses' is glossed *pa-ra-as-tar*, -tar being a suffix which denotes 'abundance'. Consequently *paraš* must have been the word for 'horse' in Hittite. Seeing that horses were imported into Syria from Asia Minor, where Aryan nomads were employed in breeding and training them, it is more probable that the word passed from the Hittites to the Semites than from the Semites to the Hittites. It is possible that the primary source of the word may have been Indo-European, and I am inclined to connect it with the Latin *curro* (*curso*), though it is true that no satisfactory Indo-European etymology has as yet been proposed for the latter word. Moreover, Hrozný quotes a passage from an unpublished Hittite text which reads: *GIS khulugannis parnass-a paizzi* 'the wagon and the *parnas* move', where it is difficult not to see in *parnas* a derivative in -na from *par* 'horse'. In this case the final -as will be the nominative termination and have nothing to do with the root.¹

A. H. SAYCE.

THE HEBREW שֶׁן.

THE Hebrew שֶׁן clearly means 'belly' in several passages in the O.T. (2 Sam. ii 23, iii 27, xx 10). But in one passage the meaning 'belly' is not suitable (2 Sam. iv 6). I propose to suggest therefore that in 2 Sam. iv 6 the word has a different meaning, and that it occurs again with the same meaning in another passage which has been misunderstood (Hos. iii 2).

In 2 Sam. iv 6 we read, according to R. V., 'and they came thither

¹ On the other hand there is a word *paras-nāuwas*, also written *parsi-nāuwas*, which seems to signify 'riding on horseback'; e. g. *paras-nāuwas* AMEL QA-SU-GAB-as *uizei*, 'the wine-bearer comes on horseback'.

into the midst of the house, as though they would have fetched wheat, and they smote him in the belly, and Rechab and Baanah his brother escaped'. Apart from the fact that there is not much sense in this, the words 'and they smote him' anticipate v. 7—which moreover suggests that the slayers were much more concerned about Ish-bosheth's head than about his belly. The LXX did not understand the verse, but made a clever guess at its meaning. As stated in R. V. mg, it has 'and behold the woman that kept the door of the house was winnowing wheat, and she slumbered and slept; and the brethren Rechab and Baanah went privily into the house'. But it is only a guess; and, as has happened elsewhere in the O.T., a male writer seeks to fix the blame on a female.

Driver and Wellhausen are almost as much mystified as the LXX. Guided by the LXX, they propose to read: 'and behold the portress of the house was cleaning wheat, and she slumbered and slept, and Rechab and Baanah slipt in'. So also H. P. Smith in *ICC*. Here there is one valuable suggestion. נִמְלֵטוֹ certainly means 'slipped in'. The Hebrew text of Wellhausen, Driver, and others reads:

וְהִנֵּה שְׂוֹעֶרֶת הַבַּיִת כֹּסֶלֶה חֲטִיִּים וְהָיָה וְהִיטָן

This involves violent alterations of the text, and, apart from the fact that כֹּסֶלֶה is used for cleansing a vineyard from stones (Isa. v 2), there is no authority for its use in the sense of cleansing wheat.

I suggest that there is no real corruption in the text. The difficulty has arisen simply through a wrong punctuation of וְהִנֵּה (for וְהִנֵּה) and a misunderstanding of חֲטִיִּים. In this passage חֲטִיִּים means not 'belly', but a 'belly-shaped bowl'. This gives us the key to the meaning of the passage. Translate: 'and lo, the men who had procured wheat went into the interior of the house and put it in a bowl'. For לָקַח in the sense 'procure', compare Exod. v 11, Neh. v 2; and for הִקָּה in the sense of 'put', compare 1 Sam. ii 14.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

ON PSEUDO-JEROME, EPISTLE IX.

THE Ps-Jerome Epistle 'Cogitis me O Paula et Eustochium' was held in much esteem in the Middle Ages. In great monasteries like Cluny and Corbie it was read even in place of the Gospel and Homily which should have formed the lessons for the third nocturn of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (*Martène De Antiq. monac. ritibus* iv 7, 25). Every one now knows that it could not have been written by St Jerome. In view of the past and present (cf. Feast of the Assumption, and Immaculate Conception, in the Roman Breviary)

popularity of this epistle, the question of its authorship is not without interest.

Dom Germain Morin, writing in the *Revue Bénédicte* (1888, p. 347), favoured the attribution of the epistle to Paschasius Radbertus on the following grounds :—

Archbishop Hincmar, soon after his election to the chair of Rheims in 845, presented to his Church a finely executed copy of this epistle entitled 'The sermon of the blessed Jerome on the Assumption of the Virgin' (*P. L.* cxxxv 144). Hence its popularity. . . . When, however, 'a monk of Corbie' protested against the authenticity of the epistle, Hincmar defended it by reference to its 'style', and to the 'witness of certain persons who brought it from the East' (*P. L.* cxxxv 225). Hincmar's good faith is, however, sometimes open to question. The only reference to the East in this epistle is borrowed from Adamnan, 'de locis sanctis', written at the beginning of the eighth century. Consequently the composition of the epistle would lie between that point and 845.

Moreover, in this period no one seems so likely a claimant for the authorship as Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbie in 844, whose knowledge of 'Mariology' and finished style, whose connexion moreover with a Community of Virgins at Soissons, to whom other of his works are addressed, and the fact that the protest against the genuineness of the epistle came from Corbie (of which abbey a monk, Ratramnus, had been Paschasius's opponent on another occasion), all point to the learned abbot as the probable author.

So far Dom Morin. Later, however, he altered his opinion. 'The author whom I have named elsewhere,¹ and to whom I shall be able sooner or later to return, is the abbot Ambroise Autpert; to whom also are due most of the homilies long circulated under the name of Ildephonsus' (*Rev. Bénéd.*, 1892, p. 497).

Unfortunately this promise, so far as I know, has never been fulfilled. On the other hand there are strong reasons for supposing that Paschasius Radbertus retains the best claim to be considered the author of the Epistle.

Incidentally it may be remarked that the Ps-Ildephonsine homilies which D. Morin attributes to the same hand as the Ps-Jerome epistle, really borrow from the Ps-Jerome epistle in the same way that they borrow from the genuine works of SS. Ambrose (of Milan) and Augustine, and are consequently later than the Ps-Jerome epistle. Again, some-

¹ *Sc.* in the *Revue Bénédicte*, 1891, p. 276, 'Une série de rapprochements minutieux m'a finalement convaincu que nous avons là une pieuse fraude du docte abbé Ambroise Autpert'. Cf. *Anecdota Maredsolana* Série II i p. 23. Also p. 52 *β* and p. 59 where D. Morin confesses 'le sujet demanderait une étude spéciale, conjointement avec les autres sermons attribués dans les manuscrits à l'abbé du Vulturne, et dans Migne 96 à S. Hildefonse'. See also p. 494 and 498 *ib.*

times these Ps-Ildephonsine homilies are found in company with the genuine *De Partu* of Paschasius. And sometimes the *De Partu* is found attributed to 'Ildephonsus'. The explanation would seem to be as follows. Paschasius wrote the *De Partu*. He also (as I hope to shew in what follows) wrote the Ps-Jerome epistle, often lapsing into his own characteristic style. But the Ps-Ildephonsine homilies borrow from (and so resemble) the Ps-Jerome epistle. Consequently they also resemble the style of Paschasius (which often appears in that epistle). Hence the resemblance between the Ps-Ildephonsine homilies, the Ps-Jerome epistle, and the style of Paschasius is the reason why the Ps-Ildephonsine homilies are found with the *De Partu* of Paschasius, and also why the *De Partu* was attributed to Ildephonsus.

To return to Ps-Jerome. There are three main lines of argument to support the external and internal evidence gathered by Dom Morin in favour of the authorship of Paschasius.

- I. The dedication of the Epistle.
- II. Certain citations from St Ambrose.
- III. Parallel ideas and expressions.

I. *The Dedication of Ps-Jerome, Ep. ix.*

The text of this epistle leaves it quite clear that the 'Paula' and 'Eustochium' and the 'sanctis qui vobiscum degunt virginibus' here referred to were respectively (a) Paula, a widowed mother, of (b) Eustochium, a virgin; who lived in (c) a community including both virgins and widows (cf. *P. L.* xxx 145 B, C).

In the career of Paschasius there is a remarkable parallel. He had been brought up as a child at the convent of the Blessed Mary at Soissons, where (a) the then abbess was Theodrada, a widow, (b) her daughter Imma, a virgin, belonged to the same community, which (c) included both virgins and widows.¹ The inference is that Paschasius wrote the Ps-Jerome Ep. ix, using, according to a contemporary custom, fictitious names exactly applicable to the recipients of his correspondence.

II. *Citations from St Ambrose.*

These are chiefly three.

- A. St Ambrose *De Virginibus* II ii (*P. L.* xvi 220).
Paschasius in Ps. xlv (*P. L.* cxx 1055).
Ps-Jerome xvi (*P. L.* xxx 144).

It will be instructive to quote the significant passages.

¹ Cf. *P. L.* cxx. Dedication to Expos. in Ps. xlv (994-995 A), and Bk. iii (1057 C, D) and the *De Partu* (1367 A). Cf. 'una cum sacris virginibus . . . monastice degentibus' of Paschasius (cxx 1367 A) with Ps-Jerome 'sanctis qui vobiscum degunt virginibus' (xxx 126 C).

St Ambrose.

Sit igitur vobis tanquam in imagine descripta virginitas vita Mariae.

Paschasius here reproduces St Ambrose loosely.

de qua velut speculo refulgeat species castitatis et forma virtutis.

Paschasius.

Unde sit vobis tanquam in imaginem ipsa eius descripta virginitas.

sit in exemplum eius humilitatis omnesque virtutes eius forma pulchritudinis. Quae tunc eam vere diligitis si imitari contenditis: si *refulgeat* vobis in *speculo castitatis*, et si fuerit *species virtutis*.

Ps-Jerome.

Ut ipsa omnibus esset exemplum castitatis.

Ps-Jerome paraphrases

in *qua, velut in speculo refulget forma virtutis*.

Here it is Ps-Jerome who borrows direct from and curtails St Ambrose. Paschasius transposes *forma* and interpolates.

Hinc sumatis licet exempla vivendi, ubi tanquam in exemplari magisteria expressa probitatis quid corrigere, quid effugere, quid tenere debeatis ostendunt.

Sumite ab illa *exempla vivendi*, formam pudicitiae, in qua sunt *magisteria expressa probitatis, quid corrigere, quid refugere, quid tenere debeatis*.

Habetis igitur in ea *magisteria probitatis expressa quid* primum eligere, quid respuere, quid sequi debeatis.

Here it is quite clear that Paschasius draws on St Ambrose direct, not through a previous Ps-Jerome (cf. *sumite exempla* wanting in Ps-Jer.).

Primus discendi ardor nobilitas est magistri.

Nam *prima discendi* incitamenta *nobilitas* seu fama *magistri* est. Fama autem beatae virginis est, quia beatificatur ab omnibus, quia humilitas eius respecta est.

Prima eius virtus est fundamentum omnium virtutum et custos, humilitas ipsa, de qua gloriatur. 'Quia respexit' inquit 'humilitatem ancillae: ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes'. Ergo *primum discendi* incitamentum *nobilitas est magistri*: deinde merces laboris optimi fructus beatitudinis.

This passage is interesting. Both Paschasius and Ps-Jerome expand St Ambrose without verbal interdependence, but both refer to the

'Magnificat' and both substitute *incitamentum* ^a for *ardor*. The impression grows that the same mind inspired both the later passages.¹

Quid nobilius Dei Matre? Quid splendidi- us ea, quam splendor elegit?	Nobilitas vero, quod nihil <i>Dei matre nobi- lius</i> est: nihil <i>splendi- dius ea, quam splendor</i> paternae gloriae <i>elegit</i> et illustravit.	Quid igitur nobilius matre Domini, <i>quid splendidi</i> us ea, <i>quam splendor elegit</i> pa- ternae gloriae?
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Here again Paschasius and Ps-Jerome draw on St Ambrose independently, for the former adapts, the latter reproduces. But again both the later documents agree in inserting *paternae gloriae* from the first line of the Hymn for Lauds on Feria II of the Breviary.

Quid castius ea quae corpus sine corporis contagione generavit?	Nihil <i>castius ea,</i> quae Deum hominem <i>sine corporis conta- gione generavit?</i>	Quid castius ea quae corpus Christi <i>sine contagione corporis generavit?</i>
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Here both Paschasius and Ps-Jerome develop the original *corpus*, but in different terms. Again, the former keeps the order, the latter reproduces more exactly the words of the original.

- B. St Ambrose *De Vid.* I i (*P. L.* xvi 247), reproduced in Paschasius in Ps. xlv (*P. L.* cxx 1058), and in Ps-Jerome xvii (*P. L.* xxx 146).

Here we find a different treatise of St Ambrose laid under contribution.

A close comparison of these texts in parallel columns, here omitted for want of space, will shew that:—

(a) Sometimes Paschasius gives only the general sense of St Ambrose, where Ps-Jerome is faithful to the original.

(b) Sometimes Paschasius is faithful to the original where Ps-Jerome has a synonym.

(c) One passage of St Ambrose is in Paschasius but not in Ps-Jerome.²

(d) Nowhere in these passages do Paschasius and Ps-Jerome agree verbally in a *paraphrase*, but

(e) Sometimes both Paschasius and Ps-Jerome amplify in the same way (though in different words) the idea of the original.

To sum up: It is clear from these passages that Paschasius and Ps-Jerome are very closely akin in the selection and treatment of St Ambrose, but without borrowing from each other. The inference is that the identification of Ps-Jerome with Paschasius, strongly supported by external evidence, is borne out by a comparison of the texts.

¹ Those interested may compare Ps-Ildephonsus iii (*P. L.* xcvi 257 A, B).

² Later we find a passage from St Ambrose *De Virg.* I iii (*P. L.* xvi 202) reproduced in Ps-Jer. (*P. L.* xxx 144 A) but not in Paschasius. Cf. also *De Virg.* I viii (xvi 214 A) and Ps-Jer. (xxx 146 A).

- C. St Ambrose *De Virginibus* I viii (*P. L.* xvi 211).
 Paschasius in Ps. xlv (*P. L.* cxx 1005 D, 1006 D).
 Ps-Jerome ix (*P. L.* xxx 136).

All three texts have the citation from Cant. iv. Paschasius continues St Ambrose's paraphrase: Ps-Jerome breaks off. Again, a few lines down, Paschasius quotes Ps. xxxv 12, 'fons vitae', in connexion with the 'fons signatus' of St Ambrose. Ps-Jerome has the 'fons vitae' of the Psalm, though it is not in St Ambrose. Later on St Ambrose quotes Gen. xxvii 27. Paschasius has it a column back in a different context. Ps-Jerome has it here in the same context.

It is clear, then, that Paschasius and Ps-Jerome, though strikingly similar in the use they make of St Ambrose, yet do not owe this similarity to mutual interdependence. Both use St Ambrose independently.

To sum up the results of the comparison of the three sets of passages.

1. Neither Paschasius nor Ps-Jerome borrow from each other *verbally*. Both draw on St Ambrose direct, and independently of each other.

2. But both hit upon the same pieces of St Ambrose and apply them to an object different from St Ambrose's, but the same in their own case; i. e. a mixed community of widows and virgins. Moreover both enlarge in a characteristically similar fashion upon the original.

3. The inference is that the same mind inspired both the later pieces.

These conclusions are strengthened by a passage in the *De Partu* of Paschasius, introduced by these words: 'sicut doctor egregius Athanasius ait inter cetera in libello Fidei suae, quam quasi sub dialogo edidit.' The same citation appears in Ps-Jerome (without reference to its source), thus:—

Paschasius.

Incarnatus et Unigenitus secreto suo mysterio quod ipse novit (omit 5 lines). . . . Quia, ut ipse ait, Deus Verbum totum suscipiens quod est hominis, ut homo sit, et assumptus homo totum accipiendo quod Dei est, utique Deus est. (*P. L.* cxx 1369 c.)

Ps-Jerome.

Ergo Verbum Patris nunquam a Patre discedens homo pro nobis fieri dignatus est, *secreto suo mysterio, quod ipse novit*. Qui quoniam *totum suscepit quod est hominis*, homo totus est: et *totum retinens quod Dei est*, omnino aliud quam *Deus* (qui natus est ex Maria) esse non potuit. (*P. L.* xxx 131 B.)

I have not been able to trace this citation in Athanasius. But both the later documents must have drawn from the same translation of Athanasius, and they handle the citation with characteristic similarity of mentality and variety of expression

III. *Parallel Ideas and Expressions.*

Finally some slight idea may be given of the striking reappearance of many phrases, key-words, and connectives alike in Ps-Jerome Ep. ix and the various works of Paschasius.

Paschasius.	Ps-Jerome.
Quod si ita est . . . imo quia est (1369 C)	Quod si minus in eis est . . . imo quia est (145 B)
Nemo ad haec idoneus (1006 B)	Ad haec nemo idoneus (132 A)
Alioquin . . . quomodo . . . si (1382 A)	Alioquin . . . quomodo . . . nisi (139 C)
Alioquin . . . quia . . . nisi (1378 C)	Alioqui . . . nisi . . . (135 B)
Alias autem quomodo (1371 C, &c.)	Alias autem quomodo (134 D)
Haec idcirco dixerim (1379 D)	Haec idcirco dixerim (127 D)
Unus idemque (in different cases) (<i>saepe</i> e. g. 1369 D)	Unus idemque (different cases) (e. g. 137 D)
Quis hoc dixerit. . . Ubi quaeso erat (42 B, D)	Quis quaeso est qui . . . ubi rogo tunc erat . . . (139 A)
More eorum qui (796 A)	More eorum qui (126 C)
{ Exhortationis gratia	Exhortationis gratia (126 C)
{ Exhortandi gratia (34 A, 31 B)	
Praesertim quia, (cum) (995 A, 34 A)	Praesertim quia, (cum) (138 D, 126 D)
Praesentia absens (998 A)	Praesentia absens (127 B)
Non dico . . . verum neque (1369 B)	Non dico . . . verum neque (143 C)
Hinc inde (49 D, 1380 D)	Hinc inde (134 B, 141 B).

The resemblance in the angle of vision between Paschasius and Ps-Jerome is further illustrated by connectives, such as *Quodsi*, *quippe*, *deinceps*, *idcirco*, *profecto*, and so forth. It is just the use of such words that manifests a way of grouping ideas, first mentally, then in writing, that is common to both writings. Other key-words are: *officiosissime*, *quodammodo*, *dudum*, *ineffabilis*, *gratulabundus*, *quaeso*, *queo*. The epithets of the Blessed Virgin and the manner of introducing Scripture quotations are also significantly alike.

This brief review of the available evidence can only give a general indication of the impression produced by reading Ps-Jerome Ep. ix and the works of Paschasius Radbertus in close conjunction. Such an impression, however, is all in favour of Dom Morin's earlier decision, the assignation of the authorship of Ps-Jerome Ep. ix to the learned abbot of Corbie. Later Ambrose Autpert seems to have become a kind of *Deus ex machina* for solving intricate questions of authorship. But a comparison of the sermons ranged under his name,¹ chiefly Ps-Augustine 194 (*P. L.* xxxix 2104) with which Ps-Aug. 119 (*ib.* 1983)

¹ Cf. *Anecdota Maredsolana* II i p. 498 n. 36 fin.

and 120 (*ib.* 1985) and 121 (*ib.* 1987) are intimately connected; and Ps-Aug. ccviii (*ib.* 2129) from which Ps-Alcuin IV (*P. L.* ci 1300 . .) is drawn; and the Ps-Ildephonsus homilies I-VI (*P. L.* xcvi), will reveal traces of very different workmanship. To fix the authorship of Ps-Jerome Ep. ix, however, would be a long step forward in the marshalling of all these related sermons in their proper order.

T. A. AGIUS.

ON A USE OF THE AORIST PARTICIPLE IN SOME HELLENISTIC WRITERS.

THE purpose of this paper is to draw attention to two passages from Macc. ii and iv respectively, which seem hitherto to have escaped the notice of grammarians, and to consider the meaning of the aor. part. in them and in three similar passages in N.T. The five passages run as follows:—

(a) 2 Macc. xi 36 πέμψατέ τινα παραχρήμα ἐπισκεψάμενοι περὶ τούτων.

(b) 4 Macc. iii 13 καὶ λαθόντες τοὺς τῶν πυλῶν ἀκροφύλακας διεξήσαν εὐράμενοι κατὰ πᾶν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον.

(c) Acts xii 25 Βαρνάβας δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν.

(d) Acts xxv 13 Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Βερνίκη κατήντησαν εἰς Καισαρίαν ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν Φῆστον.

(e) Heb. ix 12 εἰσῆλθεν ἐφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἁγία, αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὐράμενος.

In all five cases there is a verb of 'motion' closely followed by an aor. part. (act. or mid.) which appears to express the purpose of the 'motion'. The battle of grammarians has chiefly raged round the fourth of these instances, Acts xxv 13.

(i) Blass, who, like every one else, was well aware that the aor. part. could express an action coincident with that of the finite verb, provided that 'the actions of the verb and the participle are practically one' (Goodwin *M. T.* 150; Starkie on *Ar. Vesp.* 536 p. 412), or that 'the participle expresses an accompanying circumstance' (Blass *Gr. of N. T.* p. 197), declared quite rightly that Acts xxv 13 did not fulfil these conditions and had no parallel in classical literature: he therefore adopted the reading of inferior MSS, ἀσπασόμενοι.

(ii) Burton (*N. T. Moods and Tenses* p. 66), Ramsay (*St Paul* p. 212), and Rackham (*Acts* p. 184) support the view that here and elsewhere in N.T. 'the participle is equivalent to καὶ with a co-ordinate verb'. This theory has been sufficiently disproved by Moulton (*Prolegomena*³ p. 133) and Robertson (*N. T. Gram.*³ p. 862), and we need only add that 4 Macc. iii 13 puts another nail in its coffin; for if καὶ εὐραντο is

substituted for εὐράμενοι, it will mean 'and they found the spring throughout the enemy's camp', which certainly was not the case. -

(iii) Moulton and Robertson agree in regarding Acts xxv 13 as 'coincident action'.

(a) Moulton (*Proleg.* p. 132) rests his case on Pindar *Pyth.* iv 189 λέξατο . . . ἐπαινήσας, and says that if Acts xxv 13 is to be emended, 'Pindar's ἐπαινήσας equally needs emending'. The passage in Pindar, as the context shews, means 'he thanked them and reviewed them' or 'and counted them over', and is not an instance of 'coincident action' at all.

(b) Robertson (p. 861 f) quotes no parallel and frankly admits that 'the salutation took place, of course, when they were down'; but he explains that 'κατήντησαν is the effective aorist and accentuates the end (reinforced by κατ-)', and that there is 'no difficulty at all'. This statement does not alter the fact that he has produced no parallel example, and no explanation resting on the effective force of the aorist can be valid, since in 4 Macc. iii 13 the tense employed happens to be an imperfect.

It should be noted that Robertson (p. 862) and Moulton (p. 133) accept an emended text for Acts xii 25 and are doubtful about Heb. ix 12: they are therefore left without a single instance similar to Acts xxv 13.

We may now consider the five passages quoted at the beginning of this paper.

In 4 Macc. iii 13 it is clear that εὐράμενοι means not 'and found' but 'to find'. It is incredible that it would have been placed *before* κατὰ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον, if it implied that they found the spring. On the other hand, even classical writers insert a participle expressing *purpose* between a verb and a prepositional phrase constructed with it, e.g. Thuc. ii 15. 1 οὐ ξυνῆσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα. The next sentence beginning καὶ ἀνευράμενοι 'and when they found it' supports this interpretation.

In 2 Macc. xi 36 the context shews that the required sense is 'As for the points which he decided were to be referred to the King, send some one at once to advise on them, that we may act in your interests' (Moffat's trans. in Charles's *Apocr. and Pseud. of O. T.* i p. 148), not as R.V. has it, 'after ye have advised thereof'. And it is noteworthy that V reads ἐπισκεψόμενον—an emendation obviously due to a scribe not believing that an aor. part. could express purpose. No objection need be raised against ἐπισκεψάμενοι on the ground that it should agree with τινά, since even Thucydides can write (ii 85) πέμπει . . . ἀγγελοῦντας καὶ . . . φράσσοντας καὶ κελεύων, and the formula ἀπίστευαν . . . ἀγγέλους . . . λέγοντες is common in LXX, e.g. Judith iii 1.

Acts xxv 13 and Heb. ix 12 are precisely like the above passages in

form and meaning. In Heb. ix 12 the analogy which the writer is drawing breaks down, if *εὐράμενος* is translated as a past. As the purpose of the High Priest in entering the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement was to wipe out the offences of the past year, so the purpose of Christ was to obtain an eternal redemption (cf. Hastings's *D.B.* ii 333*a*): clearly *εὐράμενοι* in 4 Macc. iii 13 and *εὐράμενος* in Heb. ix 12 have the same meaning.

Can we also gather in Acts xii 25? The question has been somewhat prejudiced by Rackham's unfortunate arguments in favour of taking *πληρώσαντες* to denote subsequent action. It is therefore necessary to make a fresh start.

If Harnack's JA source is read consecutively (by omitting xii 1-24) no one can have any doubt that xii 25 belongs to xi 30 and not to xiii 1, and that, by retaining the reading of the great MSS *εἰς*, the passage makes perfect sense. 'So Barnabas and Saul returned to Jerusalem to fulfil the ministration, taking with them John.' The mere fact that in xiii 1 Saul is separated from Barnabas by three names proves that there is a break between chapters xii and xiii. There is no reason why Mark should not have been at Antioch at this time; being Barnabas's cousin, he may have accompanied him there (xi 22), or he may have been one of those scattered by the persecution (xi 19), especially if Chase's view (Hastings's *D.B.* iii 245*b*) that he was a synagogue minister and therefore a well-known man is correct. Why then is xii 25 misplaced? The answer is that the author of Acts (or of the 'Aramaic document'), when arranging his notes or his sources (he must have had one or the other), removed xii 25 from its original context in order to preserve chronological sequence. The events recorded in xii 1-24 occurred after the prophecy of Agabus and before the arrival of Barnabas and Saul at Jerusalem. Chronological order is thus maintained with the exception of the anticipatory relative clause in xi 30, which is as natural in its place as is the similar anticipatory relative clause in xi 28. The syntactical form of xii 25—so exactly corresponding with xxv 13, the authority of the great MSS, and the meaning of the passage, unite to shew that this fifth instance may be added to the other four.

We find then four writers, of approximately the same period, employing the same idiom, viz. an aor. part. expressing purpose, and confident that their readers would understand them. The usage, however, appears to have certain definite limitations: (i) the main verb must be a verb of motion, (ii) the participle must be placed after it, (iii) the participle must be act. or mid. Considering the variety of other ways in which purpose can be expressed in Hellenistic Greek and the comparatively small bulk of extant Hellenistic writings of this period, we need not be surprised that the number of instances is few.

There would naturally be a tendency among copyists to eliminate

these aorists in favour of the more common future participle: thus V reads ἐπισκεψόμενον in 2 Macc. xi 36, and in 4 Macc. iii 13 the readings ἀνευρώμενοι, ἀνερευνώμενοι appear to be attempts to substitute a verb meaning 'to search' for εὑράμενοι, since in this instance the fut. part. involves too great a change.

There are, moreover, four passages in 1-4 Macc. where there is some MS authority for the aor. in place of the future.

(i) 1 Macc. xv 28 ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀθηνόβιον . . . κοινολογησόμενον αὐτῷ, where Holmes and Parsons read κοινολογησάμενον, though this reading is not recognized by Swete.

(ii) 2 Macc. iv 23 ὁπέστειλεν Ἰάσων Μενέλαον . . . παρακομίζοντα τὰ χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ . . . ὑπομηματισμὸν τέλειοντα, where V reads τέλειοντα.

(iii) 2 Macc. xi 32 πέπομφα δὲ καὶ τὸν Μενέλαον παρακάλεοντα ἡμᾶς, where A reads παρακάλεσαντα.

(iv) 2 Macc. ix 23 ἀνέδειξε τὸν διαδεξάμενον, where V reads διαλεξόμενον (= διαδεξόμενον).

In the first three instances the three limitations given above, viz. that the main verb must be a verb of motion, that the participle must follow it, and that it must be active or middle, are all observed, and it is therefore not unlikely that the aorist is the correct reading. In the fourth instance the use of the fut. part. with the article after a verb of appointing is so closely analogous to the use of the anarthrous fut. part. with a verb of motion that it is clear that, if the aorist could be used in the latter case, it could also be used in the former.

What is specially remarkable is the fact that MSS shew no tendency to substitute an aor. for a fut. part., except in cases which observe the narrow limits stated above. There is, e.g., no reading ἐλεήσαντα for ἐλεήσοντα in 2 Macc. ix 13, or ἐνδειξάμενος for ἐνδειξόμενος in 2 Macc. xiii 9. This seems fatal to a theory which might otherwise have been suggested, viz. that the future is here borrowing aorist forms for its participle just as the future middle occasionally does for its infinitive (Thackeray *Gr. of O. T.* pp. 76, 287; Mayser, p. 385), and it is difficult to account for the presence of the aorist readings except on the supposition that the aorist is what the author wrote and that the future is an attempt on the part of copyists to eliminate the construction in favour of one with which they were more familiar.

To sum up: there is good MS authority for the use of the aor. part. expressing purpose in five instances and some MS authority in four others: MSS shew no tendency to substitute an aor. part. for a fut. except when 'purpose' is expressed: it appears to follow that the aor. part. was employed in this sense and should be accepted when the best MS authority supports it and, possibly, when there is any MS authority in its favour.

So long as ἀσπαράμενος in Acts xxv 13 was regarded as an isolated phenomenon, Blass was justified in rejecting it; if the above view is accepted, there are eight parallel instances. Incidentally, also, two of the ten cases of 'primitive error' in Acts, enumerated in W.H. smaller edition p. 585, disappear, and the authority of the great MSS is proportionately confirmed.

C. D. CHAMBERS.

AMBROSIASTER CITED AS 'AMBROSE' IN 405.

THE controversy between Jerome and Augustine on the dispute in Galatians ii 11 ff is well known and has been studied both in commentaries and in monographs; but one most interesting remark of Augustine's has been, so far as I can discover, strangely overlooked or unexamined. Replying to Jerome's allegation of good authority for interpreting the attitude of the Apostles as simulated, Augustine in turn brings forth authority for the plain and reasonable view: *si quaeras uel recolas quid hinc senserit noster AMBROSIUS, quid noster itidem Cyprianus . . .* (*Ep.* 82. 24). Lightfoot in his dissertation on the *Patristic accounts of the collision at Antioch* (*Galatians* ed. 8 p. 128 ff) gives at this passage a reference to Cyprian *Ep.* 71, but none to 'Ambrose', yet he declares that both took the passage 'in its obvious sense'—which is certainly not what we should expect St Ambrose to do, since so much of his exegesis is directly influenced by the very writers who advanced the 'simulation' theory held by Jerome. There seems, indeed, no reference whatever in the extant works of Ambrose to support the interpretation of either; to the best of my knowledge Ambrose says nothing at all about the incident. It is therefore extremely probable that the reference intended here by Augustine is actually (as the Benedictine editors point out *ad loc.*, leaving Goldbacher to supply the detailed reference) to the *Comm. in Ep. ad Gal.* of Ambrosiaster, where the very interpretation for which Augustine quotes 'Ambrose' is to be found. This must (if correct) be by far the earliest reference to Ambrosiaster in Augustine; but more important still it would shew that already in 405, when *Ep.* 82 was written, these Commentaries were masquerading under the name of St. Ambrose. It is noteworthy that, writing much later on exactly the same point in *Ep.* 180. 5, Augustine still quotes Cyprian but omits 'Ambrose' from his list of authorities; had the intervening years taught him that the earlier attribution was wrong, and did he hesitate then to refer to an authority that was anonymous?

J. H. BAXTER.

REVIEWS

Das Evangelium des Johannes: Versuch einer Lösung seines Grundproblems: von Lic. Dr G. BERT. pp. 133. (C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1922.)

THIS is an attempt by a German Pfarrer—already known to theological students by his translation of the Homilies of Aphraates—to solve the problems of the authorship and aim of the Fourth Gospel: the tone is at once critical and reverent, the style most attractive, lucid, terse, the ‘salient points made salient’, the evidence adequately quoted and examined, the trees never blurring the sight of the wood: and the solution suggested is on the same lines as that of Dr J. Drummond; it combines a belief in the allegorical character of the Gospel with one in its authorship by John the son of Zebedee. To take the latter point first: the line of argument is this—the Gospel itself suggests that the author was the disciple whom Jesus loved (xix 35): Early Church tradition confirms this (xxi 24) and gives the name John (Papias for 1 John, Apoc. i 1 for the Apocalypse): and the implications of the Gospel itself support it, for it is written by one who thought in Aramaic and yet was influenced by Hellenic teaching about the Logos: and both would be natural in John the son of Zebedee after living in the Hellenic city of Ephesus.¹ It is the work of one who had been admitted to the closest intimacy with the Lord, who had for a lifetime lived out the truths and life taught by Him, who had been in touch with the Pauline mysticism and interpretation of the contact between the Risen Lord and the believer, and who now face to face with false Gnostic claims wishes to emphasize a true view of the Logos as embodied in the life of Jesus, and communicating life and sonship and fellowship with God and true knowledge to all who wish to live that life. Further, similarity of style proves that it is by the same author as 1 John, which is treated as an epilogue to the Gospel and used as shewing the author’s purpose in writing; and also, though at a different time of his life, by the same author as the Apocalypse, which also dwells on the Logos, on the gift of life, on the simile of the marriage feast, and illustrates the author’s mystic temperament: the Apocalypse may therefore be used as a proof that the name of the writer of the Gospel was John.

With this history behind him John writes his Gospel. He wishes to shew that in Christ was fulfilled the longing of the Greek world after

¹ The statement of the ‘De Boor’ fragment that ‘John and James were killed by the Jews’ is carefully examined and put aside as referring not to John the Apostle but to John the Baptist.

communion with God, as Matthew had shewn the fulfilment of Jewish hopes (p. 71): but going beyond Stoic and Alexandrine thought he identifies the Logos with a visible human life and with the Messiah of the Jews. For this purpose the outline of his picture is taken from the Synoptists; but it is not an historic life of Jesus Christ that he wishes to write: rather it is the history of 'eternal life' as illustrated by the way in which it dwelt in and was communicated by Jesus Christ: it is at every moment a mystical allegory, hence he allows himself all the freedom of an allegorist: he is careless about historic details, he changes dates (e.g. those of the cleansing of the Temple and of the Crucifixion) to suit his allegory: he invents new incidents, he hints at inner meanings by using phrases which have a double meaning. Further—and this is the point in which Dr Bert claims to go beyond previous writers—the allegory of 'eternal life' is worked out through the whole Gospel, and is based upon the analogy of literal human life. As that begins with a marriage, then leads to birth, then to nourishment, then to protection from disease, then to death and immortality: so the history of eternal life began at the marriage at Cana in Galilee, was followed by the teaching about the new birth, by the assurance of living water, of the true bread and the true drink, was protected from disease both in youth and age, was shepherded by the good shepherd, was prepared for death by the discourses of xiii–xvi, accepted death freely and entered on his Kingdom and glory by dying, and then rose again to give peace and to secure that his work should be carried on by others. A similar mystical interpretation of facts is shewn to be implied in the Synoptists, in the Lord's teaching about His parables and in such a scene as the Transfiguration (at which John had been present): and it is illustrated at great length from *The Odes of Solomon* which are treated as Christian, and as emanating from the same Ephesian surroundings as the Gospel.

Now there is no doubt that the central position of this solution is sound: the Gospel does aim at teaching the secret of eternal life, not simply as a past historic event but as a reality still operative, which the experience of a generation has proved to be the real source of life and peace and joy, of sonship and of fellowship with God, and no one can read Dr Bert's account of this without feeling attracted and uplifted by it: but the analogy of the natural life seems to be overpressed and fanciful at times, e.g. in the correspondence between a marriage and the feast at Cana of Galilee; and the extent to which the allegorical element is pressed here does not do justice to the stress laid by the writer on the historic character of exact details, like the incident of the water and the blood, or on the fact that the signs were done before the eyes of the disciples (xx 30 ἐνώπιον τῶν μαθητῶν). In all such cases the problem is whether the incidents have suggested the deeper analogy,

or the spiritual truths have led the writer's imagination to invent material incidents in which they can be embodied. The latter is certainly true of such an allegory as *Pilgrim's Progress*, but Bunyan lays no stress on historic fact, whereas St John does. The failure to face this problem thoroughly is perhaps due to another point on which this book is open to criticism. The doctrine of the Logos is treated too exclusively as Hellenic and Alexandrine. The Palestinian antecedents of it in the doctrine of the Word as God's method of Revelation to man is not sufficiently emphasized, and this surely is present in the conception of the Logos as the great Interpreter and Revealer of the Father, the God of the Old Testament who had always revealed His Nature through the medium of historic events.

There is another side on which the exposition of the aim of the Gospel is inadequate: it is not simply the account of the communication of life to the individual believer; but also, and perhaps even more primarily, the account of the carrying on of the work and life of Christ in the Church. It is the Church, the Society, which has been conveying the new birth in baptism, the true nourishment in the Eucharist, the true cure of disease in the gift of healing, the true shepherding in the work of its pastors, the true teaching by its teachers, the true love in its common life, the true forgiveness and severity in its binding and loosing, the true love of all men in its missionary work, the true worship in spirit and in truth in its services. There are slight hints of this truth, but scarcely adequate justice done to it, though it can easily be grafted on to Dr Bert's main position and, indeed, would help to strengthen it. The statement about the Gospel that 'es selbst nur sein will die Geschichte des in Jesus Christus erschienenen Lebens, ewigen Lebens, wie sie sich im einzelnen Menschen vollzieht' (p. 72) needs the addition 'und in der Kirche'.

The exegesis of particular texts is generally very good, but it is doubtful whether vii 38 is rightly interpreted of rivers of living water flowing from the disciples: nor is it probable then in v 28 the very definite phrase 'all who are in their graves' is to be interpreted of those who are spiritually dead; the omission here of the clause *καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν* seems to distinguish this saying from that in *vv.* 24, 25. The type is excellent, and the book carefully printed: I have only noticed the following misprints—p. 20 l. 34 ἡψ for νίψ; p. 21 l. 2 κατελῆ for παντελῆ; p. 73 l. 20 Philad. for Philad.

WALTER LOCK.

The Evolution of the New Testament, by JOHN ELLIOTSON SYMES, M.A., sometime Principal of University College, Nottingham. (Murray, 1921.)

THIS book opens with a chapter on the history of the Church before the earliest document preserved in the New Testament was written, and then passes in review all the New Testament books in their probable chronological order. There is, however, no systematic treatment of the chronology. A summary of each book is given with some general discussion and a selected bibliography. The bibliographies do not profess to be exhaustive, but books and articles are omitted which one would expect to find: for instance, there is no reference to Dr Chase's article on 1 Peter, nor yet to Lietzmann's commentary on the Corinthian Epistles. For the most part Mr Symes adheres to generally accepted critical opinion, but occasionally he propounds new theories. It must be confessed that these new theories are not likely to win acceptance. It is not probable that 2 Peter is an edition of genuine Petrine material, even if we allow for the possibility (which is supported by no evidence) that the words *ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς* (iii 16) are an interpolation; nor is it much more probable that parts of the Epistle of St James were written by the Lord's brother before his conversion (p. 182). Mr Symes believes the Matthaean *Logia* referred to by Papias to have been a collection of Sayings of Jesus, but he assumes on quite inadequate grounds that this collection was entirely independent of the Q tradition. Finally, textual critics will not endorse Mr Symes's statement (p. 336) that 'Quotations from the Fathers are of little use for textual purposes'.

Materials for the Study of the Apostolic Gnosis, by THOMAS SIMCOX LEA, D.D., and FREDERICK BLIGH BOND, F.R.I.B.A. Part II, sections i and ii. (Blackwell, 1922.)

THE First Part of this work was noticed in the JOURNAL for July 1921. Part II contains further investigation of New Testament Gematria. Another quotation will best explain the scope of the book and the method of its authors. The following is extracted from the Preface:—

'If we propound as [the] conjectural title [of the Epistle to the Hebrews] *Ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴ Ἀπολλῶ* we get the significant number 2960 which we publish in the series of multiples of 37, and which can stand here for *Θεότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. And when we come to the word *τετραχλησμένα* we suggest that this has nothing to do with *τράχλος*, a neck, but is the perfect passive participle of *τετραχλίξειν*, with the reduplication eliminated by the known principle of "haplogy". It will then mean not merely *πεφανερωμένα* as Hesychius gives it, but

'cleft in four planes'. Likewise concerning Melchisedec there are many things hard to utter, but both "the grace" ἡ χάρις, and "the help in time of need" ἡ εὐκαιρος βοήθεια, have his number of 191.'

J. M. CREED.

Les Livres du Nouveau Testament traduits du grec en français avec introduction générale et notices par ALFRED LOISY. (É. Nourry, Paris, 1922.)

M. LOISY's literary activity is a marvel. One would have supposed it impossible in the time for any man even to dictate off-hand the amount of matter he has published in the last three years. Here we have a fresh translation of all the books of the New Testament, in three parts (The Epistles, The Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, The writings ascribed to John), arranged in chronological order, and an appendix with the Gospel and the Apocalypse of Peter.

The text is continuous, with paragraph divisions and quotations from the Old Testament in italic; but all passages of a poetic or rhythmic character (including e. g. parables in the Gospels, the speeches in the Acts, large parts of the Epistles, and most of the Apocalypse) are indented and printed in short lines. Some of M. Loisy's solutions of the literary and historical problems connected with the New Testament are gently suggested by these typographical means, and use is also made of unobtrusive brackets in the text to indicate editorial activities or later additions to an earlier form of the document in hand.

M. Loisy has aimed at a translation at once literal and conformed to the different styles of the originals. To me he seems to have succeeded well, but only a Frenchman can judge. He has followed, he says (p. 19), the best critical editions of the text, only occasionally adopting a reading authorized by the context and by ancient testimony though not by the common tradition. I wish these rare occasions had been marked in some way in the text: e. g. in John xx 31 the omission of the clause 'that Jesus is the Christ the son of God' has scarcely any justification and seems both arbitrary and perverse.

To take two other passages at hazard: Rom. ix 5 '— Le Dieu qui est au-dessus de tout soit béni aux siècles! Amen.' and John i 4 'Ce qui s'est fait, en cela fut vie.' In both these passages, whether we agree with him or not, the translator is fully within his rights. Only a much more careful examination than I have made would shew whether M. Loisy exceeds these rights; his treatment of Jn. xx 31 may stand alone.

It is in his Introductions that he breaks away entirely from tradition, and states with unqualified assurance the conclusions he has reached,

most of which he has already expounded in other works. He scarcely wants to consider the New Testament literature at all, except as the expression of Christian belief and experience after the lifetime of our Lord and as shewing us something of the history of the early community, especially the Hellenized part of it in which he holds that Christianity as it has been originated. The phrases 'the legend of Jesus' and 'the myth of the Christ' mark the point of view from which the whole subject is approached, and the nineteen pages of 'General Introduction' give a very graphic picture of M. Loisy's position. Those who are farthest from accepting it will, however, in my judgement, find alike in the General Introduction and in the special introductions to each group, and to the particular writings in each group, much that is interesting and enlightening. It is not possible to regard the Gospels merely as Christologies, nor to assume so scanty a foundation for them in the actual facts of our Lord's life and teaching as is all that M. Loisy would grant; nor yet again to agree with him in all his views of the other books of the New Testament. But it is work such as M. Loisy's that has helped us to understand the whole of our great sacred literature better than we did as long as the traditional method of treating it held the field alone. M. Loisy does fully recognize and often throw light on the religious experience of which it is the record. The question how such experience is related to Reality is outside the province of literary criticism.

J. F. B-B.

The Holy Spirit in the mediaeval Church: a study of Christian teaching concerning the Holy Spirit and His place in the Trinity from the post-patristic age to the counter-reformation, by HOWARD WATKIN-JONES, M.A. (J. A. Sharp, The Epworth Press, London, 1922.)

THE title which Mr Watkin-Jones has given to his book on the outside 'The Holy Spirit in the mediaeval Church' would lead us to expect a work of the same kind as the later books of Dr Swete on similar subjects—*The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*. Inside, on the title-page, a second title is given—'A study of Christian teaching concerning the Holy Spirit and His place in the Trinity from the post-patristic age to the Counter-Reformation'. In fact it is this narrower subject which fills for the most part the 354 pages of the book. The expectation raised by the outside is disappointed. If any work of Dr Swete's is carried on it is his *History of the Doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, from the Apostolic Age to the death of Charlemagne*.

Mr Jones was perfectly within his rights in thus limiting his field of study. The period which he covers extends from A.D. 560 to 1621. To have dealt with the whole subject of 'the Holy Spirit in the Mediaeval Church' would probably have required two volumes instead of one. He has therefore only occasionally given us glimpses of what his authors taught about the 'work' of the Holy Spirit, and has recorded only their teaching with regard to His person and His place in the Trinity. But his self-denial—partly relaxed in the concluding pages, which bring us down to the doctrine of Wesleyanism—has had the result of making his book comparatively difficult reading. The doctrine of the person of the Holy Ghost was fixed by the time at which Mr Jones begins. It becomes a little tedious to read the same statements repeated by so long a succession of writers—and for the most part illustrating or enforcing their statements by the same arguments. Even the tedium answers a good purpose, no doubt. It shews convincingly that the doctrine was believed and maintained by all Christians of every school throughout the millennium and more which the book covers, till the time of Servetus and Socinus. We have no reason to complain. But it is not every writer who possesses the magic gift, which distinguished Dr Swete, of making even a catalogue a pleasure to read.

Within his self-imposed limits Mr Jones has done his work very well and thoroughly. He has followed Erdmann's classification of the writers and could not have done better. To each group he has prefixed an excellent 'foreword'—one of the best parts of the book. These forewords relieve the situation by shewing the reader where he is and how the subject is getting on. Mr Jones has omitted few mediaeval writers whom he might have been expected to examine. Perhaps the most important omission is that of Rupert of Deutz. A writer so rich in the theology of the Spirit, both practical and metaphysical, might seem to deserve more mention than occurs in the foot-note on p. 141: 'Rupert of Cologne (†1135), another Scholastic Mystic, was also an expositor of the Trinity'. Possibly it was the absence of his name from the pages of Erdmann that caused Mr Jones to omit him. Possibly it was the very fact that Rupert's theology is so largely 'applied' theology. The writers—and they are many—with whom Mr Jones deals are treated with fairness and with first-hand knowledge. He has read the right passages (so far as I can judge) in the original, and translated them with accuracy, if not always with grace. Good examples of his work are his studies of Thomas Aquinas, Durandus, and Nicholas of Cusa. One would have liked to see more made of St Bernard and of Abaelard; but perhaps this could not have been done without diverging into the more interesting regions of the *religion*

of the Spirit. One would have liked at least a mention, in connexion with Abaelard's name, of the dedication of his monastery. Why did he choose the name of the Paraclete? Would it not have been useful to have some reference to the doctrine of the Spirit in the hymns and sequences of the Middle Ages—the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, Abaelard's own hymns for Pentecost, the hymn of Rupert of Deutz, the troparium *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia* (Mone I p. 254)? How came the doctrine of the Spirit to have so large a place, or so deep an influence, in all the devotional literature of the period? How came it to pass that (in England at any rate) so many letters ended with 'The Holy Ghost have you in His keeping'? Such things shew how the doctrine had hold of people's minds.

I note below a few errors of fact,¹ and the book contains expressions that are not English and ungrammatical sentences. But the faults are on the surface. The work as a whole is excellent, judicial, impartial. No one to my knowledge has singled out this doctrine before and traced its history through this long period. For any one hereafter who wishes to go over a portion of the ground in greater detail and without confining himself to the question of the Procession, Mr Jones's book will be of the greatest service.

A. J. MASON.

The Christian Idea of Sin and Original Sin in the light of modern knowledge, being the Pringle-Stuart Lectures for 1921; by E. J. BICKNELL, M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co, London, 1922.)

SEVERAL writers have dealt, within the last year or two, with the doctrine of sin, and have offered criticism of the attempt to dispense with the ideas of a fall and original sin. It would thus seem that if these doctrines are dying at all they are dying hard. That they are really dying, in spite of their finding advocacy, is suggested by the fact that sometimes the effort to restate them results in the substitution for them of doctrines essentially different: doctrines in which the fall and original sin, in the historical senses of those terms, are surrendered.

¹ On p. 116 following Erdmann Mr Jones speaks of Alan de Insulis as becoming Bishop of Auxerre: the two Alans are generally considered to be different persons. On p. 143 and in the Index he calls the very interesting Greek writer of the twelfth century 'Nicholas of Menthone' instead of Methone. It is an anachronism (on the same page), though Mr Jones has good precedents, to say that Theophylact was Archbishop 'of Achrida, in Bulgaria'. P. 58 Jerome's was not a commentary on Didymus, but a translation. P. 65 the work of Scotus Erigena was not called, as the italics seem to imply, 'Expositions of the pseudo-Dionysian Epistles'. P. 244 no work of Erasmus was ever written by him in English.

In some respects Mr Bicknell plays the rôle of Balaam in blessing the old teaching—as I will presently try to shew.

One line of attack on the traditional supposition of original sin has consisted in representing that what is 'original', and is received individually through what biologists call heredity, cannot be 'sin': analytical clarification of the concept of sin exhibits the element of falsehood or confusion in the old doctrine of original sin. Towards this alleged clarification of our conceptions, Mr Bicknell adopts an attitude which I consider reactionary and due to a misjudgement. After speaking approvingly of the logical value of the clear and distinct definitions which recent analytical procedure has reached, he remarks (p. 32) that 'we must not simplify problems in order to get clear definitions or logically perfect concepts'. I would contend that, in this malicious sense of 'simplify', the analytic method has not simplified the problem. It has disentangled the issues and has ignored none of them. If, as the lecturer observes, it has not *emphasized* the religious (as distinguished from the moral) element in sin, this is not at all because the Godward aspect of sin was repudiated, but because it required no elucidation, and was the occasion of no disputation and no confusion, like the others.¹ On the other hand, such simplification as consists in discriminating between things that differ, and in obtaining distinct ideas as instruments for resolving a complex and confused issue into its factors, is essential before the questions as to which theologians have been (often unnecessarily) at variance, admit of being properly stated and rationally discussed. Mr Bicknell's usages of the ambiguous word 'moral' might indeed be studied as instances of the importance, for purposes of reasoning, of getting behind words to their meanings.

The analytic treatment of the concept of sin is further charged in this work with making the false assumption that sin resides only in the will of the *individual*: an assumption which 'has become curiously out of date' (p. 34), in the light of 'the teaching of modern psychology' (p. 36). The writer would have been nearer to correctness had he here said 'in the light of the teaching of McDougall'. But even then he would perhaps not have been correct. For in the passage which he quotes (p. 35) from that psychologist, there is little or nothing beyond the adoption of an ill-chosen name, that conflicts with the 'individualism' professed by those to whom Mr Bicknell opposes himself. Every one recognizes that individual experience is vastly enlarged and enhanced in scope through social intercourse, that morality is a social creation, that the individual apart from social environment is an abstraction; and again, that societies can act *as if* they were individuals. And that is

¹ A reply on similar lines could be given to the further charge that the modern theory fails to deal with the consequences of sin.

all, perhaps, that M^cDougall means. At any rate, I would contend, it is all that he has right to assert. His phrase 'collective mind' may merely denote the mental characteristics evinced by individual minds in consequence of their interaction and co-operation, i. e. the over-individual, or socially bestowed, property of the individual: it is, then, only a superfluous and unhappy phrase. But if it be intended to mean more, if its figurativeness be taken for literalness, if it affirms a mind resembling an individual mind, existing *in addition to* all individual minds yet, unlike theirs, unassociated with any brain, I can only believe that it denotes a nonentity. For what is 'common' in 'social thought' is not the thinkers or the thinking, but what is thought. There is no thinking that is not performed by some individual thinker or thinkers; and a society of individuals is not another individual of the same order as its units, any more than a constellation of five stars is a sixth star. What applies to thought applies, of course, equally to volition; and, apart from hypostatized abstractions, there are no wills other than individual wills, however much these may be influenced by other individuals' wills.

I may now pass from Mr Bicknell's criticism to his construction. As to the fall, he renounces the Adamic catastrophe, and inclines to the supposition—for which there is of course no evidence—that primitive mankind may have for a time remained innocent, before they fell into estrangement from God. Whether there be thus much of truth in the old theory of original righteousness, it is needless and futile to enquire. But with the surrender of a vitiation of human nature necessarily transmitted from one to all by biological heredity, and without the supposition that every father of a family, at some stage of human history, played the part formerly assigned to Adam, we are offered merely the fact of universal sinfulness without the explanation of it which the doctrines of the fall and original sin were devised in order to obtain: all sin *may* then be actual, and none 'original'. Once admit a plurality of Adams, and the virtue of the old explanation is gone; moreover, there seems to be no logical halting-place at which to stop without going on to the Pelagian view that every man is the Adam of his own soul. It is not much use, therefore, to find in the 'moral disease' of which modern psycho-therapy speaks an aid to the understanding of what the *vitium originis* would be, if it were at all. The retention of the theory of hereditary sin becomes superfluous when it has ceased to be an explanation of *all* actual sin; and the perplexity of the old theologians when called upon to account for Adam's *peccatum originans* in the absence of any predisposing *peccatum originatum* should be indefinitely multiplied for Mr Bicknell.

It is true that Mr Bicknell seeks to emphasize the part played by

'social heredity' in securing the transmission of sinfulness. But he does not seem to have realized sufficiently that what is *called* social heredity is not heredity—in the biological sense—at all. Social heredity, as I have myself argued, is one of the potent factors in the propagation of sin; but it spreads *actual*, not original, sin. It was indeed, in a restricted form, the mainstay of Pelagianism. It is, so far as its scope goes, a *substitute* for original sin enabling us to dispense, to some extent, with the explanatory virtue of original sin; but it is not adequate, apart from human solidarity in biologically inherited propensities, to account exhaustively for the supposed exceptionless universality of actual sin.

If the foregoing contentions be sound, it will appear that Mr Bicknell surrenders an essential part of the doctrine which he would retain, and to some extent offers a substitute in terms of actual sin (or 'common sin') for the theory of original sin which he undertakes to restate.

There is much in this book, besides the points which I have discussed, that could be criticized; in particular, the confusion (pp. 74-75) of the existence of religious experience with the reality of its ideal object. There is much also with which I agree but must pass over. My own thanks are due to the author for his generous acknowledgements. He is generally as fair as he is courteous to an opponent from whom he differs; but he has occasionally lapsed, through inadvertence, into misrepresentation. Thus, the evolutionary theory of sin has never, so far as I am aware, been expounded in terms of the Spencerian optimism with which Mr Bicknell, like many other critics, closely associates it as if it were a tenet. On p. 40 he represents that in my earliest book (wrongly referred to, by the way, under the title of a later work) I argued that inheritance of acquired characters is scientifically impossible; whereas I expressly repudiated that position. Once more, his note, p. 38, involves misrepresentation; had not my foot-note (*The Concept of Sin* p. 32) escaped his attention, he would have been unable to indulge in his gentle gibe: 'When a modern Churchman is driven to find evidence for a case in a minute exegesis of a discourse of St John, we may conjecture that his need is urgent.' The writer thus evinces some over-haste to score points.

F. R. TENNANT.

The treatment of the Remains at the Eucharist after Holy Communion and the time of the Ablutions, by W. LOCKTON. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1920.)

WITH this rather ungainly title Mr Lockton has written a very useful book on a point which is of importance for the history of eucharistic

belief and ideas. From quite early times the manner of disposing of the remainder of the consecrated elements left after the communion must have presented itself as a practical question. The means adopted would depend on the aspect in which the eucharistic remains were regarded: whether as being still the Body and Blood of Christ, or now (after and apart from the service or the communion) no more than ordinary food.

Mr Lockton's method of conducting the enquiry is a good one; he has collected in a sort of catena a large number of texts from many sources, interjecting such comments and discussions as seemed necessary to bring out their meaning. We may not always agree with his interpretations, but generally they are direct and to the point. In accordance with the aim of the book, which is intended for popular as well as learned use, the passages are all translated into English, but adequate references are provided for those who prefer to turn to the original texts.

The first chapter sets forth the 'Early Evidence'. That from the first four centuries is, it must be said, scant and mostly indirect: the passages quoted from Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen speak only of a reverential care in receiving the Holy Eucharist whereby nothing of it may be allowed to fall upon the ground. If such texts are to be quoted (and they deserve at least a passing notice), there is another topic which would seem to merit attention, namely the practice of 'reservation'. This is just touched upon at p. 6; but it might have been dealt with formally, if quite briefly, in an opening chapter or section. It would be enough to quote the earliest evidence, Tertullian *De Oratione* 19, *Ad Uxorem* ii 5, Cyprian *De Lapsis* 26, and the *De Spectaculis* 5, for house reservation and private communion at home, and the story told by Dionysus of Alexandria of the aged Sarapion (Eus. *H. E.* vi 44) as probably implying reservation for the purpose of viaticum. The student of a subject such as that here treated wants to be shewn the early background, where he has to start from.

The next two chapters deal with mediaeval practices in East and West. Chapters iv, v, and vi are devoted to special Western or Roman uses: the 'Sancta' and 'Fermentum', the 'Portion left on the altar' and the reservation from the Mass on Maundy Thursday for use on Good Friday. Chapter vii is on 'Later days in the West', chap. viii on the developement of the rite of 'The Ablutions' or ceremonial washing of the chalice, chap. ix on 'The Ablutions in Britain'. Then there are three chapters on the prescriptions of the English and Scottish reformed books. Chap. xiii treats of 'The Worship of the Lamb', or reserved Sacrament. The author then sums up and states his conclusions; and the book ends with an Appendix on 'Reservation and the Book of

Common Prayer'. This bare catalogue of subjects may suffice to convey an idea of the scope of the work : whatever criticism may be levelled at it on this or that special point, it remains a very creditable and serviceable piece of work.

Missale Romanum, etc., a Pio X reformatum et Ssmi D. N. Benedicti XV auctoritate vulgatum. Editio iuxta typicum Vaticanum.
(P. Marietti, Turin, 1921.)

OF a new edition of the Roman Missal a reviewer can say little more than that it contains the latest official additions and modifications. The present edition, in large octavo, embodies those changes introduced by the revision of the Calendar undertaken by Pius X. These changes do not, of course, affect the Missal to nearly the same extent as the Breviary ; for many Saints whose offices have been reduced to a mere commemoration still retain their Masses, to be said instead of (or as alternative to) the occurrent Masses *de tempore*, except in Advent and Lent and on the Ember days.

As regards size, the large octavo is a little too small for comfortable use on the altar (for which a good quarto is generally found to be the most convenient form), and a little too large for prayer-book use in the nave. This edition, however, which may be had on India paper, is specially designed for missionaries and those who have to travel ; it would be very well adapted also to the needs of Army Chaplains, or of those of the laity whose sight requires the aid of a good-sized print. The type, in black and red, is rather too heavy and closely packed to make an agreeable impression, but it is easy to the eye at a moderate distance.

English and other local supplements are not included, but it is possible that they are to be obtained in corresponding form on application, either separately or under the same cover. The price, varying from 48 to 90 francs according to the binding, must be considered very moderate in this country.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

HISTORY OF SYRIAC LITERATURE.

Geschichte der syrischen Literatur . . . von DR ANTON BAUMSTARK.
(A. MARCUS & E. WEBER, Bonn, 1922.) ('150 marks' = 18 Swiss francs.)

PROFESSOR BAUMSTARK'S History of Syriac Literature is a work of xvi + 378 small quarto pages, packed full of solid information. It will doubtless take its place at once as the standard text-book for a good

many years to come, being extraordinarily complete and well arranged. It includes the whole range of Syriac Literature, and takes account of the newest publications. Even the second volume of Mitchell's *Ephraim*, which only appeared late in 1921, is duly noticed in the Nachträge (p. 356), and H. Gollancz's collection of Syriac Charms (*The Book of Protection*: see *J. T. S.* xxiii 279), which at first I thought had been omitted, is chronicled on p. 352 f. I can only offer my very sincere congratulations to Dr Baumstark on having accomplished so fine a piece of work in conditions which, as he explains in his Preface, were not favourable either to accuracy or completeness.

I add a few criticisms, with a view to an eventual second edition. There are several misprints in English names: p. 20, note⁸ 'Chasse' should be 'Chase'. p. 82, note³, read Syriac. p. 348, note to S. 112, read Nestorios-Liturgie. On p. 104, note¹⁰, a reference should be added to my Note on Theodore of Mopsuestia's 'Song of Light' (*J. T. S.* xxii 377-379). On p. 29, note¹, and again on p. 96, note⁴, 'Euphemia and the Goth' was published in 1913, not 1919; had Dr Baumstark seen my book he would have noted that the story is extant in B. M. Add. 14649, of the 9th century, as well as in the later MSS at Paris and Sinai. The end of note⁷ on p. 38 contains a curious mistake, for the 'prosaischer Mēmra' against Bardaisan there mentioned is the same as the 'zwölfsilbiger Mēmra' chronicled on p. 42, note³, being the same piece that was translated by A. S. (not A. J.) Duncan-Jones in *J. T. S.* v 546.

I would also venture to contest some of the positions indicated in the paragraph on p. 82 about Syriac translations of 'Apostolic' Canons. It concerns the origin and significance of the Syriac *Doctrina Apostolorum*, called also 'Canons of the Apostles' and by later Syriac writers 'Canons of Addai'. This work has been twice edited: by Cureton in his *Ancient Syriac Documents* (1864), pp. 24-35, and by Lagarde in his *Reliquiae Iuris . . . syriace* (1856), pp. 32-44. It consists of a short historical Introduction, followed by twenty-seven Canons, each beginning 'Item, the Apostles appointed . . .', and ends with a short statement of the various apostolic missions. The Canons, no doubt, are the heart of the document, but in form it is rather a (pseudo-)historical work than a mere code. Dr Baumstark treats it as a translation from the Greek, but I am quite certain that it is a Syriac original work of Edessene origin, dating from the 4th century or even the 3rd.

The theory that this Syriac 'Doctrine of the Apostles' is a translation, like 'the Syrian Octateuch' and other pseudo-apostolic ecclesiastical legislation, goes back to Lagarde, who actually put it, with the rest of his Syriac legal literature, into what he considered was the original Greek (*Reliquiae Iuris . . . graece*, 1856, pp. 89-95). Most of Lagarde's

documents are more or less extant in a Greek form, so that for them it was chiefly a question of the particular readings attested by the Syriac texts, but our 'Doctrine' is not found in Greek at all, so that for it Lagarde had to construct a new Greek text.¹

Cureton was in many respects an old-fashioned scholar and his *Ancient Syriac Documents* has always been rather a scarce book. It is no wonder therefore that writers, especially on the Continent, should use Lagarde and merely refer to Cureton. At least that is the only reason I can think of to explain the way in which Cureton's text, based on a 5th or 6th-century MS, supported by another of the 7th or 8th, has been treated as the same as Lagarde's, based only on one of the 9th century. Moreover Lagarde's MS (Paris, B. N. Syr. 62) gives the work as part of a *Corpus iuris*, while Cureton's MSS (London, B. M. Add. 14644, 14531) give it as a separate document. There are indeed not many differences between the two texts, but those that occur are of the greatest importance and concern the Church Kalendar. According to Cureton's MSS the Church's year consists of

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. 'Epiphany' (= Jan. 6); | Can. VI. |
| 2. 40 days Fast before | " VII. |
| 3. Good Friday and Easter Day; | " " |
| 4. 'Ascension', 50 days after Easter; | " IX. |
| 5. Commemoration of Martyrs | " XVIII. |
- on the days of their martyrdom.

Psalms are said daily (XIX); 'service' (*teshmeshtā*) on Wednesdays and Fridays (III, IV); 'service', with reading of the Scriptures and 'offering' (*ḫurbānā*, eucharist), on Sundays (II).

It is distinctly stated that the Ascension took place on a Sunday (II), so that No. 4 really corresponds to what we now call Pentecost. Thus neither Christmas Day nor Ascension Day is recognized, i. e. this Kalendar belongs to the oldest stratum of known Christian observance in the East, in fact to the state of things earlier than that observed by the pilgrim Etheria-Egeria in Jerusalem at the end of the 4th century.²

But Lagarde's text makes 'Ascension' to be 40 days after Easter,

¹ How ill it goes in places compared with the Syriac may be seen in Lagarde 89²⁶, where the 'priestly ordination τοῦ οἴκου Μωσέως καὶ Ἀαρὼν' corresponds to the idiomatic 'priesthood ܐܝܬܪܟܐ ܠܡܘܨܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ'. The Syriac ܡܘܨܝܐ merely means 'Mosaic': the very employment of this idiom in itself suggests that we are dealing with a Syriac original.

² I take this opportunity of referring to Dr Baumstark's convincing article in *Oriens Christianus*, N. Ser., i 32-76 (1911), in which he shews that the lady (*ci-devant* 'Sylvia') must have visited Jerusalem in 383-385, not later, so that the Bishop whose ritual doings are so minutely described by her was none other than the aged St Cyril.

i. e. it betrays a knowledge of the modern festival, and so those who used our document through Lagarde had to date it after this observance had come in. Dr Dölger in *Sol Salutis* p. 129 was even more unfortunate, for he seems to know of it only through the letter of Marutha of Maipherkat, in which not only the double observance of Ascension Day and Pentecost is recognized, but also Christmas Day and commemorations of the Virgin Mary, whereby he was led to relegate the most ancient and conclusive witness for his main thesis to an inferior position.¹

It should be added that in the later forms of the text, including Lagarde's, these Canons are ascribed to Addai: this surely is only another way of indicating that they are not a translation from the Greek, but of native Syriac, Edessene, origin. That the Biblical allusions in the *Doctrina Apostolorum* as edited by Cureton agree with the Diatessaron and the Old Syriac against the Syriac Vulgate I have pointed out in *Ev. da-Mepharreshē* ii 107 f: in Lagarde's text these certain indications of Syriac ancestry and a date earlier than 400 for the most part disappear. I venture to think that the space here given to a vindication of the importance for liturgical study of the Syriac *Doctrina Apostolorum* in its original form is not excessive, and I can only hope that the arguments here brought forward may induce Dr Baumstark to give the document its due place in forthcoming editions of his most useful compilation.

F. C. BURKITT.

Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi, edited by J. M. HARDEN.
(S.P.C.K., 1922.)

THIS book is a handy text of the Psalter as translated by Jerome from the Hebrew, together with the readings of about a dozen selected authorities, and marks a real step forward in our knowledge of the state of the text of this part of the Latin Bible during the middle ages. Dr Harden has used the Heyse-Tischendorf collation of Cod. Amiatinus (A), the Toletanus from Madrid (T) of the 8th cent.; the Bibles of Corbie (C) and of St Riquier (Q) from Paris, Harley 2793 (B) and the Bible of S. Hubert (H) from London, all of the 9th cent.; another MS from Madrid (M) and the Ricemarch Psalter, of the 11th cent., and Harley 2799, of the 12th cent. Besides these he gives the readings of Augustine's *Speculum* (S), and also of Lagarde's edition of 1874, which is based on S. Gall. 19, of the 9th cent. The Ricemarch Psalter, now at Trinity College, Dublin, is interesting as having

¹ See *J.T.S.* xxii 283.

been written in Wales in the generation after the Norman conquest of England.

Dr Harden distinguishes two families: a Spanish group CMQT: a (?) British or English group AER, with which often agrees H (though H also has some Spanish affinities); and finally B, i.e. Harley 2793 from Tours, which he considers to occupy a central position and to be on the whole the best authority. It is a pity that Dr Harden did not include the Hebraic Psalter of Cod. 557 from Monte Cassino, the interesting 12th cent. MS from which Abate Amelli edited the unique version of the Psalms noticed in *J. T. S.* xiv 433-440.¹

The reconstruction of the true text of Jerome's Psalter ought to be a comparatively simple task. It was undertaken by Lagarde, and that upon rational principles. Dr Harden has pointed out several passages where Lagarde has gone wrong, but in criticizing his predecessor he hardly does him justice or realizes how much of a pioneer he was in his day. A few examples will best shew the problems that come before scholars who occupy themselves with these matters. In what follows the symbol *o* is used for the readings of a 13th-century Bible (from Bonne Espérance, diocese of Cambrai) which I possess and which has an interesting text of the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*: on the whole, *o* belongs to the AER family, but it is free from many of the special faults of AER, without being very close to B or H or the Spanish texts.²

S. Jerome's new Psalter was in one sense a revision of the old one: it starts off with *Beatus uir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum*, and many expressions and phrases, even whole verses, repeat the older version unchanged. But he was always ready to change even the most familiar suffrages. Thus *Domine, saluum fac regem: et exaudi nos in die qua inuocauerimus te* (Ps. xx 10)³ becomes *Domine, salua, rex, exaudiet nos in die qua inuocauerimus*. (Here RT^o read *exaudies*, and AQRTo add *te* at the end, H adding *eum*.) Similarly Ps. cxlv 15, 16 become *Oculi eorum in te sperant, et tu das eis escam in tempore suo; Aperis manus tuas et imple omne animal refectione*: it is not surprising that in our MSS *eorum* becomes *omnium* in CHQT, to agree with the best known of all mediaeval 'graces' and with the Gallican Psalter, while M has *hominum*, a corruption found in the Mozarabic Psalter; and that H has *omnem animam* (= vg. *Corb-Moz*) *benedictione* (= vg).

¹ On p. 81, last line of foot-notes, the last two items are in the wrong order. On p. 116, if *consumti* be right (xc 7), then *consumpsimus* (xc 9) is wrongly spelt. On p. vi, 'H. Stephens' (the printer) should be H. Stephanus or Henri Étienne.

² vg is here used for all the Latin Psalters, or a clear majority of them. If it be necessary to specify the texts I write vg. *gall*, or vg. *moz*, as the case may be.

³ The numbering of the Psalms here is that of the Hebrew and the English Psalter, adopted also by Dr Harden.

The agreement here of H with the Mozarabic Psalter is surely a 'Spanish symptom'. Dr Harden, following Berger, notices that the 'Hebrew' Psalter seems to have been specially copied in Spain. It is therefore advisable to look out for indications of Spanish origin, whether of the whole tradition or of single groups of it. In the Title to Psalm vii 'of Cush the Benjamite' (כרש בן ימיני) is translated by *Aethiopsis filii Gemini* in most MSS, but *Gemini* becomes *Iemini* in E (and Lagarde) and *Iemeni* in C. It is most unlikely that S. Jerome himself should have written *Gemini* for *Iemini*.¹ On the other hand, G for consonantal I (or Y) is characteristic of some Spanish texts, e. g. *Gesse* for *Iesse* in Cod. Toletanus (NT 3/4). Here Dr Harden edits *Gemini*, partly on the authority of the MSS, partly because the Gallican Psalter, as edited, reads *Chusi filii Iemini*. But apart from Spanish tendencies there was a natural inclination for Latin scribes to substitute a good Latin name like *Geminus* for *Iemini*, and probably it was very widely read so in mediaeval times. Certainly the Mozarabic Psalter and (among others) the Utrecht Psalter have *Gemini*, so that no certain conclusion can be drawn here, except the above-mentioned general improbability that Jerome himself would have let *Gemini* stand.²

More curious still is Psalm civ 18. Here Dr Harden, with all his predecessors, edits *petra refugium ericiis*, i. e. the rocks are a refuge not to the 'conies', but to hedgehogs. The Latin Psalters have (*h*)*erinaceis*, which means the same. On this word Jerome in his letter to Sunnia and Fretela remarks: '*Petra refugium herinaceis*. Pro quo in Hebraeo positus est SPHANNIM, et omnes χοιρογυλλίοισ uoce simili transtulerunt, exceptis LXX, qui *leporis* interpretati sunt.' Of our Greek authorities here, B N* and R have χοιρογυλλίοισ (i. e. hedgehogs), while Nc. a A T and apparently Lucian have λαγωοῖς. Finally, Augustine has the conflate reading *ericiis et leporibus*. From all this we should judge that 'hares' was the true reading of the LXX and of the original Old Latin, that 'hedgehogs' belonged originally to Aquila and Symmachus, if not to Theodotion also, and had been adopted into the Latin Psalters, and that the only change made by Jerome had been in the spelling of the word for 'hedgehog'—if indeed he did make it, for Cod. Amiatinus and the Ricemarch Psalter read *erenaciis* (or *erinacis*).

But Dr Harden's E H read *cuniculi*, and my Bible (o) reads *euniculi*. This word means 'a rabbit', and is said by Pliny (viii 55) to be a Spanish word. Either therefore Jerome himself adopted this rendering, which in view of what he wrote to Sunnia and Fretela is unlikely, or E H (o) points ultimately back to a Spanish editor of Jerome's

¹ See *Anecdota Maredsolana* iii 18, where Jerome actually asserts this man to be a Benjamite.

² See, for instance, the gloss '*Iemini dextera mea*' (*Onom. Sacra* 48²²).

Psalter, who was familiar with an Old Latin text in which Spanish 'rabbits' had been substituted for the original 'hares'.

It will be noticed that *cuniculi* is in the genitive, the rock is the refuge 'of', not 'for', the rabbit. The same idiom is found in Psalm lxxix 2, where *escam uolatilibus caeli* is changed by H into *escam auium caelorum*.¹ And we may further notice that in Psalm cxxxvi 26 H has *caelorum* where all other MSS have *caeli*. This looks like the idiosyncrasy of an editor rather than the carelessness of a scribe.

Certainly it is the combination E H, among Dr Harden's MSS, that produces readings of interest. Sometimes indeed they are clearly wrong, as in Psalm xxxii 6, where *ad te tempus inueniens* (= σοι καιρον ευρων Symm.) must be right, as Dr Harden himself points out on p. xxi: this is the text of BCMQT. A R o and Martianay have *ad tempus inueniens* ('ueniens' o) while E H have *ad te ad tempus quo inuenieris*, the Vulgate Psalter being *in tempore oportuno*. Is this paraphrase of E H the origin of the familiar English rendering of the verse?

The text of E H seems to have a fondness for the word *maeror*. In Psalm lx 5 *uino consopiente* (= οἶνον καπώσσωσ, Aquila) is no doubt the true text of Jerome: E H have *uino meroris*, apparently a mere explanatory alteration. But in Psalm lxxvi 11 *maeror* occurs twice in Dr Harden's text for חמה, the word being found in all the MSS except A and R, which have *ira*. Now *maeror* is never used elsewhere by Jerome for חמה, whereas *ira* is used once (Ps. vi 2): is not *maeror* in lxxvii 11 due to the same hand that introduced it in lx 5?

In Psalm lxxxix 48 Jerome translates, or rather mistranslates, חלר אני מה by *mei de profundo*, following Aquila's μου ἐκ καταδύσεως. I wonder on what authority the E H text changes *de profundis* into *de terra*?² Again, in Psalm xxxiv 22 it is equally difficult to guess how Jerome came to render אשמו by *superabuntur* and by what authority E H changes this to *culpabuntur*. According to Hab. i 11, Jerome seems to have thought that Scripture said אשם (*delinquet*) when the meaning was *desinet esse quod fuerat*.

The combination E H, though often wrong, does sometimes seem to preserve the true text of Jerome. Thus in Psalm cxxiii 18 נרר

¹ Jerome uses *auis* not for this word עוף (exc. Psalm l 11), but for עפר.

² This word חלר, translated *κατάδυσις* by Aquila and Symmachus (apparently in the sense of 'this low world', *ici-bas*), affords us a curious glimpse into the narrow limitations of Jerome's knowledge of Hebrew and his consequent dependence on extant Greek renderings. In Psalm xlix 2 ישבי חלר was translated by Symmachus οἱ κατοικοῦντες γῆν κατάδυσις, but Jerome took this for γῆν κατὰ δόσον, and his Psalter has *habitatores occidentis*. If Rufinus had done this, and Jerome had found it out, what rude things he would have said!

('his crown') is translated τὸ ἀγίασμα μου in the LXX, so that Latin Psalters have *sanctificatio mea*. This is also the reading of R (and o): Dr Harden reads, with most of his MSS, *sanctificatio eius*. But EH have *diadema meum*. This is Jerome's rendering of נֹר in Psalm lxxxix 40, as well as in 2 Sam. i 10, where Symmachus has it also. Surely *diadema* must be the true reading here, and *sanctificatio* merely a reminiscence of the ecclesiastical Psalter. But Dr Harden prefers *sanctificatio eius* to *diadema meum*, apparently because on retranslation into Hebrew the former agrees with the Masoretic text (נֹר), while the latter may be held to attest the reading of the LXX, viz. נֹרִי. I venture to think, however, that this view is not in accordance with the real behaviour of mediaeval scribes, who are prone to interchange *meum* and *tuum* and *eius*, if the sense seems to them to require it or if their attention be wandering.¹ But to change *sanctificatio* into *diadema* requires a knowledge of Hebrew (or of the Hexapla) such as very few Christians possessed from the days of Jerome down to those of Simon Atumano, Archbishop of Thebes, and of John Reuchlin.

A similar passage is Psalm cxlii 8, where Dr Harden edits *me expectant iusti*, with most of his MSS but also in agreement with the Vulgate (i.e. the LXX): EH have *in me coronabuntur iusti*, which corresponds verbally with the Hebrew (בִּי יִכְתֹּרוּ צְדִיקִים), and is attested by Symmachus (στεφανώσονται).² Surely this must be Jerome's rendering, as Martianay also evidently considered.

These notes are already too long, but I must find room for noticing the curious gloss in Psalm lxii 10 where MT have *mendacium filii ENOC uiri*. Probably it has been mistransliterated from Greek uncials, and the word intended is Ἐνώσ.

The discussion of these details is tedious or amusing, according to whether one has a taste for things of the kind.³ But it should in no case be allowed to hide from us the merely historical interest which the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* has for us at the present day. It was a creditable piece of eclectic scholarship, and it preserved to mediaeval Latin students of the Bible a fair knowledge of the earlier Hebrew tradition of the literal meaning of the Psalms. But it has no authority for us now. It is quite evident, as Dr Harden says (p. xxv), that the Hebrew text known to S. Jerome was almost exactly the same as our present Masoretic text: where that text is faulty the Latin gives us no better readings, and where we are unable to make sense of the Hebrew it is not likely that Jerome can help us. He calls himself *trilinguis*,

¹ Martianay edits *diadema eius* in this passage. On what authority?

² It is also the rendering of Amelli's Psalter from Monte Cassino.

³ Other interesting readings may be found in Pss. xxix 8, xxxvii 16f, xlv 20, lxxviii 32, lxxv 9, cxxxviii 2.

but his knowledge of Hebrew was not to be compared to his knowledge of Greek: a translator who could turn **יִפְאֵר עֲנִיִּים בִּישׁתָּה** (Psalm cxlix 4^b) into *exaltabit mansuetos in Iesu* is not to be trusted when he strays from the folds of Aquila and Symmachus.

One small point may be noted in conclusion. The ordinary divisions of the Vulgate Psalter begin with Pss. i, xxvii, xxxix, liii, lxix, lxxxi, xcvi, cx (English numeration), while Irish and Insular Psalters, including the Ricemarch Psalter, divide at lii (*Quid gloriaris*) and cii (*Domine exaudi*): see *J. T. S.* xii 280. Dr Sanday, in *Studia Biblica* iii 242, remarked: 'The mention of five Books of Psalms is peculiar to Cod. Amiatinus. It is rejected by Hilary and though known to was not adopted by Jerome.' But my Bible from *Bonne Espérance*, called in this article *o*, preserves the Hebrew division, having illuminated capitals at Pss. i, xlii, lxxiii, xc, and cvii (Eng. nos.), and nowhere else in the Psalter. Moreover not only Psalm cxix, but also Pss. xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, and cxlv (not, however, Ps. ix + x), are provided with the Hebrew alphabet. It would be interesting to know whether many other examples of this arrangement are found: it must surely come from Jerome himself.

F. C. BURKITT.

Ecclesiastes: 'Cambridge Bible for Schools', by A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, D.D. (University Press, Cambridge, 1922.)

THE progress of Biblical studies is strikingly illustrated by a comparison between some of the recent commentaries in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* with those written on the same books a generation ago. Dr Lukyn Williams found it impossible merely to prepare a revised edition of Dr Plumptre's work on *Ecclesiastes*. 'So much advance', he says, 'has been made in the study of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, so many changes in our attitude to the Old Testament have come about, and so much attention has been paid to the study of *Ecclesiastes* itself, that at least an attempt must be made to incorporate the results in a wholly fresh Commentary.' The present work, as the name of the editor guarantees, reveals ripe scholarship and caution. In an Introduction of fifty-four pages he discusses the principal problems, shewing his caution chiefly in section iv, on Theories of the origin of the present form of the Book. Dr Plumptre felt a difficulty in the sudden contrasts of tone and thought in the writing, and explained them as due to an alternation of feeling, a mental conflict, which he compares with Tennyson's 'Two Voices'. More recently there has been some agreement that the book is composite. Dr Lukyn Williams, however, thinks that

the only passages due to a later writer are those which speak of God's judgement on men, iii 17, viii 11-13, xi 9^c, xii 1^a (to 'youth'), together with the title and theme, i 1, 2, and the epilogue, xii 9-14. He thus rejects the theory of the present writer, which was followed, with a few differences in details, by Barton and Podechard, that since the author's views did not commend themselves to his contemporaries additions of two kinds were made: (1) isolated proverbial maxims made by a *hākām* or 'wise man', and (2) religious remarks on the paramount duty of fearing God and the certainty of His judgement on those who do not, made in the interests of orthodoxy by a pious Jew, one of the *ḥasidim*. Qoheleth's authorship of the proverbs is defended for the most part on the ground that they suit the context very well. In ch. iv, for example, in the heat of his spirit, he is writing of oppressions and tears; he congratulates the dead; he thinks bitterly that all men's toil and skilful work arise from jealousy between man and man; and other complaints of his troubled mind follow. Does v. 5 really suit the context very well, a proverb containing the trite and obvious warning that the lazy man will starve? The maxims in vii 1^a, 4-6^a, 7-12 are explained by supposing that they 'belonged to a collection of proverbs beginning with "Better than", which lasts until v. 12, and was inserted here by Q[oholeth] because of the connexion with "good" in the preceding verse (vi 12)'. But would a writer of his temperament, with his heart wounded by the world and its problems, insert such a group of maxims, and for such a reason? If so, his psychology would be an insoluble problem. And though Dr Lukyn Williams accepts the maxims as the work of Qoheleth, he feels compelled to say (p. 82) that vii 19 is 'a gloss, no doubt originally to v. 12. It completely interrupts the connexion here. McNeile attributes it to the *Chākām*, and this may be the case, if that person ever existed, which is more than doubtful'. But the word *Chākām*, after all, is only a suggestion as to the sort of person who added this and other proverbial glosses. In the case of the orthodox interpolations the principle is similarly conceded, but they are reduced, in a spirit of caution, to a minimum.

I do not understand the criticism passed on the view that the author of *Wisdom* (i-ix) knew and joined issue with our book. In *Wisdom* ii 1-9 occur a series of expressions which Dr Lukyn Williams grants may have been intended to recall phrases found in Ecclesiastes, and which are placed in the mouth of ungodly oppressors. They are, of course, as so used, far removed from the tone of our book. But the fact that they are represented as uttered by the ungodly is surely intended as a condemnation of their use by Qoheleth.

As regards the versions, the theory that the Greek of the 'LXX' is the work of Aquila, which is accepted without demur by Mr H. St J.

Thackeray,¹ is set aside as less safe than to attribute it to an earlier attempt by a member of the same Rabbinic school of thought. But why is the latter safer than the former, when it is known that Aquila made two editions of at least some parts of his Greek Old Testament? And Dr Burkitt's suggestion that the Hebrew was a translation of an Aramaic original deserved more notice than the brief foot-note on p. 1.

A reviewer naturally notices points on which an author disagrees with him, and on details of interpretation Dr Williams disagrees with me with some frequency throughout the volume. But the commentary is full and learned, and will be of the utmost help to English readers.

A. H. McNEILE.

Ecclesiastes rendered into English Verse, by F. CRAWFORD BURKITT.
(S.P.C.K., 1922. Pp. vii + 32.)

THIS little *tour de force* seems to have been composed at Rouen during the war by way of recreation from sterner duties, and will doubtless have a good circulation. Of the 221 verses of Ecclesiastes '141 are represented in these stanzas, or nearly two-thirds of the whole'. Its interest to our readers lies in the light it throws upon the attitude of the Professor's mind towards the problems connected with Ecclesiastes. These, at the present moment, are its original language, its 'sources', and its outlook on existence after death.

The first of these has been raised by Dr Burkitt himself in this JOURNAL (October, 1921), and his new brochure merely alludes to it, adding that he has 'in at least two cases (iv 15, vii 14) rendered in accordance with what he supposes the original Aramaic text to have meant'. In iv 15 his rendering seems to me far-fetched, but fully justified in vii 14. The second question is not mentioned in Dr Burkitt's preface, and the evidence of the translation is purely negative. But the parts translated by him shew no sign of being selected in accordance with the limits of the portions allotted by Siegfried or McNeile to the Chākām or the Chāšid, and it would appear, therefore, that he does not accept their theories. In this he is right, for if these portions were due ultimately to different writers some traces of peculiarity in words or style would shew themselves. But with the exception that proverbial sayings naturally tend to unusual expressions there is no evidence of this. The third question is, I regret to say, answered by the Professor in the fashionable way—that Qoheleth regarded life beyond the grave as existence, and nothing more. Dr Burkitt, indeed, does not actually say so, but this is the necessary

¹ *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* pp. 16, 30 f, 61.

inference from the fact that he has imitated the quatrains of Omar Khayyám. No doubt he was in part moved to do so by the knowledge that, as scholars tell us, the quatrains of the Persian poets never form parts of long poems. They are each a complete poem in itself, wholly unconnected with any other quatrain. This, of course, suits the character of Ecclesiastes admirably, for the sentiments which the Great Collector has there set forth stand in no connexion with each other, save that they refer to the same general subject. Yet this cannot have been the only or the decisive reason for the choice. Dr Burkitt evidently conceives Qoheleth to have had the same outlook on life here and hereafter as is presented in Fitzgerald's version of the Persian poet. I say 'Fitzgerald's version', for experts differ in their opinion of what Omar Khayyám himself believed. He certainly was not a typical Sufi, but whether he did or did not intend his poems to be interpreted in the mystical Sufi manner is uncertain. According to Fitzgerald he was a sensual deist with very poor ideas of God's justice or love, and very vague notions of immortality. Not so with Qoheleth, who believed firmly in God, and described the state of the dead in relation not to Him, but to affairs in this world. A dead person knows nothing that goes on here (so far as we can tell), and can take no part in our worship. Qoheleth himself is such a charming, courteous, and sympathetic writer that to compare him with Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyám is to do him grave injustice.

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

L'Évolution religieuse de Luther jusqu'en 1515, by HENRI STROHL.
(Librairie Isira, Strasbourg, 1922.)

La Liberté Chrétienne : Étude sur le Principe de la Piété chez Luther,
by ROBERT WILL. (Same publishers.)

THESE works are the first and fourth of a series being issued by the faculty of Protestant Theology of Strasbourg. Five volumes have so far appeared, and of the other three one is occupied with Troeltsch, and the others with the 'Poor of Israel' and 'Religion and Reality'. This seems a promising sign that theology, in Protestant France at least, has recovered its generous universal interest.

The present concern with Luther is, first, historical. Deniflé and the other Roman Catholic authors who have followed in his steps, such as Grisar, have refurbished the old view of him as an emanation from the pit. The lacquer is of softer tone to suit modern taste, there is a new show of impartial enquiry to appeal to a more historical age, pathology now plays the part of the evil spirits to make it accord with the zeal for

psychological explanation, but the effect is not very greatly different from the cruder picture of an age which could regard the devil as his actual parent. M. Strohl's volume deals with the earlier part of Luther's life, which may be regarded as an adequate test of any estimate of the whole. The material he uses has been provided by the many German Luther specialists whom the controversy has set to work. They have dug in every conceivable quarter for new material, and have subjected the whole evidence to new tests, and an extensive literature has been the result. This literature M. Strohl has studied with care and critical acumen. The German work is for the most part as historical in temper and frequently more interestingly presented. This book, for example, has little of the verve of Boehmer's *Luther in the Light of the Newer Research*. Yet it has a special value to the student. It is objective and dispassionate and sound in judgement, is carefully documented, reviews the whole field, and gives full and clear information about the literature. In short, while the general reader will probably be more interested in Boehmer's work, nowhere will the student find a survey which will give him a fuller, saner, and clearer presentation of the present state of the question, under the guidance of a thoroughly equipped and eminently reasonable and fair mind.

The second interest in Luther is theological, or at least religious. As his influence continues to this day, it is still necessary to ask, How far the principles he maintained are enduringly true and how far the freedom for which he fought is a real human and spiritual emancipation?

This is M. Will's problem. He relates it more particularly to freedom, but, as it is freedom in all its aspects, it involves Luther's whole attitude in all its bearings. This author is equally learned in the Luther literature, but, as he uses it only for information, and troubles himself very little with what other people have thought of it, he not only has a wider arena, but moves in it much more freely. In the end he relies on what Luther himself has said and on the convincing quality of the picture of Luther he manages to present. Though without any form of panegyric, the result is an impression of Luther's real greatness, far greater than is ever made by any of the pious pictures of the orthodox biographies, with all their paeans of adoration. He is flesh and blood, he is inconsistent, he does not prove himself a great theologian, he fails to maintain his ideal when in conflict with the actual, but one does not admire the person who would fail to see, after M. Will is done, a true man of deep religious insight, breadth of human nature, massiveness of mind, with utter sincerity and courage.

The historical discussion has shewn that Denifle and his followers have carefully selected and usually isolated what served their end, interpreting by the worst conceivable motives, and ignoring all that makes

for a more favourable view. No one ever lived in a fiercer light than Luther, and, with all his defects, few could have come better out of the ordeal. But M. Will's presentation of Luther's real religion, his careful collection of great utterances, his clear manifestation of Luther's labour in thought and action for a life of joyous spontaneous service of God in his children, make the whole attitude of these critics look a good deal worse than merely prejudiced, and more like saying, he cast out devils by Beelzebub.

To judge Luther by mere consistencies is to misunderstand the essence of his greatness, which was neither logic nor organization, but intuition and spontaneity of action. Luther's failures all arose through his being forced to be a theologian and an ecclesiastic, for which he had but moderate gifts.

The historical summaries by which M. Will sets forth the situation in which Luther found himself are usually contained in a few pithy sentences, but they are astonishingly lucid and accurate.

Luther's originality he finds in his manner of building Christian liberty on faith as its ground and rule.

The need for Luther's task arose from what our author calls an ecclesiastical nomism of Judaistic spirit. This had early in the history of the Church revived the old sacerdotal idea, with an ecclesiastical hierarchy administering the means of grace, and thereby had crystallized both dogma and worship. The stagnation of piety which resulted called forth the rigorist sects and the monastic reaction, but neither movement restored evangelical liberty. Asceticism became mechanical and the corruption of the Christian life continued. The semi-Pelagianism of the Church set man's will on one side and God's supernatural action on the other, and thereby confirmed the ascetic ideal and weakened religious assurance. There were anti-legal and anti-hierarchical thinkers before Luther, but none of them attained the positive ideal of liberty transfiguring the world which was the very heart of Luther's piety, and had its true source in his own experience. M. Will conceives it to be a wrong way to go to work with Luther, to dwell on mere inconsistencies. What dominated was religious intuition. This intuitive piety constitutes the phenomenon Luther. Not being directed to one aim it often seems conflicting, yet as it springs from within and deals with one reality, it has its own unity. On the one hand there is a quietism detached from the world and despairing of it, and, on the other, a simple piety open to every manifestation of life, dominating, transfiguring, sanctifying things natural. Yet the two have a kind of pre-established harmony. A similar conflict and harmony appears in Luther's doctrine of the enslaved will. The argument is mere scholasticism, but the religious meaning is to allow faith to display all its splendour; and he

did not allow the mystery of predestination to hinder his faith in the goodness of God who has promised eternal blessedness to all men. The end is to make us free in God, true freedom being entire dependence on Him.

It seems on first impressions that destiny was unfair to Luther in keeping him so long at his task, drawing him away from his true inspiration as a prophet, forcing him to write so much, and giving him reporters more industrious than discriminating. Had he lived in the days of the prophets, been always in the wilderness, written little and had his sayings reported with discernment, how impressive would have been both his words and his doings! Yet it is a vain thought, for, if Luther compromised and failed often of his ideal, how vastly greater would have been the failure without him!

M. Will accepts the view that Luther rather introduced a new ethic than a new religion, an ethic set free from ecclesiastical nomism, an ethic not of rules and commands and merit, and winning God's favour, but of spontaneous freedom springing in blessedness from the life into which we are introduced by faith. In fulfilment of this task Luther, like other vehement souls, is no model of negative virtues, but he is shewn more clearly than ever to be redeemed by his great positive faith and the courage which sprang from it; while his seeming intellectual inconsistencies were the deep, if confused, intellectual expression of a soul which combined in one experience many sides of life which cannot be made one, yet which have, as M. Will says, a pre-established harmony. Thus he was a quietist and a supreme man of action, a believer in freedom and in a bound will, a pessimist about the world and one to whom it was a joyous sphere of service, convinced of victory over sin, yet enormously impressed by its power. And none of this is mere inconsistency or even mere changing mood. But, as M. Will says, he is rather a soul than a mind, and to have a soul is to be responsive to many influences from two worlds.

A Faith that enquires: The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow in the years 1920 and 1921, by SIR HENRY JONES. (Macmillan & Co., 1922.)

SIR HENRY JONES was by profession a philosopher, and the object of his work is to expound a theology which has passed successfully through the fire of philosophical enquiry. Yet the most valuable part of the book is neither its philosophy nor its theology, but its religion. Regarding a book which sets out to be philosophy, to say it is great preaching may seem doubtful praise. But there never was any doubt at any time

that Prof. Jones's real gift lay in the region of moving appeal rather than in the severer disciplines of thought and reasoning : and this time, under circumstances which test men above either learning or logic, he has come to his kingdom. The work is neither consistent theology nor consistent philosophy ; but the reason largely is a deep, strong experience of victory over the world, which has revealed to him depths in his own soul and realities of succour in the world which has proved a new wine which has burst the old intellectual wine-skin. A superficial judgement might give an impression of something like failure : and in one sense it is a quite correct impression. Yet the interest and value of the book are to be found in that very lack of logical success, because it comes through a faith too vital and strong to be imprisoned in any intellectual form. We may pass from something glowing from the furnace of life to mere cinders of Hegelian phraseology, yet the contribution from life makes itself felt throughout, at least to the sympathetic ear. After reading the book one understands how the last days of the author impressed all about him by their cheerful diligence under grievous suffering, and their serene peace in face of approaching death. Thus many things which, said in healthy ease, would be mere cheap optimism, here tell of the triumph of the spirit over the body, which is not of earth. Thus we read : ' We do not as a matter of fact know whether a man's bad health, or other natural evil, may not be the most precious element in his life, it may be conducive—as nothing else could be—to his spiritual good.' Said by most of us this would be slight argument, but here it is the convincing testimony of one who has set his spiritual good high above his material, and who has learned both in humility and in triumph to say ' It was good for me that I have been afflicted '.

In view of this beautiful and heroic religious element in the book, theologians will readily pardon the neglect of their own labours, even though the theology of more than a century has offered solutions to most of the problems in the book which challenge the usual philosophical answers, and which they may with all modesty regard as better solutions than any offered by pure metaphysics. This is the more easy that in these islands it has long been an accepted view that in theology the best equipment is to know nothing about it and to work with one's own unaided intelligence. In books like this, designed to cast the seed of philosophy into the garden of theology, it might seem natural to expect that the philosopher would occasionally look over the wall to see how his seed is getting on. But a Hegelian is emancipated from any duty of reciprocity by the fundamental conception of religion as popular philosophy. In this book this philosophical view has still escaped from the furnace of trial, but its garments are so scorched that it is scarcely

recognizable. Intellectually this result is the real value of the book. The author would probably still call himself a Hegelian, and probably would still have boasted to the end, as he did once, that this philosophy sits enthroned on every famous river in this island except the Forth. Yet nothing is plainer than that his real religion and active experience are no longer able to be contained in it. We have still abundance of the old tags, but what they now mean is more doubtful than ever. For example, if every thing and every person is a mere vehicle of the rational cosmic process there is some sense in saying that everything is just what it does, because it has no significance except as the universe manifests itself through it, and all further possibilities belong to the universe and not to any thing within it. But is there any reality in the phrase, if an individual has such independence that all truth comes by his own insight and all right by his own determination, and that with an individual significance which gives the assurance of being eternal? Again, we find the Absolute and God identified, and Mr Bradley rebuked for distinguishing between them. But can any one read the book and suppose that the author's God is the name for the sum of the cosmic process? Again, we have a great deal about unity as the test of truth and the usual logical process of the Whole. But far the weightiest part of the book is a criticism of the only theory which could give meaning to this idea of reason as the coherence and fixed relation and sequence of a system—the theory which Mr Bosanquet defends, which is that the individual is a mere pattern in the web, a mere vehicle of the whole. Nor is it easy to see how a system which claims to explain the world by the method of the process of universal reason could conceivably work on any other hypothesis. Of Mr Bosanquet the usually flattering things his school says about him are repeated, but then Prof. Jones proceeds, as any man in real spiritual conflict would, to dispose of the system as mechanism masquerading as spiritual process. In the same way he disposes of the idea of impersonal, mere mass values of truth and goodness. Nor has he any more tolerance for Dr McTaggart's dialectic. In short the whole book reminds one of a saying of Dr Johnson about a very old man, that he seemed to have thought it time to give up argument and be in earnest. Yet there is a mystical, non-ethical, purely emotional and submissive view of religion which constantly appears—probably revealing the Celt—which makes it easy to realize the long attraction for our author of the false peace of cosmic pantheism. This makes it difficult for him to find any real solution of the problem of the independence of morals and the dependence of religion. The real problem, which is the union of both, philosophy in this country does not seem to have faced, because it usually assumes that its business is to reduce religion to philosophy. This may be as absurd as to reduce the

visible world to what you can prove to be metaphysically necessary. The first question should surely be, What is the nature of the reality into which we are to enquire? And the second, What kind of enquiry does this need? Who can doubt that the faith which shines in this book has some kind of assurance beyond scientific hypothesis and some kind of power beyond the idea of the harmony of the universe?

J. OMAN.

On what authority?: a review of the foundations of Christian Faith, by the Right Rev. E. A. KNOX, D.D., late Bishop of Manchester. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1922.)

The Christian Faith: essays for the use of parents and teachers written at the instance of the Christian Evidence Society, edited by the Rev. C. F. NOLLOTH, D.Litt. (John Murray, 1922.)

The Religion of Experience, an examination of some of the difficulties of Christian Faith, by EDWARD GRUBB, M.A. (Headley Bros., n.d.)

I AM afraid the JOURNAL does not come into the hands of many of those for whom these three books are meant, though Dr Knox has some words of warning about the dangers of critical study of documents which, while aimed exclusively at 'Modernists', are perhaps applicable to us all. It is 'the faith of an Evangelical Churchman' that he has in view, and I have no doubt that his statement of the grounds of that faith, with special regard to the kind of authority it can claim to-day, will strengthen those for whom he writes against the errors of Anglo-Catholicism, Rome, and Modernists, and give them a really good foundation to rest on. It is a wholly beautiful spirit that breathes through the short 'Introduction'. 'It is better to be lost in the quest of the Holy Grail, than to have had no desire for the quest.'

The volume edited by Dr Nolloth is addressed to a less coherent, perhaps more educated and progressive, public:—parents and teachers who want a survey of the ground they will have to travel in their task of religious instruction to-day—'in an altered world and in social conditions unknown before'. From the eleven essays provided them here they should be able to get a point of view from which they can deal wisely and truly with the new questionings which are or will be in their pupils' minds. The essays are: Religion and Philosophy, by Professor Webb; The comparative study of Religions, by Dr Weitbrecht Stanton; The Bible and Science, by Mr W. M. Bell; The religious value of the Old Testament, by Dr Kennett; The evidences of Christianity, by Mr Webb-Odell; The New Testament Record, by Dr Peake; Jesus Christ, by Dr Nolloth; The Ethics of Christ, by

Dr P. Gardner; Christianity and social problems, by Dr Rashdall; Modern psychology—its bearing on religious teaching, by Dr E. W. Barnes; Christianity and History, by Dr E. W. Watson.

If the third book, *The Religion of Experience*, is added to Dr Nolloth's volume, I think the parent or teacher in view will be well equipped.

A warm welcome is due here to the re-issue of Dr Henry Knight's *The Temptation of our Lord* (S.P.C.K., 1922) with a portrait of the author and a brief sketch of his life by Bishop Montgomery. The high value of the book as a piece of English divinity was recognized at the time of its first publication (*J. T. S.* vol. ix p. 135), and the sympathetic memoir now prefixed to the new edition gives it a fresh value, not only for the Bishop of Gibraltar's friends, but for all readers of it.

Mention may also be made of a different kind of study of the same subject by Mr W. J. Foxell (*The Temptation of Jesus*) recently published by the same Society. Mr Foxell is scornful towards rationalists, but without their help would he have been in a position to declare, as he does, that if the Temptation was a psychical experience of our Lord, it was as truly 'history' as if it had been a physical occurrence? The book is better as homiletics than as psychology.

J. F. B-B.

Collectanea Biblica Latina V. Les Fragments de Freising (épttres de S. Paul et épttres catholiques): édités par DONATIEN DE BRUYNE, Bénédictin de Maredsous. (Rome, 1921.)

THERE prevailed during the Middle Ages in the ecclesiastical libraries of Southern Germany and Switzerland, though doubtless not there only, an unhappy custom of pulling ancient books to pieces and using up the leaves in the bindings of other and later manuscripts. An uncial codex of the Prophets belonging to the Cathedral Church of Constance was, early in the fourteenth century, subjected to this process—see Paul Lehmann's introduction to *Die Konstanz-Weingartener Propheten-Fragmente in phototypischer Reproduktion* (Leyden, 1912): so was a beautiful semi-uncial book of the Vulgate Gospels at St Gall, the oldest and best perhaps of all our Vulgate MSS, my edition of which may appear (I hope) at no very remote date: so too was a composite MS of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, which found its way, as it would seem, from Spain or Southern France to Freising in Bavaria and was there later on dismembered. Most of the treasures of the library of Freising, dispersed in the Napoleonic wars, found their way sooner or later into the library of Munich: and it is there that,

with the exception of two leaves discovered at Gottweig, the remainder of the thirty-six surviving leaves are now to be found.

But though they came from a single library and are now for the most part re-united in a single library, their publication was piecemeal, and the history of it is complex. Four different editors in six separate editions had published this or that fragment. Since the leaves were not all in the same handwriting, it is not to be wondered at that their common *provenance* was not at once realized. So soon however as a common origin was admitted, a combined edition of the separately published fragments was an obvious need, all the more that new fragments were accumulating. This need Dom Donatien de Bruyne has well and amply satisfied in the fifth instalment of the *Collectanea Biblica Latina*.

We are extraordinarily ill off for information as to the Old Latin text of St Paul. The difference for instance in the material at disposal, for the apparatus of Gospels and Epistles respectively, in the forthcoming *Nouum Testamentum S. Irenaei* was very striking. Cyprian remains a fixed point: but there is no MS to take the place of *k* and *e* in the Gospels. The Freising fragments belong to a much later stage of the development. But the researches of Dom de Bruyne, following on those of Ziegler, establish the same sort of connexion of *r* with St Augustine that the researches of Sanday, following Hort, established for *k* and St Cyprian. By *r* I mean the original MS of the Pauline Epistles, of which twenty-eight leaves survive, all of them, save the three which are now printed for the first time, fairly legible: neither the two supplementary leaves of St Paul nor the five leaves of the Catholic Epistles come here into question, for they are not only by a later hand but represent another type of text. To judge from the photographs, I should say that while *r* itself is not earlier than c. A.D. 600, the supplements may be as late as c. A.D. 700. As to *provenance* the abbreviations of the Pauline supplement are definitely Spanish in type, and there is thus some presumption that the original MS was of Spanish origin also, even though its text came ultimately from Africa. Dom de Bruyne suggests (p. xvii) that the older specimens of MSS written in one column across the page are all African or of African descent. I wonder whether one should not rather say 'African or Spanish': compare for instance the Spanish fragments of Jerome on St Matthew published in my *Early Worcester MSS* (Oxford, 1916).

Next to the gain which accrues to scholars from the possession of a text of *r* at once complete and meticulously accurate, the greatest advantage of this volume is its careful and cogent comparison of the fragments with St Augustine. It had already been argued, primarily by Ziegler, (1) that the texts of *r* and Augustine contained common peculiarities explicable only by reference to the Greek, whether real

variants in the Greek or blunders like the curious 'a decimis' of Heb. vii 5 (ἀπὸ δεκατῶν τοῦ λαοῦ for ἀποδεκατοῦν τὸν λαόν¹); (2) that the connexion does not go back to the earliest writings of Augustine, since there is no sign of contact with the *r* text in the *De moribus*, written at the beginning of 388; (3) that since contact is already visible in the *De Genesi* of 389, and since the *r* text is nearer to that of Jerome, Ambrose, Rufinus or the Vulgate than to that of Cyprian and Tertullian, Augustine presumably brought it with him from Rome when he sailed for Carthage in the autumn of 388; (4) that Augustine remained much more faithful to a single type of text, during the forty years that followed, than did any other of the greater Latin Fathers of his time.

These are the main lines of the hypothesis, which Dom de Bruyne has at once confirmed and modified. The first important point he brings out is that St Augustine did not appropriate the *r* text bodily in 389, but that he shews a progressive assimilation to it. It would seem that in the decade 389-399 he was feeling his way towards it, using it at first from time to time only, then for the greater epistles in general, finally from 400 onwards for them all, but even so altering individual readings in his later treatises, up to a certain time generally into accord with *r*, after a certain time away from *r*. Roughly we may say that *r* is the standard text of the central years of his activity as bishop of Hippo.

But still more interesting is the further deduction that Dom de Bruyne is prepared to draw. If the text of *r* is found in the citations of no writer before Augustine; during his lifetime only besides him in African councils, from 416 onwards; after him only in Carthaginian writers like Capreolus and the author of the *Liber promissionum*: if in Augustine himself we find that his text is up to, say, 415 gradually approximating to the *r* type, and that renderings offered by Augustine as his own contribution to the accurate representation of St Paul's words—such as the 'sapientius quam homines' for 'sapientius hominibus', 1 Cor. i 25—turn up in *r* and nowhere else: then the conclusion appears to be justified that *r* is Augustine's own text, not merely in the sense that he used it, not merely in the sense that he propagated it, but actually in the sense that he created it. It represents a continuous effort, dating from the time when he began to devote himself to the special study and exegesis of St Paul, to put the Apostle before African hearers and readers in a version that grew slowly during many years into an always greater perfection. Its basis indeed was a text brought from Italy, sister to that which formed the basis of the Vulgate: but its

¹ The confusion is a little easier if with the critical texts we read ἀποδεκατοῦν for ἀποδεκατῶν.

ultimate form, in all its peculiarities and characteristics, was the offspring of St Augustine's scholarship, industry, and devotion.

It is a striking thesis, and must be read to be appreciated.

The only suggestions I have to offer concern the table on pp. xlv, xlv. Cyprian certainly gave, for *γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς*, not with Hartel (224. 20) 'parentibus in dicto non audientes', but 'parentibus indictoaudientes' (see my *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* i 151), just as in *Test.* ii 27 he gave 'qui indictoaudiens est filio': the word, it is true, is only preserved for 2 Tim. iii 2 in one MS, R (Reginensis 116), but R is often, as for Cypr. ep. 4, a first-class authority. Again in 2 Tim. iii 4, when Augustine wrote *caecati* for *τετυφωμένοι*, he was surely reading in the Greek (though the variant is unnoticed in Tischendorf) *τετυφλωμένοι*.

Dom de Bruyne and our own countryman Dom Chapman are leading members of the company of Benedictine scholars to whom has been committed the task of producing the definitive critical edition of the Vulgate Latin Bible. If all Europe were ransacked no two apter scholars for the purpose could have been found. But we have all *les défauts de nos qualités*: and I have some doubt how fast the book of Genesis will progress while de Bruyne investigates the text of the books of Maccabees and compares the Old Latin and Vulgate Epistles, and Chapman devotes himself in this JOURNAL to the study of St Jerome in relation to the Vulgate N.T. But I hasten to add that I would far rather have these studies even than the book of Genesis: that can wait, and fortunately Orders, unlike scholars, do not die.

C. H. TURNER.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1922 (Vol. xcv, No. 189: S.P.C.K.). A. C. HEADLAM The Christian Belief in God—N. C. GLUBOKOVSKY Union, Inter-communion, and the Lambeth Conference—Three French books—R. DE BARY The philosophy of redemptive power in Christian Worship—F. H. SMITH The Trinities of non-Christian religions—G. H. BOX Judaism and Hellenism—F. T. WOODS The Catholicism of the future—C. C. J. WEBB Mr Bosanquet on contemporary philosophy—A. CALDECOTT A new inquiry into the belief in God and Immortality—Short notices.

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(2) AMERICAN.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

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 R. SCHÜTZ Die Bedeutung der Kolometrie für das Neue Testament
 —E. LOHMEYER Die Verklärung Jesu nach dem Markus-Evangelium—
 G. P. WETTER Zur Darstellung der Eucharistie in dem altchristlichen
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 —Notizen.

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DOCUMENTS

NICETA OF REMESIANA II.

INTRODUCTION AND TEXT OF *DE PSALMODIAE BONO*.

AFTER an interval of time much longer than I had anticipated, the new text of Niceta of Remesiana *de vigiliis* (*J. T. S.* July 1921, xxii pp. 305-320) is here followed up by a similar text of the companion treatise, known hitherto as *de psalmodiae bono*, but entitled according to our new authority the *de utilitate hymnorum*. And this second treatise is textually, so far, in a more favourable position than the first that the new authority contains the whole and not merely (as in the case of the *de vigiliis*) a part of it.

These two treatises were first published by Luc d'Achéry in his *Spicilegium* (ed. 1 tom. III [1659] pp. 1, 7, ed. 2 [1723] tom. I pp. 221, 223), from a MS of St Germain-des-Prés, now Paris. lat. 13089, saec. xi, where they were attributed to Nicetius, bishop of Trèves in the middle of the sixth century. The older MSS now available give the name (in the genitive) as Nicetae, that is of Nicetas or Niceta: and there can be no manner of doubt that Niceta, bishop of Remesiana in Dacia at the beginning of the fifth century, is the real author.

When Dr Burn's *editio princeps* of the collected works of Niceta was published in 1905, I devoted a good deal of time to the study of it, reviewing it in the number of this JOURNAL for January, 1906 (vol. vii pp. 203-219). With my mind full of the subject, I happened to be turning over the pages of Reifferscheid's *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica*, and in the description of cod. Vaticanus Reginensis 131, given under the name of Eusebius of Emesa, I noticed (p. 356) the incipits 'de vigiliis' and 'de utilitate hymnorum'. Correspondence with Dr Mercati confirmed my suspicion: we had here an authority, hitherto unnoticed because anonymous, for the two treatises of Niceta (the former of the two unfortunately short of its earlier chapters) in a text indubitably superior to that represented by either of Dr Burn's families of MSS. Indeed it is hardly too much to say that the two treatises are for the first time presented in a consecutive and intelligible form.

In both of the treatises Dr Burn had at his disposal two separate groups of authorities. In one of these groups, found in a whole family of MSS, of which the oldest are cod. Vat. Pal. 210, a Lorsch MS of *circa* A. D. 600, and cod. Paris *nouvelles acquisitions* lat. 1448 of saec. ix, we have a doctored and bowdlerized recension of both treatises, shorn of almost everything that made the originals as Niceta penned or delivered them really interesting. Since the MSS of this family are MSS of a collection of writings of St Augustine (though the name of Niceta is correctly retained at the head of our two treatises), it is more than likely that Dom Morin is right (Burn, p. lxxxvi) in seeing the hand of Caesarius of Arles at work on this recension, since Caesarius was accustomed to bring the sermons of St Augustine up to date, for his own homiletical purposes, in just the same sort of way. As against the pseudo-Augustinian family Burn had pseudo-Hieronymian MSS to set off: but with the latter the authorities for the two treatises were not the same, that for the *de vigiliis* being a very late MS of St Jerome's works in the Cambridge University Library (Dd vii 2: saec. xv), while the *de psalmodiae bono* appears under the title 'Hieronymi prologus', as part of the material preliminary to the Psalter, in the two important Vulgate Bibles of La Cava (*c.* A.D. 800) and La Farfa (*c.* A.D. 1100). The pseudo-Hieronymian MSS have not suffered, like the other class, from the conscious hand of an editor, but one and all of them have suffered a good deal from the laxity or perversity of scribes. It needed the new evidence of the Reginensis (R) to let in light to a number of dark places: and the evidence of R is recorded in my apparatus exhaustively and I hope accurately. I have had photographs at my disposal, and I have also seen the MS itself. For the other MSS I have not attempted to print a full collation, but only to record their evidence where the reading of R was certainly or possibly wrong.

As specimens of the textual improvements effected in the following pages on the strength of R, I need only cite the opening paragraphs (p. 233, i 5-11: Burn 68. 3-11), or the phrase on p. 237, ix 8-10, where Burn (76. 14-16) gave 'Cessauerunt plane et inluerunt cotidiana baptismata nomen operosa. Illa leprae inspectio uel sicut eiusmodi...' Here 'inluerunt' was an error of collation: the MSS give 'uiluerunt', which may be right and at least is not nonsense. And that the full-stop after 'operosa' was wrong, so that 'operosa illa leprae inspectio' should go together, or again that 'si quid' must be read for 'sicut', could be guessed without fresh MS authority: but only a Cobet could have divined that 'neomeniae' 'new moons' underlay 'nomen'.

For new material in the subject-matter let us instance the revised text of the reference to the apocryphal *Inquisitio Abrahæ*, from which we learn that Abraham himself was one of the performers in the chorus

of Nature 'cantasse ipse et [*for ipsa*] animalia et fontes et elementa finguntur', though I should not like to say that there the old reading may not be right. But I should cling with conviction to the protection which Niceta as now read gives to the less musical in the congregation. Burn's edition opened the door to the heresy that the unmusical should 'join in the service silently': 'melius est ei tacere aut lenta uoce psallere quam clamosa uoce omnibus perstrepere': R gives 'melius est ei lenta uoce psallere quam clamosa perstrepere'. We unmusical ones are to sing, but not so loud as to produce an obvious discord.

At the end of the commentary on the *de vigiliis* I summarized briefly the divergences between Dr Burn's text and my own as regards the biblical references in that treatise. Out of some thirty-three differences there is one where, as Dr Burkitt has pointed out to me, I was wrong in altering Dr Burn's text—it belongs to the chapters where the evidence of R has not yet come to the rescue—namely iv 9 'memor fui' (*a H*) = Burn 59. 20 'memoratus sum' (BC &c.), in Ps. cxviii (cxix) 55. 'Memoratus sum' appears to be unique (Sabatier quotes no other testimony to it than Nicetius, i.e. our Niceta) and should no doubt have been retained.

I proceed to enumerate the biblical quotations or references in both treatises (*a*) where I add references not given by Burn, or alter those given by him, (*b*) where the bible text as given by me differs from his.

(a) *New or altered Bible references.*

De vigiliis.

- i 14 add Prov. xxxi 18. '*ad lucernam uigilanter exercet*' is the whole point in this context of the allusion to the virtuous woman: she is a scriptural example of vigils.
- ii 18 add Ps. vi 6 (7) *nigra et tu secundum prophetam lacrimis stratum tuum.*
- v 13 substitute 2 Cor. vi 16 for 1 Cor. iii 16, *Vos estis templum dei uiui.* The second person for the first in this verse is a widespread variant, especially in Old Latin texts. Niceta goes with Tertullian, Lucifer, Ambrosiaster, Augustine ¹/₂ and Collat. Carthag.
- vi 3 add Luc. ii 36, 37. Niceta is obviously echoing phrases of St Luke's text: *orationibus* he shares with *d* and Cyprian, the order *die ac nocte* with Hilary and Ambrose.
- 5 add Luc. ii 8: the same remark applies as in the last case.
- 23 add Rom. x 12. *dines in omnibus* with Ambrosiaster. Burn's text would not suggest the reference: see list *b*, p. 230.
- vii 8 add from Acts xvi 23-26 as part of the biblical echoes *in custodia, orantes hymnum audientibus uinctis dixisse, repente terrae motu facto et concussis carceris fundamentis, apertae et omnium uincula sunt soluta.* 'custodia' is apparently unique here for φυλακή, but it is the literal translation. 'hymnum dicere', shared with *d*, is the rendering of ὑμνεῖν, as in ps. ix 25 = Matt. xxvi 30 and xiii 18 = Dan. iii 51. 'concuti' is common to Niceta with Lucifer, 'ianuae' and 'omnium' with *d*. I ought to have also printed in capitals PAVLVS ET

SILEAS. 'Sileas' is the true form of the name in Iren-lat, Cypr., Lucifer, and in effect *g*. The consensus of B and H guarantees the testimony of Niceta to the same form, spite of the defection of R.

vii 25. See below, p. 230.

26 add 2 Cor. xi 27 *uigiliis multis*.

ix 2 add 1 Cor. xiv 15 qui orat *spiritu, ore et mente*.

De psalmodiae bono (de utilitate hymnorum).

v 3 add Ps. cxiii (cxii) 1 'laudate pueri Dominum'.

5 add Ps. lxxviii (lxxvii) 5 'qui est pater orphanorum et iudex uiduarum'. pupillus means properly an orphan, but I can find no variant for 'orphanorum' in the Psalm.

vi 9 add Ps. ii 2, 7, 8.

10 add Ps. cx (cix) 1 *sedes* (sedisse A V, but the parallel words are all nouns) *ad dexteram*. 'ad dexteram' (for the usual 'a dextris') puts Niceta in line for this verse of the Psalm with Tertullian ⁶/₆ Novatian ¹/₂ Ambrose ³/₉ and Gregory of Elvira *de fide orthodoxa*. The form may perhaps be due to Creed influence.

11 add Ps. l (xl) 3 'deus manifeste (manifestus) ueniet . . . ignis in conspectu eius ardebit'.

13 add Ps. civ (ciii) 30 'emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur et renouabis faciem terrae'.

viii 15 add Ps. l (xl) 14.

ix 16 add Luc. i 46 : a second indication (i. e. besides xi 11) that Niceta's bible gave Elisabeth as the speaker of the Magnificat.

25 add Matt. xxvi 30 'hymno dicto exierunt in monte Oliueti'.

xi 4 add Ps. cvi, cvii, cxxxvi (cv, cvi, cxxxv) 1.

5 add Exod. xv 6. It was no wonder that Dr Burn could supply no reference, since he makes Niceta say of Moses that he acclaimed the Holy Spirit as Lord, 'Spiritum sanctum Dominum', though no MS gives 'Spiritum sanctum' and only one 'Dominum'. R with B C gives 'potentiam Domini'.

6 add 1 Reg. ii 1, the Song of Hannah.

7 add Is. xxvi 9.

9 add Dan. iii 51 ff.

xiii 3 add 1 Cor. xiv 15 *spiritu . . . et mente*. Niceta was thinking of St Paul's words: but when he paraphrases 'spiritu' by 'hoc est sono uocis', he was certainly not using *πνεύματι* in the same sense as the apostle.

36 add Ps. cl. 5 *cymbalis bene sonantibus*.

xiv 8 add Luc. x 39 *sedens ad pedes Iesu uerbum intentius audiebat*. Not only are the words obviously taken straight from St Luke, but they bring out the interesting fact that Niceta read 'Iesu' (τοῦ Ἰησοῦ for τοῦ κυρίου) with the Greek *textus receptus*, but with no single Old Latin text in support *except that* of b.

15 add Ps. lxxxiv (lxxxiii) 5.

(b) *Differences in biblical text.*

De uigiliis.

ii 9 Prov. vi 9-11. 'surgis' with B C* H (i. e. the oldest representatives of both families): surges a Burn. 'modicum quidem dormis' with B C H: paululum a Burn with Vulg. 'inopia autem sicut bonus cursor' with B C H:

inopia tamquam bonus et leuis cursor a Burn. autem represents the Greek καί: et leuis is an arbitrary supplement of a. 'cito ueniet' a H, though

it is not in the Greek at this place (and Burn therefore does not print it as part of the quotation), looks to me as though it represented *δόκων ἦξει*, i. e. an unknown recension of verse 11 a: *om.* B C.

- ii 22 Ps. lxiii (lxii) 7, 8. 'meditabar' with B and *Gr.* ἐμελέτων, and so Hil. and ('constanter') Aug. *in loc.*: meditabor a H C Burn, with O.L. authority, and perhaps the context points a little the same way. At any rate this is not a freak reading of a alone. After 'in te', Burn (with B C) adds Domine, but H here supports a, and it is neither in Greek nor in O.L. 'factus es' with B C Aug. and *Gr.* ἐγενήθης: fuisti a H Burn (Vulgate).
- [iii 13 Ps. xix (xviii) 13. Burn was right (as against my text) to print 'Domine' as part of the quotation: for it is in the text of the Greek MS R of the Psalter, and in many Old Latins from Cypr. *Test.* iii 56 onwards.]
- iv 6 Is. xxvi 9. 'lux praecepta tua': Burn adds sunt with B C against a H, the Greek, and practically all O.L. There would be more to say for following B C with quia (against quoniam of a H Burn and myself), since all other Old Latins appear to have quia. In line 4 B* gives Haesaia.
- [iv 9 Ps. cxix (cxviii) 55. I ought not to have altered Burn's 'memoratus sum', the reading of B C, which is found nowhere else, to the 'memor fui' of a, even when supported by H, since this latter is the reading both of the Vulgate and of O.L., and therefore much the more likely to have been introduced by scribes.]
- v 3 Ps. cxxxii (cxxxii) 3-5. 'in lectum': 'in' is omitted by B C, and I have put it in brackets, though the Greek has ἐνί and there seems no other Latin authority for omitting 'in'. 'aut . . . aut' with B C H: et . . . et a Burn with the Greek, but also with the Vulgate.
- 19 Ps. xcii 2 (xcii 3). 'ueritatem tuam' with R B C a H, the Greek and O.L.: *om.* tuam Burn.
- vi 3 Luc. ii 36, 37. 'orationibus ac ieiuniis' with R B C: et a H Burn with the other Latins, but Niceta is not sticking very closely to the biblical text, and ac is characteristic of his style. 'seruiens' with R B C H and the Greek text: *praemi* Domino a (by a mere freak) Burn.
- 5 Luc. ii 8. 'gregem suum' with R B (suam B*) C H and the Greek: greges suos a (again a pure blunder) Burn.
- 9 Matt. xiii 25. 'zizania' with R H: zizania a B C Burn. Here we are on the track of a lexical peculiarity which has stubborn roots in the Old Latin tradition. Though ζιζάνια is of course a neuter plural, zizania zizaniae appears in the following Latin authorities: a Matt. xiii 26 'tunc apparuit zizania'; c Matt. xiii 25, 26, 27 'superseminauit zizania . . . apparuit zizania . . . unde ergo habet zizania?'; d Matt. xiii 26 'tunc paruit zizania'; ff, Matt. xiii 26 'apparuerunt zizaniae'; Irenaeus V x 1 'in eo quod dormiant homines insemnat inimicus materiam zizaniae'. I cannot doubt, therefore, that zizania fem. is what Niceta used. Since Tertullian appears to have employed 'auenae' for ζιζάνια, it is possible that zizania zizaniae came in by a sort of false analogy.
- 11 Luc. xii 35-40. 'lucernae ardentes' with R B C H: add in manibus uestris a Burn, a reading which, as Burdett points out (Burn p. cxlviii), is found only in late MSS even of the Vulgate. 'et si media nocte, et si galli cantu' with R B C (and et 2° H): *om.* et 1° and 2° a Burn, against both Greek and Latin texts. 'illud autem . . . domum suam': Burn's brackets indicate that B C omit, and Burdett (*loc. cit.*) regards 'utique' as proof of dependence on the Vulgate. But d in fact has utique, and R is I think quite uncontaminated by Vulgate influence: moreover the verb uigilaret would be a sure magnet for Niceta. 'perforari' with R: perfodiri H perfodi a Burn (*def.* B C). per-

- fodi is only late Vulgate and doubtless wrong: *a* and *d* are defective, *b* and *e* with the true Vulgate text have perfodire. 'nescitis' with R B C H: non putatis *a* Burn. nescitis is right.
- 23 Rom. x 12. 'diues in omnibus'. See p. 227. Burn with *a* (H) diues in orationibus: *om.* B C.
- 25 Matt. xxvi 40 (Mc. xiv 37). 'sic' with R and Matt.: *om. vell.* Burn.
- vii 3 Acts xii 6, 7. 'noctu' with R B C: the omission of the word by *a* (Burn) makes havoc of the connexion, since without it the passage has no bearing on vigils. 'excitatur' with R: suscitatur with *a* H B C Burn, and so Vulgate and most Old Latins. But the two 'mixed' texts *c dem* (see Wordsworth and White *Act. Ap.* pp. viii, ix) agree with R.
- 6 1 Pet. v 8. 'uigilate' with R H: *praem* et B C, ac *a* Burn. The Greek text and Lucifer have no connecting particle; Cypr. Ambst. etc. have et; ac has no early support. 'transuoret' with R B C: deuoret *a* H Burn. The latter is the ordinary reading: Sabatier only cites transuorare *ad loc.* from Praedestinatus (c. A.D. 440), but in fact it is also the true reading in Lucifer. The word is rare, but is found in Apuleius, Hilary, Lucifer, Augustine (Forcellini-de Vit).
- 8 Acts xvi 23-26. See above p. 227. 'circa mediam noctis horam' R: circa medium noctis B C *a* H Burn and Aug., possibly rightly; circa mediam noctem Cypr. Lucif. *d*; Gr. κατά τὸ μεσονύκτιον.
- 12 Acts xx 7-11. 'producebat' with R *g* and Augustine ep. 36: ducebat *a* H Burn (*def.* B C for this passage). 'in' with R, and so *e*: ad *a* H with *g*. 'lucernis quamplurimis' with R H: lanternis quam pluribus *a* Burn with *eg*. The consensus of R H guarantees quamplurimis: I cannot feel sure that I was right in rejecting 'lanternis', an unusual word, found also in *g* (*igas*), with which MS Niceta here keeps close company. Yet λαμπάδες in this context can hardly mean 'lanterns', but rather, as in Matt. xxv 3, 'lamps' for oil; and if so 'lucernae' is a better rendering. 'pressus' with R and *g*: oppressus *a* H.
- 19 1 Thess. v 6-10 (*def.* B C). 'diei' with R H and the Greek: dei is a bad blunder of *a*. 'simus' (*post* sobrii) with R H and the Greek: sumus *a*.
- 23 1 Cor. xvi 13. 'uigilate state' (cf. above vii 6 = 1 Pet. v 8) with R H (*a*), Ambst. and the Greek: uigilate et state B C Burn. 'confirmamini' with R: confortamini B C *a* H Burn and apparently all other texts, save Ambst. corroboramini.
- 25 Eph. vi 18. 'omni tempore' with R and Lucifer: in omni tempore *a* H (*def.* B C) and most Old Latins. The Greek has ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, but the absence of 'in' was probably suggested by Latin idiom. 'et in hoc ipso uigilantes', with R, as part of the quotation: et in ipso uigilantis *a* H. Burn is certainly wrong not to have printed the words as part of the quotation, though the text of *a* no doubt misled him: but he may well be right with 'in ipso', since εἰς αὐτὸ ἀγρυπνοῦντες is the true text in St Paul, and the omission of τοῦτο is supported by the Old Latins, though they mostly imply εἰς αὐτόν. I think I was wrong in accepting 'hoc' from R.
- viii 4 Ps. xxxiv 8 (xxxiii 9). 'gustando' with R B C: gustandum of *a* H Burn seems untranslatable.
- 15 Ps. i 2. 'si' is not part of the quotation, but introduces the condition under which only a man can be called 'blessed'. 'meditetur' R H B C: meditatur only *a*.
- ix 13 Prov. iv 16. 'quia' with R H B C, introducing the quotation, but not part of it: quare *a*, and so Burn as part of the quotation. The editor had not noted that both B and C read quia.

de psalmodiae bono (de utilitate hymnorum).

- ii 6 Eph. v 18, 19 (*def.* BC). 'spiritu' RAV: but in *l.* 16 spiritu AV, in spiritu R. Gr. ἐν πνεύματι: as in *vigil.* vii 25 = Eph. vi 18, the 'in' of the Greek contradicts Latin idiom, and is omitted by Amb. Ambst. Jerome Vulg. Did Niceta occasionally refer to the Greek text? 'loquentes' R: AV add 'uobis in psalmis', but their 'little knowledge' led them to spoil the point, which rests entirely on the idea of speech as against silence. 'et hymnis' (*l.* 20) R: AV omit et, but it is guaranteed by *l.* 6.
- vi 13 Ps. civ (ciii) 30 (see p. 228 above). 'nouatio' R: renouatio AVBC. inno- uabis occurs in Amb. Aug., otherwise renouabis is constant in this verse, and nouabis would not correspond to ἀνακαινίζει. I think Niceta, using noun and not verb, altered to nouatio for rhythm's sake.
- vii 6 Ps. cl 6. 'dominum' with RBC and (though Burn does not give it) A: deum V Burn without support from any other authority.
- 7 Ps. lxi (lxxviii) 31, 32. 'dei' with RBC and B^N*R* of LXX: dei mei AV Burn (and N^C*R^b of LXX). The O. L. for the most part supports the better guaranteed Greek text, and we need not deprive Niceta of the credit of supporting it too. 'magnificabo' with RABC Hil, and Greek: *praem* et V Burn, with very slight O. L. support.
- 13 Ps. l (xlix) 23 (*def.* BC). 'salutare' R, with the echo of the verse two lines further on 'qua ad eius peruenias salutare', with the Greek τὸ σωτήριον, and Cypr. Hil. Aug. Cassiod.: salutarem AV Burn.
- viii 3 Ps. cxlvii (cxlvi) 1. 'sit iucunda' with RT¹: iucunda sit BC suavis sit AV Burn. iucunda is persistent in all the Old Latin texts cited by Sabatier.
- ix 17 Luc. ii 14. 'in terram' with RVT: in terra ABC Burn. The accusative is the less obvious case, and yet has support from all three families: I imagine Niceta used it as governed by adnuntians, 'announcing for the earth'.
- 19 Matt. xxi 15. 'dauid filio' with RBC: *tr* AV Burn. Note the unusual (and so far as I know unprecedented) order 'David's son'.
- 22 Luc. xix 40. 'tacebunt' with R and *e i* Amb.¹/₂: tacuerint AVBC Burn and most others.
- 25 Matt. xxvi 30. 'in monte Oliueti' with R and *d*: in montem Oliueti *codd. cett.* Burn.
- x 5 1 Cor. xiv 26 (*def.* BC). 'ad aedificationem fiant' with R and Greek text: ad aedificationem fiunt AV Burn—surely a mere blunder.
- 9 Apoc. xix 6. 'tonitrorum' with B* (tonitruorum C): tonitruum RAV Burn. I desert R with great hesitation, but the declension of the Latin word for 'thunder' is so bizarre—see Neue-Wagener *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*³ i 534, 535 iv 360, 361—that there is much to be said for following our oldest MS.
- xiii 2 Ps. xlvii (xlvi) 8 (*def.* AV). 'rex omni terra' with R: rex omnis terrae BC Burn. It is only my faith in R which leads me to print so apparently odd a reading.
- 18 Dan. iii 51, 52 Theodotion (*def.* AV). 'tamquam ex uno ore' RBT: quasi ex uno ore C Burn. In Cypr. *dom. or.* 8 the oldest MS (S) gives 'tamquam'. 'deus' with R: 'domine deus' BC Burn and the Greek.
- 29-34 (*def.* BC). Cyprian *ad Donatum* 16. On this I have written in the com- mentary, p. 249 below: R's text nowhere shews clearer superiority.

¹ T is a Brussels MS, 10615-729, s. xii, which I cite here and there from Burn's apparatus, because of its occasional close agreement with R.

- xiii 37, xiv 13, Ps. lxxviii (lxxvii) 7. 'in domo sua': I have printed this in capitals, because (1) the phrase occurs twice, (2) the words 'sicut legitur' immediately follow here, and the natural implication is that the words which next precede are an exact quotation. But I can find no other trace of such a reading. 'unius moris' with R A V 1°, A V 2°: yet 'unius modi', Augustine's rendering, is supported by R 2° 'unius modis', and there is something to be said for 'unanimis' B C 1° 2° Burn, which is the usual Old Latin interpretation (see Burkitt ap. Burn pp. cxlv, cxlvi).
- xiv 8-10 Luc. x 42. 'partem sibi maximam' with R: bonam partem sibi A V B C Burn. I know of no parallel for R's reading: yet it does not look like invention, and Niceta in what is an allusion rather than an exact citation might, I think, well have interpreted τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα as 'the largest share'. It is in substance what Jerome did when he substituted 'optimam' for 'bonam'.

For convenience' sake the list of MSS used for the text of the *de psalmodiae bono* (*de utilitate hymnorum*) is briefly repeated here.

- R codex Vaticanus Reginae lat. 131: s. ix-x: fol. 153 a
 B codex Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 210 (from Lorsch): s. vi-vii: fol. 183 a
 C codex Parisinus Nouvelles acquisitions lat. 1448 (from Cluny): s. ix: fol. 148 b
 (B and C are MSS of writings of St Augustine)
 A codex Cavensis of the Bible (at La Cava): s. viii-ix: fol. 101 a
 V codex Vaticanus 5729 (Bible of La Farfa): s. xi-xii: fol. 253

[Note that the catalogue number of H, the better representative of the a family in the *de vigiliis* detected by Dr Mercati in the Ambrosiana at Milan, was by error given by me in J. T. S. xxii 305 as 'A 226 inf.' instead of 'A 266 inf.']

INCIPIT DE VTILITATE HYMNORVM

I. Qui promissum reddit debitum soluit : memini me pollicitum, cum de gratia et de utilitate uigiliarum dixissem, sequenti sermone *de hymnorum et laudum ministerio* esse dicturum, quod nunc hic sermo Deo donante praestabit.

Nec sane potest tempus aliud aptius inueniri quam istud quo a filiis 5 lucis nox pro die ducitur, quo silentium et quies ab ipsa nocte praestatur, quo hoc ipsum caelebratur quod cupit sermo narrare. apta est adhortatio militi, quando stat in procinctu sollicitus ; nautis competit cantilena, cum remis incumbunt mare uerrentibus ; aptissima est et nunc huic conuentui ad hymnorum ministerium congregato ipsius operis (sicut 10 praediximus) adlocutio.

II. Scio nonnullos non solum in nostris sed etiam in orientalibus esse partibus qui superfluum et minus congruentem diuinae relegioni existiment psalmodiarum et hymnorum decantationem : | [fol. 153b] sufficere enim putant si psalmus corde dicatur, lasciuium esse si oris sono proferatur ; et aptant huic opinioni suae capitulum de apostolo, quia scripsit 5 ad Effesios IMPLEMINI SPIRITU, LOQUENTES VOBIS IN PSALMIS ET HYMNIS ET CANTICIS SPIRITUALIBUS, IN GRATIA CANTANTES ET PSALLENTE DEO IN CORDIBUS VESTRIS. ecce, inquiunt, IN CORDIBUS psallendum esse definit apostolus, non more tragico uocis modulamine garriendum, quia sufficit Deo QUI CORDA SCRUTATUR si in cordis secreto canatur. at ego, 10 duce ueritate, sicut non reprehendo PSALLENTE IN CORDE (semper enim utile est quae Dei sunt corde meditari), ita conlaudo eos qui etiam sono uocis glorificant Deum. et prius quam de multis scripturarum instrumentis testimonia proferam, de ipso apostoli capitulo quod multi cantoribus obiciunt, praescriptionis uice eorum stultiloquium reper- 15

II. 6. Eph. v 18, 19 10. Rom. viii 27

INCIPIT DE VTILITATE HYMNORVM R fol. 153 a : INCIPIT DE PSALMODIAE BONO EIVSDEM NICETAE BC (+ DICANVS QVAE NOBIS DŌ DONARE DIGNATUR. NOS ITAQUE [c. III l. 1] C) : Hieronymo tribuunt AV

I. cc. I II. *penitus omittunt* BC 2. de utilitate RA : om V de 3^o scripsi : in AV ; om R 4. praestauit R 5. aptius : apcius R halitus A aliter V a filiis AV : filius (om a) R 6. locis R* praestatur R 7. quo scripsi : quod R cum AV adortatio R 8. in procinctu AV, cf. de pascha 6 (Burn 110. 17) : procincto R cantilena R 9. uerentibus R* 11. praediximus R

II. 1. nonnullus R* in 2^o : om AV 2. diuine R exestiment R 3. salmodiarum R, cf. uigil. v 18^o 4. corde : cor R lasciuium RV : lasciium A, lasciuiam Souler 6. effesios V : effessios R hefesios A himnis R 8. uestris : uŕs (ad finem lineae) R 9. tragico scripsi : traico R traendi (sc trahendi?) A traguende V : tragoediae Burn 11. duce ueritate R : om AV 13. instrumentis testimonia scripsi : instrumen|testimonia R (de multis scripturis instrumentis testimonia AV) 14. apostoli capitulo AV : apostolo (ceteris per homoeoteleuton, ut puto, omissis) R 15. cantoribus haesitans scripsi : cantores R AV

cutiam. ait enim certe apostolus INPLEMINI [IN] SPIRITV LOQVENTES. puto etiam ora nostra laxauit et linguas soluit et labia prorsus aperuit : LOQVI enim sine istis organis homines impossibile est ; et sicut aestus a frigore discretus est, sic tacens a loquente diuersus est. cum uero
 20 adicit LOQVENTES IN PSALMIS ET HYMNIS ET CANTICIS, non fecisset etiam CANTICORVM mentionem si PSALLENTEs omnino tacere uoluisset, | [fol. 154a] cantare enim prorsus tacendo potest nemo. IN CORDIBVS autem quod dixit, admonuit ne sola uoce sine CORDIS intentione cantetur : sicut alio loco ait PSALLAM SPIRITV, PSALLAM ET MENTE, id est uoce et
 25 cogitatione.

Sed haec talia hereticorum commenta sunt. dum enim aliud languent, subtiliter cantica respuunt. nam dum prophetis aduersantur, et *propter* prophetas Deum conantur destruere creatorem, prophetarum dicta et maxime caelestes Daudicas cantiones per colorem honesti silentii
 30 uacuare contendunt. III. Sed nos, karissimi, qui tam propheticis quam euangelicis et apostolicis sumus eruditi magisteriis, eorum nobis dicta et facta ante oculos proponamus per quos [pos]sumus omne quod [pos]sumus, et quam sint grata Deo SPIRITALIA CANTICA a primordio
 5 repetentes hisdem auctoribus asseramus.

Si autem quaeramus quis hominum primus hoc genus cantionis inuenerit, non inueniemus alium nisi Moysen, qui canticum Deo insigne cantauit quando percussa Egypto decem plagis et Pharaone demerso populus per insueta maris itinera ad desertum gratulabundus egressus
 10 est, dicens: CANTEMVS DOMINO, GLORIOSE ENIM HONORIFICATVS EST. neque enim illud uolumen temerarie recipiendum est cui inscriptio est Inquisitio Abrahae ubi cantasse ipse et animalia et fontes et elementa finguntur, | [fol. 154b] cum nulla sit fide liber ipse, nulla auctoritate, subnixus. primus igitur Moyses, dux tribuum Israhelis, choros
 15 instituit, utrumque sexum distinctis classibus, se ac sorore praeeunte, canere Deo canticum triumphale perdociuit. postmodum Debbora, non ignobilis femina, in libro Iudicum hoc ministerio functa reperitur.

24. I Cor. xiv 15 III. 10. Exod. xv 1.

16. apostolos R in R : om AV, cf. l. 6 17. laxabit RV 19. loquente R
 27. cantarespuunt R* propter *scripsi* : per R A ; om V 28. Deum A (dñm) : Domini RV (dñi) conatur R* 28. destruere R 29. caelestis R dauidicas
optime Burn : dauiticas R² dauitas R* dauid dicat AV
 III. 1. kk B kmi CV karissimi A : carissimi R 3, 4. possumus *bis* R :
 sumus *bis* AVBC *etc*, *fortasse recte* 4. qua R 5. hisdem RB isdem VC ad-
 seramus R 6. hominum AV : omnium RBC, *fortasse recte* inuixerit R*
 7. inueniemus R² A : inueniamus R* inuenimus VBC 8. percussam aegyptum
 R faraone A 9. itinara R* 11. neque . . . subnixus (l. 14) : om
 BC *etc* temerarie AV : temerarium R cui RA : cuius V 12. abrahe R
 13. finguntur !R* nulla sit fide R : nullius sit fidei AV 14. israhelis AB*
 chorus R* 15. praeeunte R 16. canere R : cantare BC ; om AV docuit
 R* 17. repperitur RC

ipse tamen Moyses corpore recessurus terrificum carmen in Deuteronomio iteravit, quod scriptum testamenti uice populo dereliquit, unde scirent tribus Israhel quae et qualia funera eos manerent cum a Domino recessissent: nimis miseri atque miserandi, qui tali tamque euidenti denuntiatione praemissa noluerunt aut nequieverunt ab illicitis superstitionibus praecauere.

IV. Iam postea multos inuenias non solum uiros sed etiam feminas Spiritu diuino completas Dei cecinisse mysteria, etiam ante Daudid qui a pueritia in hoc munus a Domino specialiter lectus et cantorum princeps et carminum thesaurus esse promeruit: qui adhuc puer in cythara suauiter immo fortiter canens, malignum spiritum qui operabatur in Saule conpescuit—non quo cytharae illius tanta uirtus erat, sed quo figura crucis Christi quae in ligno et extensione neruorum mystice gerebatur, ipsaque passio quae cantabatur, iam tum spiritum demonis opprimebat.

V. Quid in huius psalmis non inuenias quod faciat ad utilitatem | [fol. 155a] ad aedificationem ad consolationem humani generis conditionis sexus aetatis? habet in hoc infans quod lactet, PVER quod LAVDET, ADVLESCENS quo CORRIGAT VIAM, iuuenis quid sequatur, senior quid precetur. discit femina pudicitiam, PVPILLI inueniunt PATREM, VIDVAE IUDICEM, pauperes prospectorem, aduenae custodem. audiunt reges et iudices quae timeant. psalmus tristem consolatur, lactum temperat, iracundum mitigat, pauperem recreat, diuitem ut se agnoscat increpat; omnibus omnino suscipientibus se apta medicamenta contribuit, nec peccatorem despicit, sed remedium ei per paenitentiam flebilem salubriter ingerit. prouidet, plane prouidet Spiritus sanctus quemadmodum quamuis dura et fastidiosa praecordia sensim et quasi cum delectatione eloquia diuina susciperent. nam quia natura hominum aspera quaeque quamuis sint salutaria fugit ac respuat, uixque suscipit nisi quod praestare uidetur inlecebram, hanc Dominus per Daudid suum conficit hominibus

V. 3. Ps. cxlii (cxii) 1 4. Ps. cxix (cxviii) 9 6. Ps. lxxviii (lxxvii) 5
18. recensurus R 20. domino RBC: deo AV 22. noluerunt R aut
nequieverunt R: *om codd rel* 23. pacauere R*?

IV. 2. deuino R* 3. munus AVB etc: manens R lectus RB: electus
AV (C?) princeps R 4. thenaurus R* cythara R 6. sed quo R: sed
quod AV sed quia BC 7. mystice RA 8. ipsaque passio quae (*om quae R*:
legendum ipsa passio quae?) cantabatur RA: *om (per homoeoteleuton?) VBC*

V. 1. inuenias RA: inuenies VBC 2. ad aedificationem: adificationem R
conditionis R 3. lactet ABC: latet RV 4. aduliscens R quid 1° BC:
quod AV qd R quid 2° RBC: quod AV 5. praecetur R pudicitiam R
6. prospectorem RBC: protectorem A inprotectorem V aduene R reges et:
*om R** 7. (et) iudicesq; R iudicesque quid AVBC triste R temporat
R 8. iracundum: iracundium R iratum AV iratos BC increpat R:
increpat fortasse rectius AVBC 10. dispicit R penitentiam R 11. prouidet
bis RA: prouidet bis V: om usque ad inlecebram (l. 15) BC etc 13. susciperent
AV cf. esset l. 16: suscepit R 15. suum RAV: *praem seruum BC; legendum fortasse suam* conficit RAV: confecit BC hominibus R: *om codd rel*

nibus potionem quae dulcis esset gustu per cantionem et efficax ad curanda uulnera per uirtutem. suauiter enim auditur dum canitur, penetrat animum dum delectat, facile retinetur dum frequentius psallitur, et quod legis austeritas ab humanis mentibus extorquere
 20 non poterat, haec per dulcedinem cantionis excludit. nam quidquid lex, quidquid prophetae, quidquid euangelia ipsa praecipunt, in his carminibus suauiter medicatum dulcedine continetur. VI. Deus ostenditur, simulacra ridentur; fides adseritur, perfidia refutatur; iustitia ingeritur, | [fol. 155 b] prohibetur iniquitas; misericordia laudatur, crudelitas abdicatur; ueritas requiritur, mendacia dam-
 5 nantur; dolus accusatur, innocentia conlaudatur; superbia deicitur, sublimatur humilitas; praedicatur patientia, pax sequenda depromitur; contra inimicos protectio postulatur, uindicta promittitur, spes certa nutritur, et quod his est omnibus excellentius, Christi sacramenta canuntur. nam et generatio eius exprimitur, et reiectio plebis impiae et
 10 GENTIVM HEREDITAS nominatur: uirtutes Domini cantantur, passio ueneranda depingitur, resurrectio gloriosa monstratur, SEDES quoque AD DEXTERAM non tacetur. tunc deinde IGNEVS Domini MANIFESTATVR aduentus, terribile de uiuis ac mortuis iudicium panditur. quid plura? etiam SPIRITVS CREANTIS EMISSIO ET TERRAE NOVATIO reuelatur: post
 15 quae erit in gloria Domini sempiternum iustorum regnum, impiorum perenne supplicium.

VII. Haec sunt cantica quae Dei canit ecclesia: haec sunt quae hic noster conuentus sono etiam uocis exercet: haec non soluunt cantorem sed potius stringunt, non luxuriam suscitant sed extingunt. uide an dubitari possit quod haec carmina placeant Deo, ubi totum quod agitur
 5 expectat gloriam creatoris. merito idem propheta omnes et omnia ad laudem Dei cuncta regentis hortatur OMNIS SPIRITVS LAVDET DOMINVM;

VI. 9. Ps. ii 2, 7, 8 10. Ps. xxii (xxi) 11. Ps. iii 6 uel xvi (xv) 10
 Ps. cx (cix) 1 12. Ps. l (xl) 3 14. Ps. civ (ciii) 30

VII. 6. Ps. cl 6

18. dum (1^o) in rasura R 19. sallitur R* 20. hec R cantionet ! R*
 22. medicatum A B: medicamentum V C medicam̃tum R

VI. 2. ridentur A B C: inidentur R deridentur V 4. laudetur R* mendatia R damnatur R 6. patientia R: paenitentia AVBC depromitur . . . uindicta: om AV 7. inimicus R* postolatur R* 9. impie R
 10. nominatur: + sedes quoque ad dexteram non tacetur R, quae uerba codices ceteri melius post uirtutum, passionis, resurrectionis mentionem collocant, infra l. 11
 11. ad dextera B*, fortasse recte 12. deinde: inde primis curis R 14. creanti remissio ! R terrae nouatio R: terrae renouatio (cf. Burn 25. 24, 26. 21) codd rell, fortasse recte (post terr[a]e enim facile omittitur re-), tamen renouatio reuelatur uix Nicetam sonat que R 15. in gloria A B C: in gloriam R V sempiternum A B C: sempiternam V sempiterna R

VII. 1. canit R in ras 2. uocis AVBC: noctis R fortasse recte exercit R
 3. uide an AV: uidi eā R: aliter B etc 5. expectat RAV: spectat B C gloriam R: praem ad AVBC 6. omnisps R*

seque ipsum pollicens laudatorem dicebat | [fol. 156 a] LAVDABO NOMEN DEI CVM CANTICO, MAGNIFICABO EVM IN LAVDE, ET PLACEBIT DEO SVPER VITVLVM NOVELLVM CORNVA PRODVCENTEM ET VNGVLAS. ecce praestantius, ecce sacrificium spiritale, maius omnibus sacrificiis 10 uictimarum. nec inmerito: si quidem ibi sanguis animalium inrationabilis fundebatur, hic de ipsa anima et bona conscientia laus rationabilis immolatur. digne Dominus ait SACRIFICIVM LAVDIS GLORIFICABIT ME, ET ILLIC VIA EST QVA OSTENDAM ILLI SALVTARE DEI. lauda Dominum in uita tua, IMMOLA SACRIFICIVM LAVDIS, et per ipsam ostenditur in anima 15 tua VIA QVA ad eius peruenias SALVTARE. VIII. delectat Dominum de PVRA CONSCIENTIA laus emissa, sicut idem hortatur hymnograus LAVDATE DOMINVM QVIA BONVS EST PSALMVS, DEO NOSTRO SIT IVCVNDATA LAVDATIO. hanc scientiam gerens, hoc placitum Deo officium non ignorans, idem psalmista testatur: SEPTIES IN DIE LAVDEM DIXI TIBI; et adhuc amplius 5 aliquid pollicetur, ET LINGVA inquit MEA MEDITABITVR IVSTITIAM TVAM, TOTA DIE LAVDEM TVAM. sentiebat enim sine dubio de tali opere beneficium, sicut ipse commemorat LAVDANS INVOCABO DOMINVM ET AB INIMICIS MEIS SALVVS ERO. tali tutamine, tali clypeo, adhuc puer armatus et fortissimum illum Golian gigantem strauerat et saepe de 10 alienigenis uictoriam reportarat.

IX. Longum fiet, karissimi, si singula uoluerio quae psalmorum historia continet | [fol. 156 b] dicere, praesertim cum res exigat de nouo etiam testamento aliqua ad ueterum confirmationem debere praeferrī, ne officium psalmizandi putetur inhibitum, sicut multa de priscae legis obseruatione constant *pessum* data. nam quae carnalia sunt reiecta, 5 ut puta circumcisio, sabbatum, sacrificia, ciborum discretio, tubae, cytharae, cymbala, tympana: quae omnia in membris nunc hominis intelleguntur et melius resonant. cessauerunt plane et praeterierunt cotidiana baptismata, neuminiae, operosa illa leprae inspectio, uel si quid eiusmodi quod paruolis fuerat tunc pro tempore necessarium. 10

VII. 7. Ps. lxiix (lxxviii) 31, 32 10. Ps. li (l) 17, 18 13. Ps. l (xlx) 23 15. Ps. l (xlx) 14 VIII. 2. 1 Tim. iii 9 Ps. cxlvii 1 5. Ps. cxix (cxviii) 164 6. Ps. xxxv (xxxiv) 28 8. Ps. xviii (xvii) 4

VII. 8. et placebit . . . dei (l. 14): om B etc 9. uitolum R 10. spiritalem R 11. ubi R* inrationabilium AV

VIII. 1. dilectat R 3. nostro: noŕ R 5. salmista R species R*: sepcies R² 6. aliquid AV B C: aliud R 7. tota die laudem tuam AV B C: om per homoeoteleuton R 10. Golian B: Goliā R C Goliām AV sepe R 11. alienigenis R*

IX. 1. karissimi A: kmi V carissimi R B C 3. testamenta R confirma-
tione R praeferre R proferri AV B C ne . . . inminuta (l. 12): om B etc
5. constant RV: constant A *pessum* data conici: esse sedata R esse data AV
que R sunt RAV: num legendum sunt sunt? 6. discrecio R 7.
cymbala AV: cymbale R in: uerbum sequens in l incepit secundum R*
8. praeterierunt R: uulnerunt AV, fortasse recte 9. neuminiae (νεομνίαι
[νεομνίαι]) scripsi: enuminie R* neuminie R² nomine A nomen V

ceterum spiritalia quae sunt, fides, pietas, oratio, ieiunium, patientia, castitas, laudatio, aucta sunt, non inminuta.

Ergo in euangelio inuenies primum ZACCHARIAM, PATREM magni Iohannis, post longum illud silentium in hymnis uoce PROPHETASSE. 15 nec Helisabeth, diu sterelis, edito de repromissione filio Deum de ipsa ANIMA MAGNIFICARE cessauit. nato in terris Christo laudem sonuit [et] EXERCITVS angelorum, GLORIAM referens IN EXCELSIS DEO et IN TERRAM PACEM HOMINIBVS BONAE VOLVNTATIS adnuntians. PVERI IN TEMPLO OSANNA DAVID FILIO CLAMAVERVNT. nec Phariseis liuore 20 strepentibus Dominus ora innocentium clausit, sed potius aperuit dicens NON inquit LEGISTIS SCRIPTVM : | [*fol. 157 a*] EX ORE INFANTVM ET LACTANTVM PERFECISTI LAVDEM; et SI ISTI TACEVNT LAPIDES CLAMABVNT? et ne protraham sermonem, ipse Dominus, in uerbis doctor et magister in factis, ut hymnorum ministerium gratissimum 25 conprobaret, cum discipulis HYMNO DICTO EXIUIT IN MONTE OLIVETI. quis iam tali documento de psalmorum et hymnorum religione dubitabit, quando ille qui a caelestibus cunctis et adoratur et psallitur, hymnum cum discipulis ipse cantasse perhibetur?

X. Sic postea apostoli quoque fecisse noscuntur quando nec in carcere psallere destiterunt. unde et Paulus ecclesiae prophetas adloquitur CVM CONVENITIS inquit VNVSQVISQVE VESTRVM PSALMVVM HABET DOCTRINAM HABET APOCALIPSIN HABET: OMNIA AD AEDIFICATIONEM 5 FIAN'T. et iterum alibi PSALLAM inquit SPIRITV, PSALMVVM DICAM ET MENTE. sic et Iacobus in sua ponit epistola IN MERORE EST ALIQUIS VESTRVM? ORET: AEQVO ANIMO EST? PSALLAT. et Iohannes in Apocalipsi refert, Spiritu reuelante, uidisse se et AVDISSE uocem caelestis exercitus TAMQVAM VOCEM AQVARVM MVLTARVM ET TONITRORVM VALI- 10 DORVM DICENTIVM ALLELVIA. ex quo nullus debet ambigere hoc ministerium, si digna fide et deuotione celebretur, | [*fol. 157 b*] angelis esse

IX. 13. Luc. i 67 16. Luc. i 46 17. Luc. ii 13, 14 18. Matt. xxi 15
21. Matt. xxi 16 : Luc. xix 40 25. Matt. xxvi 30
X. 1. Act. xvi 25 3. 1 Cor. xiv 26 5. 1 Cor. xiv 15 6. Iac. v 13
9. Apoc. xix 6

11. spiritalia R* 13. Zacchariam A: Zaccariam B Zachariam R C 14. Ioannis R* in hymnis uoce R: in hymni uice B C mihi in hymnifice A V 17. et A V B: om R C fortasse recte 18. in terram R V: in terra A B C bone R adnuncians R
19. osanna R V B C: hosanna A phariseis B C: fariseis R A V 20. apperuit R V 21. non inquit R A V: non B C 25. conprobaret: add et per ditto-graphiam R discipulis R* docto R* exiuit A V B C: exiit R in monte R: in montem codd rell 26. relegione R 27. adorator R* 28. dispulis R*
X. 1. Sic postea . . . psallat (*l. 7*): om B etc 4. habet 1° A V: habet et R
5. sps R* (*corr m p*) psallum R 6. memore ut uid R* aliquid R*
7. est V: et R A iohannis R 9. tonitrorum B* (*uide p. 231*): tonitruorum C tonitruum R A V B² 11. si digna . . . celebretur: om ad finem paginae R*, sup-plet alia sed coaetua manus deuotione R² caelebretur R²

coniunctum, quos constat sine somno sine occupatione indesinenter laudare Deum in caelis et benedicere Salvatorem.

XI. Quae cum ita sint, fratres, iam pleniore fiducia hymnorum ministerium fideliter impleamus, ingentem nos credentes a Deo gratiam consecutos quibus concessum est cum tantis ac talibus sanctis, prophetis dico adque martyribus, Dei aeterni cantare miracula. hinc cum Dauid Domino CONFITEMVR QVONIAM BONVS EST; cum Moysi potentiam 5 Domini magnis illis canticis personamus; cum Anna, quae ecclesiae typum gerit, olim stereli nunc fecunda, in Dei laude corda firmamus; cum Esaia DE NOCTE VIGILAVS, cum Ambacum psallimus, cum Iona, cum Hieremia, sanctissimis uatibus, orando cantamus; cum tribus aequae pueris quasi in fornace positi, conuocata omni creatura, creatori omnium 10 benedicimus; cum Helisabeth DOMINVM ANIMA nostra MAGNIFICAT.

XII. Quid hac utilitate commodius? quid hac delectatione iucundius? nam et psalmis delectamur, et orationibus rigamur, et interpositis lectionibus pascimur. et uere, sicut boni conuiuiae ferculorum uarietate delectantur, ita nostrae animae multiplici lectione et hymnorum exhibi- 5 tione saginantur. | [fol. 158 a]

XIII. Tantum, karissimi, intento sensu et uigilanti mente psallamus, sicut hortatur hymnisticus: QVONIAM REX inquit OMNI TERRA DEVS, PSALLITE SAPIENTER; ut psalmus scilicet non solum SPIRITU, hoc est sono uocis, sed ET MENTE dicatur, et ipsum quod psallimus cogitemus, nec captiua mens extraneis cogitationibus (ut saepe fit) laborem habeat 5 infructuosum. sonus etiam uel melodia condecens sanctae relegioni canatur; non quae tragicas difficultates exclamet, sed quae christianam simplicitatem in ipsa etiam modulatione demonstret; non quae aliquid theatrale redoleat, sed quae conpunctionem magis audientibus faciat. sed et uox nostra non dissona debet esse, sed consona: non unus 10

XI. 4. Ps. cvi (cv) 1, cvii (cvi) 1, cxxxvi (cxxxv) 1 5. Exod. xv 6. 1 Reg. ii 1
8 Is. xxvi 9 Habb. iii 10. Dan. iii LXX 11. Luc. i 46

XIII. 2. Ps. xlvii (xlvi) 8 3. 1 Cor. xiv 15

XI. 1. frās R iam R BC: tam A V fiducia R 2. nos . . . consecutos: om A V 3. cum *codd rel:* om R 4. aeternis R hinc R A V: hic BC 5. confitet uel confitetur R bonu R* 7. typum R A V: spm B C (=ecclesiaetspu B*) firmamus A V: firmatur R (corde) confirmamur BC 8. ambacum BC*: ambacue A C² abbacue R (V) 9. aequae R 11. cum . . . magnificat: om BC etc helisabeth A V (*cf.* ix 15): om R

XII. 1. quid . . . commodius R BC: om A V 3. boni conuiuiae . . . tacere aut lenta (xiii 24) R BC etc: om A V (*excidit ut uidetur archetypifolium*) 4. nostrae: n̄tae R anime R exhibicione R

XIII. 1. carissimi R BC 3. psalmmus † R*: psallamus R² 4. ipsum BC: ipsud R 5. captiua R: captiuata BC sepe R habeat BC: habent R 6. sanctae BC: cunctae R relegionis R religioni B 7. difficultatis R exclamit R 8. modulationem R 9. conpunctionem BC: conpunctionis R (*excidit fortasse spiritum uel aliquid simile*)

protrahat alter contrahat, unus humiliet alter extollat: sed et nitatur unusquisque uocem suam intra sonum chori concinentis includere, non *in* cytharae modum extrinsecus protrahens quasi ad ostentationem indecenter efferre. totum enim tamquam in conspectu Dei, non
 15 hominibus aut sibi placendi studio, caelebrari debet.. habemus enim et de hac uocis consonantia formam positam uel exemplum, tres utique illos beatissimos pueros de quibus refert scriptura Danihelis: TVNC inquit HI TRES TAMQVAM EX VNO ORE HYMNVM DICEBANT ET GLORIFICABANT DEVM IN FORNACE DICIENTES BENEDICTVS ES DEVS PATRV
 20 NOSTRORVM et cetera. uides quia pro magisterio ponitur quod TRES pariter Dominum ueluti EX VNO ORE laudauerint, ut et nos utique omnes | [*fol.* 158 b] quasi ex uno ore eundem sensum eandemque uocis modulationem aequaliter proferamus. qui autem aequare se non potest ceteris uel aptare, melius est ei lenta uoce psallere quam clamosa
 25 perstrepere; sic enim et ministerii implebit officium et psallenti fraternitati non obstrepet. non enim omnium est habere uocem flexibilem uel canoram.

Denique et beatus Cyprianus Donatum suum, quem sciebat esse ad hoc munus aptissimum, inuenitur hortatus: DVCAMVS inquit HVNC
 30 DIEM LAETI, NEC SIT VEL HORA CONVIVII GRATIAE CAELESTIS INMVNS. SONET PSALMOS CONVIVIUM SOBRIVM: VT TIBI TENAX MEMORIA EST, VOX CANORA, ADGREDERE HOC MVNVS EX MORE: MAGIS CARISSIMOS PASCIS, SI SIT NOBIS SPIRITALIS AVDITIO, PROLECTET AVRES RELEGIOSA MVLCEDO. bene enim canentes habent quandam gratiam quae animos
 35 ad relegionem incitat auditorum. sic et nostra uox si fuerit inoffensa uel consona labiorum CYMBALIS BENE SONANTIBVS et nos delectabit et audientes aedificabit, et Deo suavis erit tota laudatio, qui IN DOMO SUA, sicut legitur, VNVS MORIS FACIT HABITARE.

Quando ergo psallitur, psallatur ab omnibus: cum oratur, oretur
 40 ab omnibus: cum lectio legitur, facto silentio aequae audiatur a cunctis,

17. Dan. iii 51, 52 29. Cypr. *ad Donatum* 16 (Hartel i 16. 10-14) 36. Ps. cl 5 37. Ps. lxviii (lxvii) 7

12. concinentis R C 13. in cytharae modum *scripsi*: cythara modum R: om B C 16. de hac uocis consonantia B C: hoc uoces sonantia R 17. beatissimus R* 18. hii R 19. deum R C: dñm B 20. nostrarum *primis curis* R 21. equare R 22. cetheris R 23. implebit B C: impleuit R impleat A V 24. psallentis R 25. non enim . . . auditorum (*l.* 35): om B etc 26. canoram A V, cf. *l.* 32: canorem R 27. esse *scripsi*: posse R A V 28. munus A V: manus R 29. ortatus R 30. sit A V Cypr: ut R ora R 31. gratiae R A Cypr: gratia V 32. psalmos Cypr *cod* S: psalmus R A Cypr. *cod* psalmis V 33. sobrium (sobri ut R*) R Cypr: om A V 34. agredere R 35. carissimo R 36. audicio R 37. aures R Cypr: om A V 38. delectabat R* 39. aedificabit A V B C (-uit A B*): aedificii o sicut ? R* 40. cuntis R*

non, legente lectore, alius orans clamoris uocibus obstrepat. nam et si tunc superueneris cum lectio celebratur, adorato Domino et praesignata fronte aurem sollicitè commoda. | [fol. 159 a] XIV. patet tempus orandi cum omnes oramus, patet cum uolueris et quotiens uolueris orare priuatim: obtentu orationis ne perdideris lectionem, quia non semper eam quilibet paratam potest habere, cum orandi potestas in promptu sit. nec putes paruam nasci utilitatem ex sacrae lectionis auditu: auditori quidem oratio ipsa fit pinguior, dum mens recenti lectione saginata per diuinarum rerum quas nuper audiuit imagines currit. nam et Maria soror Marthae, QVAE SEDENS AD PEDES IESV sorore neglecta VERBUM intentius AUDIEBAT, PARTEM sibi MAXIMAM ELEGISSE Domini uoce firmatur. ideo enim et diaconus clara uoce in modum praeconis admonet cunctos, ut siue in orando siue in flectendis genibus siue in psallendo siue in lectionibus audiendis unitas seruetur ab omnibus: quia VNIVS MORIS HOMINES diligit Dominus, et (sicut superius dictum est) IN SUA DOMO EOS EFFICIT HABITARE.

IN qua QVI HABITANT BEATI pronuntiantur in psalmo, quia ipsi LAUDABUNT Dominum IN SAECULA SAECULORVM. Amen.

EXPLICIT DE VTILITATE HYMNORVM

XIV. 8. Luc. x 39, 42 13. Ps. lxxviii (lxvii) 7 14. cap. xiii l. 38 15. Ps. lxxxiv (lxxxiii) 5

41. et: om R* 42. caelebratur R adorato domino scripsi: adoratum dominum R adora (adoret BC etc) tantum dominum (dñ BC) AVBC, fortasse recte

XIV. 3. priuatum R* obtentu R 4. eam: e(am) ex a R 5. paruam AVBC: parui R ex sacrae AVBC: exagri R 6. lectiones R
7. quae R 8. imagines R marthae R 9. sorore neglecta uerbum (uerbum dei B uerbum domini C) intentius audiebat AVBC: oratione ac R, ex exemplari ut puto uel mutilo uel uix legibili, solis litteris or . . ne . . c superstitionibus 13. omnibus R unius moris haesitans scripsi cum AV, cf. xiii 38: unius modis R, unde fortasse legendum cum Augustino unius modi, unanimes BC 14. efficit BC: effecit R facit AV 16. sc̃la sc̃lōm R

EXPLICIT DE VTILITATE HYMNORVM R: EXPLICIT DE PSALMODIE BONO NICETE EPISCOPI B²C: nihil habent AVB*

Note that in the exemplar of R 'u' and 'a' must have been not dissimilar, since R has twice misrepresented the word munus, psalm. iv 3 munus AVB etc manens R, xiii 29 munus AV manus R.

NOTES TO THE *DE PSALMODIAE BONO* (*DE VTLITATE HYMNORVM*).

INCIPIT DE VTLITATE HYMNORVM R, and probably this is the title under which the treatise ought to be cited, but I have not ventured in this matter to disturb existing usage: INCIPIT DE PSALMODIAE BONO EIVSDEM NICETAE BC, from which MSS Dr Burn derives his title: A V give the treatise under the guise of a prologue of St Jerome to the Book of Psalms.

I, II. Qui promissum . . . contendunt R A V: the B family omit the whole of chapters I and II.

I. 2. utilitate A V: *praem* de R. de hymnorum et laudum ministerio R, save that it omits 'de' which I have supplied: in hymnorum laude et mysterio A V. 5. aptius: halitus A aliter V. aptus is a favourite word with Niceta: cf. the opening words of *vigil.* i 1 'dignum aptumque prorsus', *ib.* viii 20 (65. 12), and twice in the lines here following (*ll.* 7, 9). quo a filiis (filius R) lucis (locis R*) nox pro die ducitur: a filiis lucis nox providere (praevidere V) dicitur A V, of which a filiis may be right, the rest is sheer nonsense. 7. quo: quod R cum A V. The clause is obviously parallel with the preceding clauses, and so, though cum makes sense, quo (tempore) must be right. ipsum R: ipsut A ipso V ipsud Burn. ipsum is of course the grammatical form, though that does not prove that Niceta used it. Unfortunately Dr Burn's valuable *index verborum* omits to record 'ipse'. In xiii 4 below R has ipsud, the B family ipsum. adhortatio (adortatio) R: idhoratio A idoratio V adoratio Burn. Prayer is not particularly apt to the soldier on parade: nor do 'prayer' and 'songs' form the appropriate secular parallels to the 'sermon' and 'hymns' of which Niceta is speaking. 8. stat in procinctu A V, as *pasch.* 6 (110. 17) 'stare ergo nos in procinctu oportet': om in (wrongly) R sollicitus . . . ministerium . . . adlocutio R: sola . . . misteria (-o V) . . . adloquebo (-or A) A V. Handicapped by such blunders of his authorities, Dr Burn's text and punctuation are naturally unsatisfactory.

II. 2. et R: nec A V Burn. et makes sense, nec does not. 3. decantationem R A V: the word is only cited, and in a different meaning, from St Jerome's letters. 4. si psalmus corde (cor R) dicatur R: quod corde dicitur A V. lascium R V: lascium A Burn. I have accepted the concordant testimony of two MSS, though I know no authority for the form lascium. oris sono R: hoc lingua (-gue V) A V. Niceta is fond in this treatise of sonus, especially in the phrase sono uocis ii 12, vii 2, xiii 4: and cf. xiii 6. 5. huic opinioni suae R: om suae A V scripsit . . . definit (*l.* 9) R: scribit . . . definiuit A V. 8. ecce inquit R: om inquit A V. The reading of R makes clear from the first, what otherwise can only be inferred as the sentence goes on, that we have here the argument of objectors. 9. more tragico: so (with the help of Dr Burn's conjecture, *tragoediae*) I emend the traico of R: traendi A traguende V. tragicus is found again in xiii 7 (80. 2). 10. at ego duce ueritate R: at ego A V. The fuller reading of R is borne out by the parallel in *ymb.* i (39. 1) 'confidens, duce Christo, abrenuntiat'. 12. corde R A V: in corde Burn. Both phrases are found in Niceta: but the former has three parallels in these two treatises (of which *vigil.* ix 17, *psalm.* ii 4 are in point), the latter none beyond echoes of St Paul's phrase 'in cordibus'. On Niceta's use of the ablative without in see on *vigil.* i 4. sono uocis R: cum sono uocis A V. For the parallels which establish the reading of R see above on ii 4.

13. scripturarum instrumentis testimonia: scripturarum instrumen | testimonia R
 scripturis instrumenti testimonia A V Burn. I cannot translate the latter reading,
 unless 'instrumentum' is taken in the sense of 'Bible', which is hardly possible
 for Niceta: my own reading (which appears to be what R intended) would mean
 'citations from many documents of the scriptures'. 14. de ipso apostoli capitulo
 A V: de ipso apostolo R, which does not suit the following quod—it is an omission
 by *homoeoteleuton* aposto[li capitu]lo, cf. ii 5. multi cantores obiciunt R A V:
 yet in spite of the agreement of all three MSS, this can hardly stand, since it was not
 the singers but their critics who used this phrase from St Paul. I suggest cantoribus:
 Niceta uses cantor in iv 3, vii 2. 15. praescriptionis uice R: I had already
 noted that this must be the true reading on the strength of iii 19 (71. 9), *rat. fid.* vii
 (18. 1): praescriptionis uocem A V stultiloquium: found in the Latin Bible
 (Eph. v 4 = *μωρολογία*) and the Latin Irenaeus II xxviii 4. 16. in spiritu
 loquentes R, and the only point of Niceta's quotation at the moment is the word
 loquentes: spiritu sancto loquentes uobis in psalmis A V. 18. homines . . .
 psallentes R: hominem . . . psallentem A V. 20. adicit R, and the point
 now is that after loquentes he adds 'in psalms hymns and canticles': dicit A V.
 23. dixit R: dicit A V. The perfect suits better with admonuit following. 24. id
 est uoce R: et uoce A V. The reading of A V would add 'voice and thought' to
 'spirit' and 'understanding': the reading of R interprets the latter pair as
 equivalent to the former, and this is what we want. 26. languent R A V. The
 word is not corrupt, as I thought at first: it is the word that is used e. g. in 1 Tim.
 vi 4 to render *νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεως*, and just means 'diseased'. 27. per prophetas
 R A, prophetas V, prophetias Burn: deum (dñm) A, domini (dñi) R V Burn (the two
 abbreviations are, in Caroline minuscule, quite extraordinarily like one another):
 creatorem R, creatoris A V. I suggest propter prophetas Deum conantur destruere
 creatorem, i. e. their objection to the O. T. involves getting rid of God as creator—
 'heretics', as often in quite early writers, but not often as late as Niceta, being in
 effect identified with Marcionites. [Cf. *symp.* x (48. 19) where Manichees, Mon-
 tanists and Marcionites are cited as the types of heretics.] 30. uacuare R:
 euacuare A V. Both forms are equally rare in early writers: euacuare is common
 in the Vulgate, but uacuare is quoted from the sermons both of Maximus of Turin
 and of Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna.

III. 1 karissimi A V B C: carissimi R. See on *vigil.* iv 1. 3. possumus omne
 quod possumus R; sumus omne quod sumus A V B C: sumus is supported by
vigil. ii 3 'nostri essent quod sumus', and may be right, though it is easier to see how
 sumus might have grown out of possumus than the converse. Compare however
 xiii 28 below, where apparently both R and A V have posse wrongly for esse.
 5. hisdem R B: isdem A V C eisdem Burn. Down to asseramus this part of c. iii
 should be attached to c. ii, as the argument about the use of the prophets is
 continuous as far as this point. 6. quis hominum A V Burn: quis omnium
 R B C. The confusion is common and either reading may be right. There are
 probably parallels in Niceta to one or other phrase which would help to give the
 preference. 7. inuenimus A R²: inueniamus R* inuenimus V B C Burn:
 compare iv 1 inuenias R inuenies A V B C, v 1 inuenias R A inuenies V B C;
 perhaps R* is right here. 8. Pharaone R B C: Faraone A. I should have
 expected the Old Latin F, but do not venture to desert the testimony of R B. Cf.
vigil. vi 3 Phanuelis, *ps.* (viii 2 hymnographus B) ix 19 Phariseis. 11. neque enim
 . . . subnixus (l. 14) R A V: the B family omit this reference to an apocryphal book.
 temerarie A V: temerarium R. The word goes better as adverb with recipiendum
 than as adjective with uolumen. 12. ipse et animalia R: ipsa animalia A V.

If ipsa were right we should expect it to go with elementa rather than animalia—‘cattle, springs, the very elements’: R is therefore presumably right, and adds an interesting piece of evidence about this unknown *apocryphon*. 13. nulla sit

fide R: nullius sit fidei A V. I suspect that fide, like auctoritate, is governed by subnixus, and that R’s reading is correct. 15. utrumque sexum . . . canere deo

R: et utrumque sexum . . . cantare deo B C utrorumque sexuum . . . deo A V. With the reading of A V there is no personal accusative after perdocuit. 18. *cor-

poro R: e corpore *codd. rel.* Niceta, I think, tends to omit prepositions: see on *vigil.* i 4. 20. tribus Israhel R: sibi Israhel A (Srahel A) V: *om* B *etc.* The

reading of A V left the plural scirent unexplained. funera eos R: eis funera A V. Niceta is now rescued from using the dative after manere. domino R B C:

deo A V, see on vii 6. 21. nimis R: o nimis B C nisi A V. The reading of R alone explains the other readings. 22. aut nequiverunt R: a peccatis et B C;

om A V. *Homoeoteleuton* would explain omission.

IV. inuenias R: inuenies A V B C. See on iii 7 and v 1. Decision is not easy.

2. ante Daud R A B C: *om* ante V Burn. etiam has no meaning without ante.

3. in hoc munus: in hoc manens R, cf. note at foot of p. 241. lectus R B: electus A V (C²). Cf uacuare and euacuare ii 30. The consensus of R and the

leading MS of the B family in favour of the more unusual word is decisive. 4. thesaurus R A: the Old Latin spelling, with which Niceta would doubtless have been familiar in his Bible. 6. non quo . . . sed quo R: non quo . . . sed quod

A V non quo . . . sed quia B C Burn. 8. ipsaque passio quae cantabatur A

Burn: ipsaque passio cantabatur R; *om* V B C. The words are not easy in their context and the sense would stand without them; but where *homoeoteleuton* would,

as here, account for omission, the presumption in favour of genuineness is very great. *iam tum R: iam tunc *codd. rel.*

V. 1. inuenias R A: inuenies V B C Burn, which finds some support in ix 13 ‘in euangelio inuenies’. 2. ad consolationem: the MSS are unanimous, yet it

looks as if omnis were necessary here to the sense. Perhaps it has been lost after conditionis. 3. aetatis R B C; *praem* et A V Burn. The asyndeton is much

more in Niceta’s style. lactet A B C: latet R V lacteat Burn. lactere is the proper verb for to suck milk, but lactere and lactare are much confused in late writers, and Burn is wrong in citing B C for lacteat. 4. uiam R A B C: uiam

suam V Burn, with Ps. cxix 9. The shorter reading balances better with the other clauses. 6. prospectorem R B C T: protectorem A Burn inprotectorem V.

prospicio is used of God, *vigil.* i 6: and prospector of God in Tertullian, *Orat.* 10 ‘deus prospector humanarum necessitatum’, *adv. Marc.* iv 34 ‘nuptiarum . . . prospectorem’.

7. iudicesq; R, which I do not doubt stands for iudices quae, ‘kings and judges hear what they are to fear’: but the other MSS, being without the con-

junction et, take qu(a)e as the conjunction and go on to supply quid. 8. iratum A V (iratos B C): iracundium R. diuitem: + hominem A V. The addition

spoils the rhythm. agnoscat R A V: agnoscant ammonet et ne superbiant B C. *increpat R: increpat *codd. rel.* 11. prouidet . . . inlecebram (l. 15)

R A V: omitted by the B family. 14. ac R: hac A V, which ought to have suggested the true reading; haec Burn. 15. inlecebram R A: inlecebra

V Burn, but it would be gratuitous to make Niceta use the nominative instead of the accusative after praestare. Also, since the editor rightly followed the A V family

in the text, he might as well have completed the sense by making one sentence, instead of two, from nam quia to uirtutem. Daud seruum suum B C: Daud

suum R A V. I do not know any parallel in Niceta to the latter phrase; and seruum might easily drop out before suum. But if *hominibus is genuine (so R:

AVBC omit), we might do without *seruum* and read *suam conficit hominibus potionem*.

17. *per uirtutem* R AV: *peccatorum per suam uirtutem* BC, but the rhythm excludes this. 20. *excludit* R (*excludunt* BC): *exprimit* A *expromit* V Burn.

21. *praecipunt* R C²: *recipiunt* BC* *receperunt* AV Burn. 22. *medicatum* AB: *medicamentum* R VC *meditantium* Burn. *medicatum* carries on the metaphor from the physician's art, and is undoubtedly right.

VI. The subject is still the Psalms, so I have run the chapters together. 2. *ridentur* ABC: *inidentur* R *deridentur* V Burn. *rideo* is much oftener found in the passive than *inrideo*, and the rhythm is good. *refutatur* R: *repudiatur* AV (B family omits the clause).

5. *conlaudatur* R BC (cf. ii 12 'conlaudo eos qui . . .'): *commendatur* AV. 6. **patientia* R: *paenitentia* *codd. vell.*

The two words do get confused: here I cannot help thinking that *patience* is more in place than *penitence*, just as in the catalogue of Christian virtues, ix 11 below, we have *fides*, *pietas*, *oratio*, *ieiunium*, *patientia* etc. 8. *excellētius* R BC: *excelsius* AV Burn. **canuntur* R: *cantantur* *codd. vell.*

It might be difficult to decide otherwise, but the fact that *cantantur* occurs two lines lower down suggests the alternative word here. 11. *sedes* R BC: *sedisse* AV. As in the whole list of these 'sacramenta Christi' we have a continuous series of nouns, it is not likely that it should be interrupted by an isolated verb.

14. **nouatio* R: *renouatio* *codd. vell.* Note that R wrongly transposes this clause so as to come immediately after 'nominatur' above. Probably R's ancestor omitted it by *homoeoteleuton*; it was then added in the margin, and was incorporated by the next copyist at the wrong place in the text. 15. *sempiternum* ABC: *sempiterna* R *sempiternam* V, both MSS connecting it with *gloria*; but the balance of the sentence requires it rather to go with *regnum*.

VII. 1. *dei* R BC: *deo* AV. I think the correspondence is between the 'Church of God' and 'this our assembly'. 2. *uocis* AV BC: *noctis* R—and I am not sure R is not right. **non soluunt cantorem* sed R: *non solum cantorem resoluunt* sed T *non solum cantorem non resoluunt* sed BC *non solum cantorem reficiunt* sed AV Burn.

R nobly atones for its blunder in the preceding clause by this admirable improvement on all the other MSS. 3. *uide* an AV Burn: *uidi eā* R; *om* B etc. The address to the audience in the second person singular is wholly in Niceta's manner, e.g. xiii 20 'uides quia'; and compare the opening words of chapters iv, v.

4. *haec . . . totum* R BC: *et . . . et totum* AV Burn. The *et . . . et* introduced by AV do not really balance one another. 5. *expectat* R: *expectat ad* AV Burn: *spectat ad* BC. I have retained 'expectat gloriam' with R, because of the rhythm. But of course *expectare*, if right, must be used by Niceta as a permissible spelling of *spectare*. The sense is in any case that of 'spectat ad gloriam', as in *spir. s. viii* (27. 7).

merito R BC: *praem* et AV Burn. *omnes . . . hortatur* R BC: *dum omnes . . . hortatur . . . inquit* AV Burn. It is possible that AV Burn may be right, for *dicebat* follows and *inquit . . . dicebat* is less awkward than *hortatur . . . dicebat*.

6. **regentis* R: *gubernantis* BC *gentes* A *gens* V. R explains the inexplicable reading of A(V). *dominum* R ABC with Ps. cl 6: *deum* V Burn. The substitution of *Deus* for *Dominus* seems to be a rather marked peculiarity of the AV text, but in this case Dr Burn is wrong in crediting it to A, which has *dominum*.

8. *nomen dei* R BC with Ps. lxxviii 31: + *mei* AV Burn. *magnifico* *praem* et V Burn; the authority is obviously insufficient. *et placebit . . . salutare dei* (l. 14): omitted by the B family.

11. *inrationabilis* R: *inrationabilium* AV. Naturally you would use the word not of the blood but of the animals: nevertheless the parallel and contrast is of the *laus rationabilis* and the *sanguis inrationabilis*, and

R is right. 13. *digne* R: + et AV. 14. *salutare* R with Ps. 123 *τὸ σωτηριον*, and l. 16 below: *salutarem* AV.

VIII. 3. *quia . . . sit iucunda*. See p. 231. *nostro* R. In Traube's *Nomina Sacra* (p. 234) this form is only cited for the nominative *noster*: and perhaps the simpler (though less interesting) explanation here would be to regard it as a pure slip for *nō*. 5. *amplius aliquid* AVB *etc*; better than the *amplius aliud* of R.

7. *tota die laudem tuam*: omitted by R through *homeoteleuton*. 10. *Golian* B: *Goliā* RC *Goliām* AV. I follow the rarer spelling of the oldest MS, yet cf. *Zacchariam* ix 13. *strauerat* R BC: *dextruerat* A *destruxerat* V Burn. *sternere* is clearly the right word for the overthrow of Goliath.

IX. 1. *karissimi*: see on *vigil.* iv 1. *psalmorum* R AV, which reading is obviously right, for it refers back to the contents of chapters iv–viii; but the ‘*sanctorum*’ of the B family may possibly suggest that, if not Niceta, at any rate an early stage in the tradition of his works gave the spelling ‘*salmorum*’. See for the testimony of R *vigil.* v 18. 3. *testamento*: *testamenta* R, and since Niceta’s habit is to talk of ‘*proferre testimonia*’ in citing the Scriptures (*spir.* s. xviii [33. 21], *psalm.* ii 14), it may be that he wrote here ‘*de nouo etiam testamento testimonia aliqua . . . proferri*’. But on the whole I retain the rarer *praeferr*.

ne officium . . . imminuta: B family omits ten lines. 4. *psalmizandi* R: *psalmodiandi* AV. I have so far found no authority for *psalmizare*, yet I cannot believe that it is a wanton invention of R or its ancestor. *sicut* R: *si cum* AV. The correction was obvious, even before the discovery of R. 5. *constant* RV: *constant* A *constat* Burn. *constare* is not necessarily impersonal, and I have not ventured to reject the consentient testimony of the MSS. *pessum data*: *esse sedata* R *esse data* AV *esse datum* Burn. For *esse* (se) *data* I can only offer the conjecture ‘*pessum data*’. We have the converse *posse* for *esse*, xiii 28, and cf. iii 3.

3. *quae carnalia sunt reiecta*: the grammar requires ‘*quae carnalia sunt sunt reiecta*’, unless we can suppose that *quae carnalia* is used as equivalent to ‘*quae carnalia sunt*’. 8. *praeterierunt* R: *inluerunt* Burn. I have not any idea what meaning (if any) the latter reading is supposed to bear: indeed the whole sentence (‘*inluerunt cotidiana baptismata nomen operosa. Illa leprae inspectio uel sicut eiusmodi . . .*’) was hopeless till the discovery of R, though even before that discovery it was clear that *operosa* belonged to *inspectio* and should not be divided from it by a full-stop, and that *sicut* ought to be corrected to *si* *quid*. But the true reading of AV is *uuluerunt*, which at least makes passable sense.

9. *neumeniae* (*enuminie* R* *neuminie* R²): *nomine* A *nomen* V Burn. Perhaps the most beautiful of all the improvements of text due to R: cf. Col. ii 16. 11. *spiritalia quae sunt* R: *spiritalia sunt* AV *spiritalia scilicet* Morin. But the parallel of *quae carnalia* just above shewed that *quae* had dropped out. 12. *castitas* R: *caritas* AV. The same variation occurs in *vigil.* viii 9, and here, as there, *castitas* is right. I suspect too that Niceta would have used ‘*dilectio*’ not ‘*caritas*’, cf. *spir.* s. xxii (37. 18) ‘*pacem et dilectionem sectantes*’. *sunt* R: *sunt potius* A *potius* (*om* *sunt*) V Burn. 13. *Zacchariam*: Burn is wrong in attributing the termination in -an to B*.

14. in hymnis *uoce* R: I think, though with some hesitation, that this is right, ‘*uoce*’ meaning ‘*vocally*’, as opposed to the silent hymn-singing based by some on Eph. v 19: in hymni *uice* BC Burn *mihi* in hymnifice AV. 15. *Helisabeth . . . de ipsa anima magnificare*. A sufficient indication that Niceta ascribed the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth, though the B family did not recognize it and retain the clause while they omit the clearer statement of the same thing xi 11 below.

17. *exercitus* RC, and this gives perhaps the better rhythm and the better parallel to the other clauses: but the et

of A V B might easily have dropped out before ex- referens . . . et . . . adnuntians R : refert . . . et . . . adnuntians A V annuntiantes (without referens or refert) B C. 19. liuore strepitibus R B C, of course rightly: liuor desiit repentinus sed nec A V Burn. 22. *tacebunt R : tacerint *codd. vell.* 24. magister in factis R A V Burn : consummator in factis B C. 25. *in monte R : in montem *codd. vell.* 26. quis iam tali documento R B C : quis tali iam documento A V Burn. Most of the uses of iam cited in Dr Burn's index suggest that Niceta was accustomed to place it as early in the sentence as possible : so too xi 1 below, where iam is certainly the right reading. 27. a caelestibus cunctis et adoratur et psallitur R B C : om cunctis et A V Burn. The balance of the text reading is indisputably the better : and the double et has its proper meaning 'He is not merely worshipped (which might be silently), but worshipped with songs'. 28. *hymnum cum discipulis ipse R : ipse cum discipulis hymnum *codd. vell.* Proof is not possible : but the chiasmus 'ille . . . caelestibus . . . psallitur, hymnum . . . discipulis . . . ipse' seems to me wholly after Niceta's way.

X. 1. sic postea . . . psallat (l. 7) : omitted by the B family. 2. Paulus R : Paulus beatissimus A V Burn. Beatissimus is a primitive phrase and so at first sight attractive : but the variant is an excellent example of the evidence supplied by an author's own use. On a rough examination of Dr Burn's pages, I find that St Paul is referred to (i) as 'the apostle'—St Paul was of course to early writers 'the apostle' *par excellence*—23 times : (ii) as 'Paul' 15 times : (iii) as 'Paul the apostle' or 'the apostle Paul' 3 times : (iv) as 'the blessed apostle' 'beatus apostolus' twice, 11. 5, 63. 17 : (v) as 'blessed Paul' once, 39. 15 : (vi) as 'the blessed apostle Paul' once, 21. 19 : (vii) as 'magister gentium' once, 17. 22. Thus out of 46 references, beatus is found four times, beatissimus never, Paulus alone just once in every three. Without hesitation, therefore, I follow R once more. 5. fiant R, with 1 Cor. xiv 26 : fiunt A V Burn. 8. *spiritu reuelante uidisse se R : se spiritu reuelante uidisse *codd. vell.* 9. uocem R A B C Burn : uocis V Burn is wrong as to B C. 13. deum R B : dominum A V C.

XI. 1. iam R B C : tam A V Burn. iam is right : there is nothing further on to answer to tam. 2. ingentem R A V : magnam B C ingentem magnam Burn. Long ago (*J. T. S.* vii 213 n. 2) I conjectured that magnam was only a marginal improvement on what seemed a slang term in the text. How many press-readers nowadays would leave 'huge grace' standing in the text without a query? 4. dei aeterni A V B C : dei aeternis R. Compare in the *Te Deum* 'Te aeternum Patrem'. 5. cum Moysi R : cum Moyses V cum Moyse A B C Burn. Apparently Niceta does not use the ablative elsewhere : but as Moysi is occasionally found in Old Latin authorities (*J. T. S.* ix 81), I retain it here. potentiam Domini R B C : Spiritu sancto Dominum V Spiritu sancto A Spiritum sanctum Dominum Burn. The reading of R B C corresponds to Exod. xv 2. 7. stereli R, with 'Anna' : sterilis *codd. vell.*, as part of the relative sentence. firmamus A V, and R also has the simple verb, of which Niceta is fond, cf. xiv 10 and *ymb.* viii (46. 9) : confirmamur B C (reading corde). 8. Ambacum (Gr. Ἀμβακούμ) B C* Burn : Ambacuc A C² Abbacuc R Abbachuc V. This is just the sort of variation where an older MS may be right against a better MS : for the influence of the Vulgate (Hebrew) form of O. T. names gradually ousted the tradition of the Old Latin (LXX) forms. 9. sanctissimis : see on *vigil.* vi 5. uatibus R B C : patribus A V Burn. The more uncommon word is more likely to be right, and uates 'inspired singers' is specially appropriate. aequē R B C : etiam A V Burn. aequē is a favourite word of Niceta's : *rat. fid.* vi, *spir. s.* vii, xii, xxii, *ymb.* iv, ix (16. 12, 26. 12, 29. 6, 37. 8, 42. 7, 47. 9).

11. cum . . . magnificat A V Burn: *om* BC, doubtless because the ascription of the Magnificat to Elisabeth was a stumbling-block. The less direct indication in ix 15, 16 above is left standing even in the MSS which omit here. R here does not omit the whole clause, but only the name Elisabeth.

XII. 1. quid hac utilitate commodius R BC: *om* (either by *homoeoarcton* or *homoeoteleuton*) A V Burn. The two parallel clauses are entirely in Niceta's style. 2. rigamur et interpositis lectionibus R: inrigamur et interpositis lectionibus B C Burn; *om* (by *homoeoteleuton*) A V. For the three elements of the service cf. *vigil.* i 18, 19 'orationibus hymnis lectionibus', *psalm.* xiii 39, 40 'psallitur . . . oratur . . . legitur'. The simple verb rigare is supported by *vigil.* ii 18, and see on *ib.* viii 10. *ps.* vi 1, xi 7, xiii 11, 43. 3. boni conuiuae . . . tacere aut lenta (xiii l. 24): *om* A V, doubtless by loss of a leaf in their archetype. 4. nostrae: *fitae* R. For another unusual abbreviation of noster in our MS see above viii 3. The evidence points to the Rhineland or northern France as the home of the declension nta, nti: it is found in MSS at Munich, Trier, Strasburg, Arras (Traube *Nomina Sacra* p. 230).

XIII. 1. karissimi: see on *vigil.* iv 1. intento sensu R: *praem* intermittentes fabulas superfluas (*item, ante* extraneis cogitationibus l. 5, *praem* fabulis) B C. psallamus R: + et deo non displiceamus B C. The additional words may have been lost in R or its ancestor by *homoeoteleuton*, but in view of the other interpolations of the B family in the immediate context I think the presumption is against this phrase also. 2. sicut hortatur hymnidicus R: sic enim nos hortatur psalmus dicens B C. hymnidicus is not found elsewhere in Niceta, but cf. hymnographus viii 2 and possibly hymnifice ix 14. omni terra R: omnis terrae B C. 3. ut psalmus scilicet . . . dicatur R: id est intellegenter ut . . . psallamus B C. 4. ipsum B C: ipsud R. Contrast i 7 *supra*, where R has ipsum against A ipsut. The use of ipsud in ancient writers is so very rare that one would only credit it to Niceta if our leading MS gave it constantly. 5. nec captiua R: ne captiuata B C: captiuare is a very rare word, and in the passive appears to be quoted from no other author but Verecundus who wrote in the sixth century. ut saepe fit R: *om* B C. 6. condecens R B C: consentiens Burn with some support from one inferior MS. condecet is not uncommon in late writers: condecens as an adjective is very rare but is quoted occasionally from Ausonius onwards, and the testimony of the MSS is decisive. sanctae B C: cunctae R. 7. canatur R: psallatur B C. christianam simplicitatem in ipsa etiam modulatione R: in uobis (nobis Burn) ueram christianitatem B C. christianitas is not found elsewhere in Niceta. 9. quae conpunctionem magis audientibus scripsi: quae conpunctionis magis audientibus (*unde fortasse legendum* conpunctionis s^{pm}) R conpunctionem peccatorum B C. 10. nostra R: omnium uestrum B C. 11. protrahat . . . extollat R: insipienter protrahat et . . . uocem extollat B C. et nitatur R: innitatur humiliter B C inuitatur humiliter Burn, perhaps by a misprint. 12. concinentis rightly Burn, and so in fact B: when Burn says 'concincentis *codd*', it is true of all the rest, R included, but not of B. 'concincentis' is apparently a *vox nihili*. 13. in cytharae modum scripsi, cf. xiv 11 below, 'in modum praeconis': cythara modum R; *om* B C. protrahens R: extollentes aut protrahentes B C. ostentationem indecenter efferre R: *praem* stulta(m), + neque hominibus placere uelle, B C. The tag from N. T. is a mark of the B recension (so also in l. 1 of this chapter), suggested by the words that follow, but not really in point. 15. aut sibi R: *om* B C, no doubt because they interfere with the Scripture reference inserted just before, see last note. caelebrari debet R: celebrare debemus B C: note the result, debemus habemus in immediate sequence. 16. de hac uocis consonantia B C: hoc uoces sonantia

R. The B reading makes sense and is guaranteed by the phrase in *l.* 10 above 'uox nostra . . . debet esse . . . consona': R's ancestor must have been illegible at this point. tres utique illos R: tres illos utique BC. utique is one of Niceta's favourite words, and it hardly ever occurs later than the second place in the clause.

17. scriptura Danihelis R: propheta Danihel BC. An archaic and relatively unusual phrase was smoothed away by the B recension. 18. hii R: hi BC. tamquam RBC: quasi Burn. 20. et cetera RBC: *om* (with one inferior MS) Burn. The words are almost necessary. uidet R: uidetis BC. Again a favourite mannerism of Niceta, the use of the second person singular, disappears at the hands of the B editor. tres RBC: + pueri Burn. Once more the original reading of the B family, corrupted in later representatives, is restored by a fresh examination of BC; as a rule I only record these corrections without calling attention to them. 21. Dominum R: Deum BC Burn. Deum may be an assimilation to the text of Daniel just quoted: for other instances of the same variant see above on vii 6; Dominus is Niceta's more usual word. ueluti ex uno ore RBC: ex uno ore Burn, misled by a single inferior MS. The reading of RBC not only echoes the citation just made, but alone corresponds to the fact. The Three Children did not sing with one mouth, but 'as though with one mouth'. laudauerunt R: humiliterque sancteque laudauerint B (-unt B*) C Burn. The B editor, in his anxiety to edify, whittles down Niceta's point, which is not the virtue but the unanimity of the singers. ut R: *om* BC. ut explains the preceding 'pro magisterio': 'these things were written for our example, that we . . .'

22. eundem sensum R: eundem psalmorum sonum BC eundemque psalmorum sonum Burn. eundemque has neither MS authority nor stylistic probability to recommend it. sensum gives perhaps a better contrast than the other reading with uocis: 'the same meaning and the same words'.

24. uel aptare R: *om* BC. lenta uoce psallere R: *praem* tacere aut BC. The true text gives no sanction to the suggestion that worshippers 'should join in the service silently'—that would not be to 'fulfil the office of their ministry': but if they can't sing in tune, they are not to sing too loud. clamosa perstreperere R: clamose praestreperere AV: clamosa uoce omnibus perstreperere BC Burn, completely spoiling the rhythm. praestrepo, given by AV here and in *l.* 41, is unknown to the dictionaries. 25. implebit . . . obstrepet: impleuit . . . obstrepet R (clearly implying the reading I have adopted), implebit . . . facit offendiculum BC inpleat . . . obstrepet AV: impleat . . . obstrepat Burn. The B recension altered the unfamiliar word obstreperere: but Niceta had used it already, though in a different construction, *vigil.* viii 18, and so R below xiii 41. 26. non enim omnium . . . auditorum (*l.* 35): the B recension omits the whole passage with the quotation from Cypr. *ad Donatum*. 28. et RA: *om* V Burn. esse . . . aptissimum is my conjecture: posse . . . aptissimum R posse . . . ipsum AV. Curiously enough possumus and sumus are confused in our MSS iii 3 above, where I have doubtfully retained the possumus of R against sumus of the other MSS. 29. inuenitur hortatus R: inuenimus hortatum AV, but that would necessitate Cyprianum in the accusative. 30. sit: this is the one reading in the Cyprian quotation where AV are right against R, and R's ut is a very slight corruption from sit. On the other side we have to set *l.* 31 sobrium (omitted by AV), *l.* 33 aures (omitted by AV), *l.* 34 mulcedo (dulcedo AV). 34. bene enim . . . auditorum: Dr Burn prints this sentence as part of the citation from St Cyprian, but there is no trace of it in Hartel's text or apparatus, and it seems to be naturally Niceta's application of the words he has quoted. 35. sic et . . . si fuerit RA, rightly: si et . . . fuerit V Burn si ergo et . . . fuerit BC. 37. deo

R: deo nostro B C Burn adeo A V. R has the intermediate reading, from which the other families are altered in different directions. sua: see also xiv 14 and p. 232.

38. unius moris R A V: unanimes B C. In xiv 13 R has unius modis, A V unius moris, B C unanimes. See p. 232.

39. *ergo R: enim *codd. vell.* In spite of the agreement of the other MSS the reading of R should be preferred: Niceta is summing up his discourse and arriving at his conclusion. I have indicated this by marking a new paragraph.

41. non legente lectore alius orans R, while A V invert the order of the words legente lectore non alius orans. But the words legente lectore would be superfluous in the first clause and are needed in the second, and in this point the B family, though it alters the text, agrees with R.

obstrepat R: praestrepit A V (see on l. 24) perstrepat B C Burn. The compound used by R gives, as in l. 26 above, the necessary suggestion of obstruction.

nam et si (nam si R* et si A V) tunc superueneris R A V: et omnes antequam legatur conuenite, si qui autem superuenerit B *etc.*, avoiding as usual the 2nd person sing.

43. comoda RA (commodet B C): accomoda V adcomoda Burn, but the authority is far too slight, and Niceta has a preference for the simple form of verbs: see p. 252.

XIV. 4. paratam potest R B C: *tr* potest paratam A V Burn. 5. paruam: parui is one of the rare blunders of R, and as it is followed almost at once by the *vox nihili* ex agri for ex sacrae one may conclude that R's exemplar was injured at this point.

6. auditu auditori quidem R: auditu si quidem A V Burn auditu quia B C. The reading of A V would stand, and as R has several corruptions in the immediate neighbourhood it is possible that its auditori is a dittography for auditu si.

7. per diuinarum rerum . . . imagines RA: Burn's text gives per diuinarum rerum imagines . . . imagines, with the support *ex silentio* of A B *etc.*, but the repetition of imagines is superfluous and ungrammatical, and in fact A agrees with R, and B C give per imagines diuinarum rerum, omitting the second imagines.

9. sorore neglecta: oratione ac R, a scribe's conjecture (as I suppose) from fragmentary letters of the true reading. The three succeeding words are wholly absent from R, but they are indubitably genuine, and the only question that arises is whether uerbum is right without anything further (so A V): B adds dei, C domini, but the Gospel text τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ would suggest eius.

*partem sibi maximam R, and in spite of the vagaries of R's text in the preceding lines I think this is more likely to be original than the bonam partem of the rest. The ordinary texts, both Old Latin and Vulgate, have optimam.

11. praeconis R A V: sancti praeconii B C, praeconii Burn. But there is every reason to accept praeconis: 'after the manner of a herald' is just the sense we want.

13. unius moris: see p. 232.

14. efficit B C: effecit R. The combination of the two families establishes the correctness of the compound verb here against the facit of A V and of xiii 38.

EXPLICIT DE VTILITATE HYMNORVM R: EXPLICIT DE PSALMODI(A)E BONO NICETE EPISCOPI B²C. The repetition in the colophon of R goes a little way to confirm what was said above as to the true title of the sermon being DE VTILITATE HYMNORVM.

Index of words referred to in the notes

and apparatus criticus of de Vigiliis (v.) and de Psalmodiae bono (p.)

[heavy type indicates that the word is not in Burn's Index : a dagger that it is a conjectural restoration]

- abicere (tabigare) *v.* ix 9
 ac *v.* v 2, 20, vi 3, (vii 5) : *p.* v 14
 adhortatio *p.* i 7
 adicere *p.* ii 20
 aduersarius *v.* (vii 6), viii 27
 aequae *p.* xi 9
 aeternus *p.* xi 4
 Ambacum *p.* xi 8
 aptare *p.* xiii 24
 aptus aptissimus *v.* i 1, viii 20 : *p.* i 5, 7, 9, xiii 29
 auditor *v.* vi 8 : *p.* xiii 35, xiv 6
 canere *p.* iii 16, vi 7, vii 1, xiii 7, etc
 cantor *p.* ii 15, iv 3, vii 2
 capitulum *p.* ii 5, 14
 captiuus *p.* xiii 5
 castitas *v.* viii 9 : *p.* ix 12
 cedere *v.* viii 10
 christianus *p.* xiii 7
 commiserō *v.* viii 26
 commodare *p.* xiii 43
 concinere *p.* xiii 12
 condecens *p.* xiii 6
 conlaudo *p.* ii 12, vi 4
 consonantia *p.* xiii 16
 conspectus *v.* iv 15, viii 22 : *p.* xiii 14
 constare *p.* ix 5, x 12
 continens *v.* vi 3
 currere *v.* iii 12 : *p.* xiv 8
 Danihel *p.* xiii 17
 Daudidicus *p.* ii 29
 decantatio *p.* ii 3
 delectare *v.* iii 15 : *p.* v 18, viii 1, xii 2, 4, xiii 36
 dirigere *v.* vi 26
 dominicus (*scil.* dies) *v.* iii 2
 Dominus *v.* iv 5, (v 10) : *p.* iii 20, (vii 6), xiii 21, etc
 dormire *v.* (ii 10), ix 3.
 duci *p.* i 6
 dux *p.* ii 11
 ecce *v.* i 3, iv 20 : *p.* ii 8, vii 10
 ergo *p.* ix 13, xiii 39
 excellens *p.* vi 7
 excitare *v.* v 21, vii 3, viii 27 (*cf.* exsuscitare vi 8)
 excludere *p.* v 20
 exigere (res exigit) *v.* iv 1 : *p.* ix 2 : and perhaps *v.* i 3
 expectare (= spectare) *p.* vii 5
 expeditus *v.* viii 21, ix 11
 firmare *p.* xi 7, xiv 10
 foeditas *v.* iii 7, ix 5
 fortiter *v.* v 10 : *p.* iv 5
 gerere *v.* i 3 : *p.* iv 7, viii 4, xi 7
 Goliath -an *p.* viii 10
 gratus *v.* viii 17, x 3 : *p.* iii 4, ix 24
 heretici *p.* ii 26
 hymnidicus *p.* xiii 2
 hymnograus *p.* viii 2
 iam *p.* ix 26, xi 1
 imitari *v.* viii 29
 in *v.* (i 4), vi 8, (25) : *p.* i 8, (ii 12)
 increpitare *p.* v 8
 indignus (*c. gen.*) *v.* ix 7
 ingens *p.* xi 2
 ingrauari *v.* ix 10 (ingrauescere *v.* iii 4)
 inimicus *v.* viii 29
 inops *v.* vi 23
 inquit *v.* iv 17, vi 15, 27, vii 22, ix 4, 8, 14 : *p.* ii 8 (inquiet), viii 6, ix 21, x 3, 5, xiii 2, 18
 inrationabilis *p.* vii 11
 instrumentum *p.* ii 13
 inuenire *p.* iii 7, iv 1, v 1, ix 13, xiii 29
 ipsam, ipsud *p.* i 7, xiii 4
 iracundus (-dius) *p.* v 8
 karissimi *v.* iv 1, ix 1 : *p.* iii 1, ix 1, xiii 1
 lactare *p.* v 3
 languere *p.* ii 26
 lasciuus *p.* ii 4
 lectus (*partic.*) *p.* iv 3
 libere *v.* ix 11
 Magnificat *p.* ix 16, xi 11
 maius (*neut.*) *v.* v 1, viii 12 : *p.* vii 10
 malignus *v.* ix 13
 medicare *p.* v 22
 ministerium *v.* iii 3, ix 10, 19 : *p.* i 3, 10, iii 17, ix 24, x 10, xi 2, xiii 25
 modulatio *p.* xiii 8, 23 (modulamen *p.* ii 9)
 modus *p.* xiii 13, xiv 11
 Moysi (*abl.*) *p.* xi 5
 multiplex *v.* viii 19 : *p.* xii 4
 namque *v.* vi 21, ix 7
 nequeo *p.* iii 22
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 noctu *v.* vii 3
 nocturnus *v.* vi 5, viii 17, 25
 noster (uester) *p.* viii 3, xii 4 (ii 8)

nouatio *p.* vi 13
 tobire *v.* viii 27
 obsoletare *v.* iii 5
 obstrepere *v.* viii 18: *p.* xiii 26, 41
 ordo *v.* viii 2
 patientia *p.* vi 5, ix 11
 pernox *v.* vi 24
 perpetuo *v.* v 12
 pessus dari *p.* ix 5
 Phaniel, Pharao, Phariseus *v.* vi 3:
 p. iii 8, ix 19
 posse *p.* iii 3, xiii 28 (*cf.* ix 5)
 potentia *p.* xi 5
 praecipere *p.* v 21
 praeco *p.* xiv 11
 praeferre *p.* ix 3
 praeterire *p.* ix 8
 primus *v.* vi 7: *p.* iii 6
 procinctu, in *p.* i 8
 proferre *v.* i 2, viii 3: *p.* ii 4, 14, xiii 23
 prospector *p.* v 6
 proximus *v.* ii 5 in the apparatus
 psalmizare *p.* ix 4
 quandoque *v.* ii 21
 quasi *v.* vi 24
 quia (= quod) *v.* vi 21, ix 13: *p.* xiii 20
 quo *p.* iv 6 bis
 reformare *v.* i 4
 refutare *p.* vi 1
 regere *p.* vii 6
 rideri *p.* vi 1
 rigare *p.* xii 2
 ructare *v.* ix 5
 ructatio *v.* ix 8
 sacra (*neut. pl.*) *v.* viii 25
 sallere, salmi, salmista (*cod. R*) *v.*
 v 18, x 3: *p.* ii 3, v 19, viii 5, (ix 1)
 salutare (*neut.*) *p.* vii 14, 16
 salutifer *v.* ii 4
 sanctissimus *v.* vi 5: *p.* xi 9

satis *v.* i 1, ii 23, ix 2
 scriptura *v.* ii 8, iii 7, ix 3: *p.* xiii 17
 sedes *p.* vi 10
 sempiternus *p.* vi 14
 sensus *v.* viii 19, 21: *p.* xiii 1, 22
 sermo *v.* i 2, viii 4: *p.* i 2, 4, ix 23
 sic *v.* vi 25: *p.* xiii 35
 simplicitas *p.* xiii 8
 soluere *p.* ii 17, vii 2
 sonus *p.* ii 4, 12, vii 2, xiii 4, 6, 12
 splendor *v.* vi 6
 sterelis *p.* ix 15, xi 7
 sternere *p.* viii 10
 stertere *v.* vii 5
 stratus *v.* iv 12
 strepere *p.* ix 20
 stultiloquium *p.* ii 15
 submurmurare *v.* iv 13
 summa (*noun*) *v.* viii 15
 tamquam *v.* ix 9: *p.* xiii 14, 18
 tantum *v.* ix 1: *p.* xiii 1
 temerarie *p.* iii 11
 thesaurus *p.* iv 4 (*contrast v.* iii 10)
 tragicus *p.* ii 9, xiii 7
 tribus *p.* iii 14, 20
 uacuare *p.* ii 30
 ualide *v.* vii 17
 uates *p.* xi 9
 ueluti *p.* xiii 21
 ueritas *p.* ii 11, vi 3
 uesper *v.* i 7
 uicarius *v.* i 7
 uice (*after its noun*) *p.* ii 15, iii 19, (ix 14
 codd. BC)
 uide, uides *p.* vii 3, xiii 20
 uilescoere *p.* ix 8 *codd. A V*)
 uoce *p.* ix 14, xiii 24, xiv 10
 utilitas *v.* iv 2, 3, viii 2, 3, 12, x 2: *p.* tit.,
 i 2, v 1, xii 1, xiv 5
 utique *v.* ii 3, v 7: *p.* xiii 16

Note *Niceta's* fondness for simple as against compound verbs: e.g. in the foregoing index aptare, cedere, commodare, firmare, lectus, niti, rideri, rigare, ructare, soluere, sternere, strepere, uacuare, where scribes or editors have foisted on him recedere, accommodare, confirmare, electus, inniti, inrideri derideri, inrigare, eructare, resoluere, euacuare.

C. H. TURNER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

MONSEIGNEUR LOUIS DUCHESNE
SON ŒUVRE HISTORIQUE

Né à Saint-Servan, l'antique Aleth (Ille-et-Vilaine), le 13 septembre 1843, Monseigneur Duchesne est mort à Rome, le jeudi 20 avril 1922, à l'âge de 79 ans. Sa longue vie a été à peu près uniquement consacrée à l'érudition et à la science ecclésiastique.¹

Pour inventorier l'ensemble de ses travaux nous n'aurons pas, comme pour de Rossi, Mommsen, Delisle, Leblant ou Lanciani, l'inappréciable avantage d'une bibliographie déjà dressée, premier travail qui s'impose pour apprécier la carrière de tout savant. Il a donc fallu avant tout faire un relevé des ouvrages et des articles qui se trouvent disséminés dans un grand nombre de revues. On voudra bien nous excuser si cette notice, malgré nos efforts, n'est pas tout à fait complète. Plusieurs séances à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris et au British Museum nous ont permis d'étudier les œuvres que possèdent ces deux bibliothèques, mais leur collection n'est pas complète et nous avons dû nous renseigner à d'autres sources.²

¹ Élève au grand séminaire de Saint-Brieuc, il termine ses études théologiques à Rome 1864-1866; de 1867 à 1871 il est professeur de littérature et de sciences à l'École Saint-Charles à Saint-Brieuc; de 1871 à 1873 il est élève de l'École des Carmes à Paris, et de l'École des Hautes-Études; de 1873 à 1876 il est reçu membre de l'École archéologique de Rome; il devient ensuite professeur à l'Institut catholique de Paris. En 1888 il était membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; en 1895 il est nommé directeur de l'École française d'archéologie de Rome, poste qu'il conserva jusqu'à sa mort. Le 26 mai 1910 il avait été élu à l'Académie française; il était chanoine honoraire de Saint-Brieuc et de Paris, membre de la Société des antiquaires de France, protonotaire apostolique (1900); consultant de la Commission des indulgences et des reliques, membre de l'Académie de Berlin, Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy, docteur des universités de Cambridge et d'Oxford et de plusieurs autres universités étrangères, commandeur de la Légion d'honneur, président de la Société d'archéologie chrétienne à Rome, etc. On trouvera quelques autres renseignements biographiques dans les articles cités à la note suivante. Voir aussi le discours de M. Lamy à l'Académie française, et le propre discours de Mgr Duchesne, séance du 26 janvier 1911, Paris 1911, in-4°.

² Les nombreux articles parus jusqu'ici dans les journaux et dans les revues à l'occasion de la mort de Mgr Duchesne ne sont pas d'ordinaire très riches en renseignements. Citons cependant parmi les plus intéressants : *Mgr Duchesne*, par Jean Guiraud, un de ses élèves, dans *La Croix* du dimanche 30 avril et lundi 1^{er} mai 1922; du même, un premier article sur *Mgr Duchesne, sa vie, son œuvre*, dans la *Revue des Questions historiques*, 1^{er} juillet 1922 (cette série d'articles promet d'être des plus intéressantes); Friedrich von Hügel, dans *The Times Literary Supplement*, 25 mai 1922, p. 342 (avec des lettres inédites de Duchesne); cf. aussi

Le premier coup d'œil jeté sur cet inventaire accuse une assez grande diversité de sujets et même une certaine disparate, depuis le discours de mariage et le rapport académique jusqu'à la dissertation philologique sur le *cursus* des bulles pontificales, ou la langue dans laquelle ont été écrits les actes des saintes Perpétue et Félicité, jusqu'au mémoire de topographie romaine ou à la note d'épigraphie orientale.

Mais en y regardant de plus près et en négligeant ce qu'on pourrait appeler les *magni passus extra viam*, du reste fort rares dans sa carrière, on se rend compte que l'activité de Duchesne ne s'est guère portée qu'en trois ou quatre directions principales, lesquelles ont été déterminées par les circonstances de sa carrière scientifique, de telle sorte que cet inventaire de ses travaux est en même temps historique et synthétique. Il nous sera facile du reste, à la fin de cet article, de corriger ce que ce plan aurait d'un peu artificiel, par une concordance chronologique.

Voici donc les chefs principaux sous lesquels se rangent ces travaux :

- 1° — *Études sur les Papes et sur Rome* ;
- 2° — *Travaux d'épigraphie et d'archéologie orientale et grecque* ;
- 3° — *Histoire de l'Église*, avec les subdivisions suivantes :
 - (a) — Histoire générale de l'Église ;
 - (b) — Histoire de l'Église de France ;
 - (c) — Critique et hagiographie ;
 - (d) — Liturgie.
- 4° — *Discours et œuvres de circonstance*.

1° — ÉTUDES SUR LES PAPES ET SUR ROME.

Nous avons dit qu'il fut envoyé à Rome par son évêque, Mgr David, en 1864, pour terminer ses études théologiques. Ce fut son premier contact avec la ville éternelle, et les monuments chrétiens de Rome firent sur son esprit une impression que les années ne purent que fortifier. La procure de Saint-Sulpice, dont il devint l'hôte en même temps que Mgr d'Hulst, était alors à ses débuts modestes, dépendante de l'église de Sainte-Brigitte, en face de ce palais Farnèse où il devait mourir 57 ans plus tard, directeur de l'École française d'archéologie. On ne le calomnierait pas en disant que dès lors il prêtait beaucoup plus d'attention à l'archéologie romaine qu'au cours des Pères Cardella et Franzelin qui professaient au Collège romain.

Il revenait à Rome en 1873, mûri par des études sérieuses de le *Times* du 8 mai ; le *Tablet* du 6 avril et du 29 avril ; le *Figaro* du 23 avril (art. Goyau). Voir aussi Claude d'Habloville, *Les Célébrités d'aujourd'hui*. Mgr Duchesne, Paris 1911, in-16 de 72 p. En 1884 G. Berthelée avait écrit un article, *M. l'abbé D., ses travaux d'histoire et d'archéologie*, dans *Revue de Bretagne*, juin 1884, p. 440-456, à part Nantes, in-8°, 1884.

philologie et d'histoire pour y être membre de l'École française qui venait de s'ouvrir et où il avait pour collègues Müntz, Bayet, Collignon, Bloch, Clédât, et pour directeur Albert Dumont.¹

L'influence de Rossi décida de sa vocation pour l'étude de l'archéologie et de l'histoire des Papes. Il fut son élève avant de devenir son émule et son ami et c'est sous ses auspices qu'il commença ses travaux sur le *Liber Pontificalis*.²

En 1895 il prit, comme on l'a vu, la direction de l'École française d'archéologie. Il fit partie vers la même époque de la commission instituée par Léon XIII pour étudier la validité des ordinations anglicanes.³ Il fut aussi membre, et plus tard président, de la Société d'archéologie chrétienne. A la suite du congrès d'archéologie chrétienne qu'il présida en 1900, il fut nommé protonotaire par Léon XIII.⁴

La liste suivante montrera que jusqu'à la fin de sa vie il revint sur ces études de topographie romaine qui sont restées son domaine préféré et où, par ses qualités de science et de critique, il peut prendre place à côté de Jordan, de Lanciani et de Rossi.

I — Histoire des Papes.

1 — *Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis* (suivie des études de Müntz et de Clédât), dans *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 1^{er} fascicule, Paris, 1877; à part in-8° de iv-224 p.

Cette première étude de D. sur le L. P., qui fut sa thèse de doctorat, contient le résumé de ses recherches, le classement des manuscrits et des recensions. Il y donne ses principales conclusions qui seront maintenues à peu près sans changements dans son édition. Cette thèse et ses autres études, dont nous donnons le titre, peuvent être considérées comme les propylées de son édition qui suivra d'une dizaine d'années la publication de l'étude.

¹ En réalité Albert Dumont ne fut au début que sous-directeur, la direction étant laissée à Burnouf, directeur de l'École d'Athènes. L'École de Rome n'eut son autonomie et son directeur que le 26 novembre 1874. Cf. A. Geffroy, *L'École française de Rome : ses origines, son objet, ses premiers travaux*. Voir aussi son appréciation sur Duchesne dans *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 août 1876, p. 821.

² D. a dit lui-même en termes émus, à l'époque de la mort de Rossi, l'influence décisive que celui-ci avait eue sur lui et l'appui moral qu'il avait trouvé auprès de lui. *Bull. crit.*, t. XV, p. 374.

³ La *Revue anglo-romaine* qui parut de 1895 à 1897, Paris, 3 vol. in-8°, contient les documents et articles qui ont trait à cette controverse. Voir aussi *Revue catholique des Églises*, Paris, et Thureau-Dangin, *Le cardinal Vaughan*, dans le *Correspondant* du 28 décembre 1910.

⁴ En 1881 l'abbé Duchesne avait pris la succession de l'abbé Martigny comme traducteur et éditeur du *Bulletin d'archéologie chrétienne* de Rossi et la conserva jusqu'à la disparition de l'édition française.

- 2 — *La date et les recensions du L. P.*, dans la *Revue des questions historiques*, t. XXVI, p. 493-530, Paris, 1879.

Contrairement au mémoire de G. Waitz sur les différents textes du L. P., *Neues Archiv*, t. IV, part 2, p. 216-247, D. maintient son classement des manuscrits et le complète sur quelques points. Contient une lettre de Rossi à l'auteur. D. maintient que la première recension est antérieure à 530. Rapports entre la première et la seconde recension. Voir le numéro suivant.

- 3 — *Le premier L. P.*, dans *R. Q. H.*, t. XXIX (1881), p. 246-263.

A propos des articles de R. A. Lipsius, *Jahr. f. prot. Theologie*, Leipz., 1879-1880, et d'accord avec lui sur le classement des manuscrits, D. maintient la date 514-523 (Hormisdas) pour la composition. Il ne croit pas à l'existence d'un L. P. antérieur à Symmaque, supposée par Lipsius, qui remonterait au pontificat de Gélase + 496, de Félix III + 492, ou même de Sixte III + 440. Sur le catalogue philocalien de 354.

A la p. 262, D. revient sur la discussion avec Waitz ; voir le numéro précédent.

- 4 — *Le L. P. en Gaule au vi^e siècle*, Rome, imprimerie de la Paix, 1882, in-8°. Extrait des *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist. de l'École de Rome*.

Il démontre que Grégoire de Tours après 590 a connu un exemplaire du L. P. et que le L. P. était connu en Gaule au temps de saint Grégoire le Grand et même avant, au moins sous la forme de l'abrégé félicien. Il est vraisemblable que c'est cet abrégé que Grégoire de Tours a eu sous les yeux. La seconde édition du L. P. a été aussi connue en Gaule au vi^e siècle.

- 5 — *L'historiographie pontificale au viii^e siècle*, Rome, imprimerie Cuggiani, 1884, in-8° de 44 p. Extrait des *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*

Les notices des Papes du viii^e siècle dans le L. P. ont été écrites par des contemporains. Ces biographes, qui sont des clercs romains, ne se distinguent ni par leur sens historique, ni par leur véracité.

- 6 — *Le Liber Pontificalis, texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vol. in-4°, Paris, 1886-1892 ; t. I, 1886, cclxii-536 p. ; t. II, 1892, lxxviii-650 p.

Cette édition du L. P., une des plus belles œuvres de l'érudition au xix^e siècle, a classé D. au premier rang des savants français. Elle reste son plus beau titre de gloire. Il a établi sur les bases les plus solides l'histoire du texte, le classement des manuscrits, l'origine du L. P. et sa valeur historique. L'introduction et les notes qui accompagnent le texte sont un vrai trésor pour l'histoire des Papes et des

antiquités romaines. Depuis près de quarante ans le livre n'a pas vieilli et ses conclusions ont été adoptées par les savants les plus compétents. Mommsen, qui considérait D. comme l'un des deux ou trois savants français de la grande école, a rendu un éclatant hommage à l'édition de D. dans les *Monumenta Germaniae*, 1898, où il a lui-même édité le L. P.

7 — *Un mot sur le L. P.*, *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 1886, p. 275-283.

Réponse aux articles de G. Waitz dans *Neues Archiv*, maintenant les conclusions de l'*Étude sur le L. P.*

8 — *La nouvelle édition du L. P.* [par Mommsen], *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 1898, p. 381-417.

Remarques de Duchesne sur l'édition de Mommsen dans les *Monumenta Germaniae, Gesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Berlin, 1898, et le classement de manuscrits de Mommsen. D. maintient la plupart de ses conclusions.

9 — *Une satire au XIV^e siècle*, dans *Bulletin crit., Variétés*, t. I (1880-1881), p. 354-361.

Satire de Pierre de Brac en 1352-1361 contre la cour romaine, éditée d'après le ms 598 Regina Cristina.

10 — *La succession du Pape Félix IV*, *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 1883, p. 239.

11 — *Vigile et Pélage. Étude sur l'histoire de l'Église romaine au milieu du VI^e siècle*, *R. Q. H.*, t. XXXVI, 1884, p. 369-440.

[*Les Papes du VI^e siècle et le Second Concile de Constantinople.*
Réponse à l'abbé D. par Dom Chamard, *R. Q. H.*, t. XXXVII, 1885, p. 540-578.]

— *Réponse de l'abbé D.*, *ibid.*, p. 579-593.

12 — *Document inédit sur le Concile romain de 769*, *Bull. Soc. antiq. de Fr.*, Paris, 1885, p. 106-108.

Ce document permet de restituer le procès-verbal et la liste des évêques.

13 — *Pandolphe, biographe pontifical* [XI^e siècle].

Institut de France, séance publique annuelle du vendredi 25 oct. 1889. Renseignements sur ce rédacteur du L. P. du XI^e siècle.

14 — *Le L. P. aux mains des Guibertistes et des Pierléonistes*, *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, t. XXXVIII, 1920, p. 165.

15 — *Le nom d'Anaclet II au palais de Latran*, in-8° de 12 p. Nogent-le-Rotrou, imprimerie Dampéley-Gouverneur, 1889. Extrait des *Mémoires Soc. ant. de Fr.*, t. XLIX.

D. démontre que le nom d'Anaclet a été martelé sur le monument de Calixte II ; il faut lire *Anacletus* au lieu d'*Anastasius*.

- 16 — *Note sur l'origine du 'cursus' ou rythme prosaïque suivi dans la rédaction des bulles pontificales.* Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1889, in-8° de 4 p. Extrait de la *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, t. L, 1889.

Le cursus tombé en désuétude à la chancellerie pontificale a été repris sous Urbain II et Gélase II.

- 17 — *Le Liber Diurnus et les élections pontificales au VII^e siècle.* Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1891, in-8° de 28 p. Extrait de la *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, t. LII, 1891, p. 5-30.

D. combat la chronologie proposée pour certaines formules par de Sickel et maintient les données de Rozière. Études spéciales de la date des pièces 73-76.

- 18 — *Les premiers temps de l'État pontifical (754-1073)*, Paris, 1898, in-8° de 224 p. ; 2^e éd. Paris, 1904, in-12 de vii-421 p.

Ces leçons professées à l'École des Hautes-Études avaient paru dans la *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, t. I, II, III. C'est une histoire de la formation du domaine temporel des Papes en Italie.

The beginnings of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes, A. D. 754-1073. Tr. by Arnold H. Mathew, 1 vol. 8vo, vi-312 p., London, 1908.

- 19 — *Sur une inscription damasienne*, Paris, Fontemoing, 1903, in-8°, pages 169-172. Extrait des *Mélanges Boissier*, Paris, 1903.

Quoi qu'en pensent Rossi et Ihm, cette épitaphe de Félix et Philippe au cimetière de Priscille est tout entière de Damase.

- 20 — Duchesne et Paul Fabre, *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église romaine.*

T. I, Paris, 1905, in-4°, 19*-600 p., précédées d'une page liminaire par D. Paul Fabre n'avait publié que le 1^{er} fascicule en janvier 1889 (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*). Duchesne a publié la suite d'après les notes de Paul Fabre.

T. II, *Le Liber Censuum remanié sous Grégoire IX et Innocent IV, avec ses suppléments*, *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fascicule V, Paris, 1905.

- 21 — *Libère et Fortunatien*, *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, t. XXVIII (1908), p. 31-78.

Au sujet des fragments d'Hilaire nouvellement publiés et de la réhabilitation de Libère. Il y a eu des exagérations dans les accusations contre Libère, mais le fond reste vrai.

- 22 — *L'empereur Anastase et sa politique religieuse*, *ibid.*, t. XXXII, 1912, p. 305-336.

- 23 — *La réaction chalcédonienne sous l'empereur Justin (518-527)*, *ibid.*, p. 337-363.

24 — *Serge III et Jean XI, ibid.*, t. XXXIII, 1913, p. 25-64.

Rédactions nouvellement découvertes du *Liber Pontificalis*. La papauté au x^e siècle. Le L. P. de Pandolfe.

25 — *Lettre de Mgr L. Duchesne, directeur de l'École française de Rome, à Léopold Delisle, dont lecture fut donnée à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres dans la séance du 6 novembre 1903.*

La lettre de Mgr D. du 3 novembre 1903 décrit minutieusement l'incendie et les dégâts causés et affirme qu'aucun livre ni manuscrit n'a souffert. L'incendie a été limité au quartier du relieur; 'seul le grenier a brûlé, avec des dépôts de papiers, de colle et autres substances adaptées aux usages de la reliure.' Cette lettre est reproduite dans la brochure, *L'Incendie du Vatican*, par Léon Dorez, Paris, 1903, qui est un extrait de la *Revue des Bibliothèques*, Sept.-Oct. 1903.

26 — *Rapport adressé à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres par le directeur de l'École française de Rome sur la publication des registres pontificaux*, Nogent-le-Rotrou, imprimerie Dampieley-Gouverneur, in-8°, 6 p., 1906. Extrait des *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'histoire*, t. XXV (1905), p. 443-450. Reproduit dans la *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1906, t. LXVII.

Sur l'état de la publication en 1905.

II — La topographie de Rome.

27 — *Les circonscriptions de Rome pendant le moyen âge*, R. Q. H., 1878, p. 217-225.

Il démontre que la division régionale de Rome pendant le moyen âge, et même les circonscriptions actuelles, dérivent de la division ecclésiastique en sept régions diaconales, antérieure au iv^e siècle. Contrairement à Jordan, il établit qu'à partir de la guerre des Goths (milieu du vi^e siècle) la division d'Auguste (en 14 régions) cesse d'être en usage. Elle est remplacée par la division ecclésiastique en sept régions. Les *rioni* du xiv^e siècle représentent une transformation de la circonscription ecclésiastique; ils n'ont rien à voir avec les régions d'Auguste. Description et histoire des régions ecclésiastiques depuis l'origine.

28 — *Les plans de Rome publiés par M. de Rossi*, R. Q. H., t. XXVII, 1880, p. 265-272.

A propos de l'ouvrage de R., *Piante icnografiche e prospettiche di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI*, Rome, Salviucci, 1879, in-4° de 152 p. avec atlas. Étude sur les divers plans de Rome depuis l'époque antérieure à Auguste jusqu'au xv^e siècle.

Notes sur la topographie de Rome au moyen âge, dans Mélanges d'archéol. et d'histoire.

Ces notes ont paru dans l'ordre suivant :

- 29 — I — *Templum Romae et templum Romuli*, t. VI (1886), p. 25-37.
- 30 — II — *Titres presbytéraux et diaconies*, t. VII (1887), p. 217-243.
- 31 — III — *Sainte Anastasie*, t. VII (1887), p. 287-413.
- 32 — IV — *Le Forum de Nerva et ses environs*, t. IX (1889), p. 89 et 347-355.
- 33 — V — *Le nom d'Anaclet II au palais de Latran*, t. IX, p. 355-362.
- 34 — VI — *Les régions de Rome au moyen âge*, t. X (1890), p. 126-149.¹
- 35 — VII — *Les légendes chrétiennes de l'Aventin* (Saint Boniface et saint Alexis et le monastère de l'Aventin), t. X, 1890, p. 225-250 ; cf. *Bull. crit.*, t. X, 1882, p. 264, et *Anal. Bolland.*, t. X, 1891, p. 474.
- 36 — VIII — *Santa Maria Antiqua*, t. XVII (1897), p. 13-37.
- 37 — IX (*sic*) — *Vaticana*. Sur la basilique Vaticane, la tombe de saint Pierre et les actes du Martyre de saint Pierre, t. XXII, 1902, p. 3-22.
- 38 — X — *Vaticana (suite)*. Sur le Mausolée des Probi et les Mausolées impériaux du Vatican, les églises de sainte Pétronille, de saint André, de saint Grégoire in Palatio, la nécropole pontificale et les sépultures pontificales, saint Vincent du Vatican, le *scrinium confessionis*, t. XXII (1902), p. 385-428.
- 39 — XI — *Santa Maria in Foro, santa Maria in Macello*, t. XXV (1905), p. 147-154.
- 40 — XII (*sic*) — *Vaticana (suite)*. Sur la basilique de Saint-Pierre, ses monastères desservants et ses diaconies, le Septinianum, la Mica Aurea, t. XXXIV (1914), p. 307-356.
- 41 — XIII — *Vaticana (suite)*. La tombe de saint Pierre, le *Loculus Petri*. Nous ne savons rien sur le *Loculus Petri*, t. XXXV (1915), p. 3-13.
- 42 — *La chapelle impériale du Palatin*, *Bull. crit.*, t. VI (1885), *Varillés*, p. 417-424.

D. s'efforce de dissiper les confusions qui se sont produites dans les documents du moyen âge sur les différents sanctuaires de saint Césaire à Rome, notamment le saint Césaire in Palatio ; sa position, son histoire.

¹ Ces six premières notes ont été publiées à part, Rome, Cuggiani, 1889-1890, in-8°.

- 43 — *La nécropole pontificale du Vatican, compte rendu du Congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Paris du 1^{er} au 6 avril 1891*, 5^e section, *Sciences historiques*, Paris, 1891, p. 58-65.

D. présida cette section et intervint plusieurs fois dans les discussions, voir *Procès-verbaux des séances*, *ibid.*, p. 269-286. Son mémoire, après des considérations générales sur la sépulture des Papes, étudie d'une façon spéciale la tombe de saint Pierre au Vatican, et la valeur des renseignements du L. P. sur les tombes des Papes.

- 44 — *Le sanctuaire apostolique des Catacombes*, *Bull. crit.*, 2^e série, t. I (1895) [t. XVI], *Variétés*.

A propos des recherches de Mgr de Waal sur la basilique Saint-Sébastien ad Catacumbas, voie Appienne sur la *Platonia* et sur les dernières fouilles.

- 45 — *Les corps saints des catacombes romaines*, *ibid.*, p. 198-202.

Sur le commerce des reliques au XI^e siècle et la circulaire du cardinal-vicaire, 16 Kal. Febr. 1881 ; le vase de sang.

- 46 — *Le Forum chrétien*, dans *Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire religieuses publiés à l'occasion du jubilé épiscopal de Mgr de Cabrières* in-8°, Paris, 1899, t. I, p. 125-143 ; à part, Rome, 1899, 75 p. Cf. *Anal. Bolland.*, t. XX, p. 85.

Les légendes chrétiennes qui se rattachent au Forum, Simon le Mage, la prison Mamertine, etc. Les églises du Forum. Processions et fonctions liturgiques accomplies au Forum.

- 47 — *Sanctuaires chrétiens d'Aboukir*, dans *Deuxième congrès international d'archéologie*, Alexandrie-le Caire, avril 1909.

Sur le culte de saint Menas et des saints Kyr et Jean ; comment ces cultes ont été importés d'Égypte à Rome ; emplacement de ces sanctuaires sur les bords du Tibre.

- 48 — [Or. Marucchi, *Di un antico battistero . . . nel cimitero apostolico di Priscilla e della sua importanza storica. Studio relativo a una insigne memoria dell' apost. S. Pietro in Roma, con lettera di Mons. Duchesne all' autore*. Roma, Cuggiani, 1901, in-8° de 50 p., estratto dal *Nuovo Bull. di archeol. cristiana*, anno VII, n. 1 e 2.]

Dans sa lettre, de la p. 45 à 50, D. fait ses réserves sur l'article de M. Selon lui D., la résidence épiscopale, la *domus ecclesiae*, aurait été au III^e siècle à l'endroit des cryptes de Calliste et de Prétextat. Avant le III^e siècle, ce serait le cimetière de Priscille, d'origine apostolique. Ce fut peut-être là la *sedes Petri*.

- 49 — [Les Légendes de l'Alta Semita. La passion de sainte Suzanne, la passion de saint Marcel, le sanctuaire de saint Cyriaque sur la voie d'Ostie. *Mél. d'archéol. et d'hist.*, t. XXXVI, 1916-1917, p. 27-56.]

49 bis — L. Duchesne et F. Fornari, *Les Légendes de l'Alta Semita et le tombeau de S. Cyriaque sur la voie d'Ostie*. Extrait des *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, t. XXXVI (1916), p. 27-72, avec plans. Cf. *Anal. Boll.*, t. XXXVIII, p. 397-398.

50 — *Le provincial romain au XI^e siècle*.

Le provincial est le relevé des provinces ecclésiastiques et des évêchés. Le provincial romain au temps de Calixte II; l'auteur du provincial d'Albinus.

Dans *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, t. XXIV (1904), p. 75-123.

51 — *L'auteur des Mirabilia*.

La plus ancienne rédaction de ce recueil est antérieure à la mort d'Innocent II, 1143. L'auteur paraît être Benoît, chanoine de Saint-Pierre, déjà connu comme auteur d'un *ordo*.

Ibid., p. 479-489.

52 — *Les monastères desservants de Sainte-Marie-Majeure*.

Ce sont saints Côme et Damien, saint André, saint Adrien et un second saint André.

Ibid., t. XXVII (1907), p. 479-494.

53 — *Le recueil épigraphique de Cambridge*.

Sur la valeur des inscriptions métriques des églises de Rome au XII^e siècle relevées dans ce recueil. Sept sont nouvelles; quelques-unes sont fausses ou retouchées; l'ensemble ne manque pas de valeur.

Ibid., t. XXX (1910), p. 279-311.

54 — *Le culte romain des quatre couronnés*.

Il distingue les deux groupes des quatre martyrs de Sirmium et des quatre martyrs d'Albano.

Ibid., t. XXXI (1911), p. 231-246. Cf. *Analecta Bolland.*, t. XXXII, p. 63 sq., qui discutent cette thèse.

2° — TRAVAUX D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE ET GRECQUE.

Pendant son séjour à l'École des Carmes, 1871-1873, Duchesne, entre autres cours, suivit celui de Tournier sur la langue et la philologie grecque. Il sut profiter des leçons de ce maître qui fut l'un de nos meilleurs hellénistes, et celui-ci, à son tour, appréciait hautement dans son élève les qualités d'intelligence, de précision, de pénétration et de critique qui allaient se développer si rapidement. C'est sur sa recommandation que Duchesne fut envoyé à l'École de Rome, et il sembla même un moment qu'il allait se spécialiser dans les études de philologie et d'épigraphie grecque. Moins d'un an après son arrivée à Rome, il était chargé avec son collègue Bayet d'une mission en

Orient. Charles Blondel, membre de l'École française d'Athènes, venait de mourir après avoir recueilli des notes épigraphiques sur la Thessalie. Retrouvées par ses confrères Paul Foucart et Pierron, ces notes furent envoyées à Albert Drumont, qui lui-même avait rempli une mission archéologique en Thessalie. Sous-directeur à l'École de Rome, comme nous l'avons dit, il confia à l'abbé Duchesne et à Bayet le soin de poursuivre les études interrompues de Blondel et leur fit donner une mission en Épire et en Orient.

Partis de Rome au début de 1874, les deux voyageurs traversèrent l'Épire, visitèrent une partie de la Thessalie et firent un séjour au Mont Athos et à Salonique. L'abbé Duchesne s'embarqua ensuite pour Patmos où il devait faire des recherches dans la bibliothèque du monastère. Les résultats obtenus sont consignés dans les mémoires dont nous allons donner le titre.¹ Au printemps de 1876, il repartait de Rome avec M. Maxime Collignon, pour une autre mission en Asie Mineure.²

55 — *De Macario Magnete et scriptis eius disseruit L. Duchesne*, Parisiis, 1877, in-4°, 45 p.

Comme l'indique le sous-titre : *thesim facultati litterarum parisiensi proponerebat L. D. canonicus Briocensis*, c'est la thèse latine de doctorat dans laquelle il commente le texte de cet apologiste du III^e siècle découvert et publié par un autre membre de l'école d'Athènes, Blondel, mort avant d'avoir achevé sa tâche. Conjectures sur le texte et publication de nouveaux fragments inédits.

56 — *De codicibus manuscriptis graecis Pii II in Bibliotheca Alexandrino-Vaticana schedas excussit L. D.*, Lutetiae Parisiorum apud E. Thorin, 1880, in-8°, 34 p. *Biblioth. des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*.

57 — *Vita sancti Polycarpi Smyrn. episcopi auctore Pionio primum graece edita*, in-8° de 40 p. Parisiis, 1881.

D. a revu le texte de Romuald Desbassyns de Richemont, et a mis des notes et une préface où il étudie le texte, son origine et sa date (fin du IV^e siècle en Asie). Il ne faut pas confondre ce Pionius avec celui de Smyrne au III^e siècle. La valeur de cette vie est médiocre.

58 — *Une invasion gauloise en Macédoine de l'an 117 avant J.-C.*, *Revue archéologique*, t. LXXV (1875), p. 6.

¹ M. J. Guiraud a raconté cette mission dans son article, *Revue des questions historiques*, loc. cit., p. 142, 143. Voir aussi le rapport d'Albert Drumont au Ministre de l'instruction publique, juin 1874.

² Cette expédition a été racontée avec beaucoup de charme par M. Collignon dans la *Revue des Deux Mondes* de 1880. Voir aussi Guiraud, loc. cit., p. 144, 145. Pour les résultats scientifiques voir le rapport des deux voyageurs dans le *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1877, t. 1^{er}.

- 59 — *Inscriptions de la Pallène, ibid.*, t. LXXVI (1876), p. 106.
- 60 — *Mission au Mont Athos par MM. l'abbé Duchesne et Bayet, dans Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3^e série, t. III, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1876, p. 203-442 et 445-529.
Les deux premières parties, *Épigraphie, chartes et manuscrits*, p. 203 à 442, sont de D.
- 61 — Duchesne et Collignon, *Rapport sur un voyage archéologique en Asie Mineure*, École française d'Athènes, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1^{re} année, 1877, Paris, p. 361 sq.
- 62 — *La colonne romaine d'Olbasa en Pisidie, Bull. de corr. hell., ibid.*, p. 332 sq.
- 63 — *Inscription chrétienne de Bithynie, ibid.*, 1878, p. 289.
- 64 — *Inscription chrétienne de Tanagre, ibid.*, 1879, p. 144.
- 65 — *Sur deux villes de la Phrygie pacatienne* [Ènès et Alias], *ibid.*, 1879, p. 478.
- 66 — *Les nécropoles chrétiennes de l'Isaurie, ibid.*, 1880, p. 195, et 1883, p. 230.
- 67 — *Inscriptions de Pompéiopolis, ibid.*, 1881, p. 316.
- 68 — *Jean d'Asie, historien ecclésiastique, Institut de France*, séance du 25 octobre 1892, t. LXXV, p. 11.
- 69 — *Macédonius, évêque d'Apollonias en Lydie*, École française d'Athènes, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, Athènes, 1887, p. 311.
- 70 — *Les anciens évêchés de la Grèce*, sur la géographie de la Grèce ecclésiastique avant le x^e siècle. La notice épiscopale publiée par C. de Boor n'a pas de valeur. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1895, quinzième année, Rome, p. 375.
- 71 — *Une épitaphe d'Hiéropolis en Phrygie, Bull. crit., Variétés*, t. III, 1882, p. 135-136.
- 72 — *Saint Abercius, évêque d'Hiéropolis en Phrygie, R. Q. H.*, t. XXXIV, 1883, p. 5-33.
- 73 — *L'épitaphe d'Abercius, Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 15^e année, 1895, Rome, p. 141 et 155. Cf. *Anal. Boll.*, t. XV, p. 333.
Cette épitaphe n'est ni païenne, ni gnostique, mais chrétienne.
- 74 — *L'inscription d'Abercius*, à propos de l'hypothèse de Dieterich, *Bull. crit.*, 1897, 2^e série, t. III (XVIII^e de la collection), p. 101-106. Mêmes conclusions que le précédent article.
- 75 — *Trois inscriptions chrétiennes d'Afrique, Bull. Soc. antiq. de Fr.*, t. XXXIII, 1889, p. 94.

76 — *Un document épigraphique sur la persécution de Maximin*, *Bull. crit., Variétés*, t. XIV (1893), p. 156-157.

A propos du rescrit publié par Mommsen dans *Archaeol.-epigr. Mittheil.*, D. donne le texte latin, le texte grec et une traduction française du grec.

77 — *Inscription de Guelma en Afrique*, dans *Bull. Soc. antiq. de Fr.*, t. XXXVII, 1893, p. 238-241.

Cette inscription mentionne les saints dont les reliques ont été déposées sous l'autel, à savoir : les martyrs d'Utique, saint Isidore de Chio (?), saint Martin de Tours et saint Romain d'Antioche, et enfin les trois enfants (de Babylone). Conclusions acceptées par les Bollandistes, *Analecta bollandiana*, t. XIII, p. 406.

3° — HISTOIRE DE L'ÉGLISE.

Nommé professeur d'histoire ecclésiastique à l'Institut catholique de Paris après son séjour à Rome (1876), il y resta jusqu'au moment où il devint directeur de l'École de Rome (1895). Suspendu pendant un an en 1885, il fit à l'École des Hautes-Études un cours qu'il continua quelque temps, même après avoir repris son cours à l'Institut catholique. Ces dix-neuf années d'enseignement à Paris furent les plus fécondes de sa vie. Il était désormais en pleine possession de sa méthode ; ses études à Paris et à Rome et ses voyages l'avaient initié à tous les secrets de l'érudition moderne ; en présence d'une inscription ou d'un document il savait en apprécier la juste valeur et l'interpréter selon les meilleures règles de la critique. Enfin sa direction était fixée par les nécessités de son enseignement. Il allait consacrer la principale part de son activité à l'étude de l'histoire de l'Église et des sciences auxiliaires.

Nous avons pour nous rendre compte de son travail durant cette période les plus précieux matériaux. Ses cours autographiés sur l'histoire des premiers siècles, d'où sortira plus tard son histoire de l'Église, nous font assister au travail de composition du jeune professeur, comme ses auditeurs de l'Institut catholique.

Moins étudiées, moins soignées que les chapitres de son histoire, ces leçons nous donnent mieux l'expression de sa pensée, comme une œuvre de premier jet, et c'est pourquoi elles sont recherchées par les amateurs et préférées par quelques-uns à son grand ouvrage. Ses études sur le pouvoir temporel des Papes, sur la liturgie, et, dans une certaine mesure, sur les catalogues et les fastes épiscopaux, et quelques autres articles, comme la *Question de la Pâque*, le *Concile d'Elvire*, et le *Dossier du Donatisme*, ont fait d'abord la matière de son enseignement, aussi bien que son histoire de l'Église.

En même temps, il fondait avec quelques-uns de ses collègues le

Bulletin critique, sorte de Revue des livres, de même genre que la *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, à laquelle il a donné une collaboration assidue, surtout jusqu'en 1895.

78 — *Bulletin critique de littérature, d'histoire et de théologie*, Paris, A. Sauton, 1881.

Ce Bulletin succède à l'*Écho*. Le t. XXI (VI^e de la 2^e série), publié en 1900, est le dernier.¹

Quelques années plus tard, en 1896, il contribuait aussi à la fondation de la —

79 — *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, Paris, 1896.

Il y a publié des articles sur *Les Premiers temps de l'état pontifical*, dans t. I, II et III (voir n° 18). Ces différentes publications ont exercé une influence considérable sur les études ecclésiastiques en France.

(a) *Histoire générale de l'Église.*

80 — *Les Origines chrétiennes*, lithographie Chauvin, Paris, xii-469 p., s. d. [1890?]; une nouvelle édition, xi-476 p., lithographie Blanc, Paris, s. d. [1892?].

Ce cahier, aujourd'hui introuvable, contient les cours professés en 1878 et 1890.

81 — *L'Afrique chrétienne et l'Église romaine au milieu du III^e siècle*, dans la *Revue anglo-romaine*, t. II, 1896, Paris, p. 337-362. Cet article est tiré des *Origines chrétiennes*.

Les articles suivants sont aussi des leçons professées d'abord à l'Institut :

82 — *Les Origines du Christianisme, leçon d'ouverture du cours d'histoire ecclésiastique à l'École de théologie de Paris* [Institut catholique], le 17 oct. 1879; *Revue du Monde catholique*, 1879 (t. LX), p. 406-424.

83 — *Le Livre du Pasteur et l'Église romaine au commencement du II^e siècle*. *Ibid.*, 1880 (t. LXII), p. 5-28.

84 — *L'Église d'Orient de Dioclétien à Mahomet. Leçon de clôture du cours d'histoire ecclésiastique à l'École de théologie supérieure de Paris*. *Ibid.*, 1880 (t. LXIV), p. 528-549; 677-701.

Voir plus loin l'article *Les témoins anténicéens*.

¹ La collaboration de D. consiste surtout en comptes rendus sur les livres d'histoire et d'archéologie. Le relevé de ces articles eut dépassé de beaucoup les limites d'un travail forcément sommaire; nous n'avons signalé que les articles *Varités*. Il faut remarquer cependant que quelques-uns de ces comptes rendus ont une importance considérable et sont de vrais mémoires sur certaines questions.

85 — *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, Paris, Fontemoing, in-8°, t. I, 1906, xi-577 p. ; t. II, Paris, 1907, xi-671 p. ; t. III, Paris, 1910, xi-687 p. ; tr. anglaise: *Early History of the Christian Church from its foundation*, from the fourth French ed., two vol. 8vo, 1909-1912.

86 — *Deux études sur les Légendes des martyrs*, *R. Q. H.*, t. XXII (1877), p. 245-250.

Il critique sévèrement le livre de Franz Görres, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Icinianische Christenverfolgung* ; montre combien sa méthode est fausse, et en rejette les conclusions. Renseignements sur les calendriers et les Fêtes chrétiennes. Il recommande au contraire le livre de E. Stevenson, *Il cimitero di Zotico*, composé avec une excellente méthode. Il en accepte les résultats. Cet hypogée où l'on vénérât Zoticus, Irenaeus, Hyacinthus et Amantius, remonte à la fin du III^e ou aux premières années du IV^e siècle. Sur les saints éponymes de ce cimetière et leur légende.

87 — *La question de la Pâque au Concile de Nicée*, *R. Q. H.*, t. XXVIII (1880), p. 5-42.

L'opinion commune admet qu'après les controverses du II^e siècle la pratique de célébrer la Pâque au 14 de Nisan persista et qu'elle fut condamnée à nouveau par le concile de Nicée. D. démontre que cette opinion est fausse. Ce qui fut condamné au concile de Nicée, c'est l'usage d'Antioche, dit *non-équinoxialiste*, tandis qu'on lui préféra le système Alexandrin, suivi aussi par Rome, ou système *équinoxialiste*, qui célébrait la Pâque toujours après l'équinoxe de printemps.

Polémique avec l'abbé Rambouillet.

88 — [*Les Pères apostoliques et le dogme de la Trinité*, par l'abbé Rambouillet ; dans *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques de Lille*, Paris, 1882, t. VI (5^e série), p. 21-43, 97-128 ; *Les Pères apologistes et le dogme de la Trinité*, *ibid.*, 1883, t. VII (5^e série), p. 15-34 ; *La consubstantialité et la Trinité*, *ibid.*, 1883, p. 333-364, 481-509, et t. VIII, 1883, p. 225-258 ; *L'autorité traditionnelle des Pères anténicéens*, *ibid.*, 1884, t. IX, p. 532-578.

C'est une attaque contre les leçons de D. sur les Pères apostoliques et sur les Pères apologistes.]

89 — L. Duchesne, *Les témoins anténicéens du dogme de la Trinité*, précédé d'une lettre de Mgr d'Hulst ; *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1882, t. VI, p. 484-539. En appendice : *Réponse sommaire aux articles de M. l'abbé Rambouillet*, *ibid.*, p. 540-547.

D. expose ses vues sur l'histoire du dogme de la Trinité, sur le progrès doctrinal, et la valeur théologique des Pères et des écrivains ecclésiastiques anténicéens.

- 90 — *Autonomies ecclésiastiques: Églises séparées*, par l'abbé L. Duchesne, un vol. in-18 de viii-356 p., Paris, Fontemoing, 1896; 2^e éd. in-18 de viii-356 p., *ibid.*, Paris, 1905.

Les chapitres I-V avaient paru dans la *Quinzaine*, Paris, 1896; le chap. VI avait paru en 1892 dans la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* de Munich; le chap. VII, dans les *Mélanges de l'École de Rome*, t. XVI, 1896. La seconde édition n'ajoute rien à la première. Le second volume annoncé dès 1896, sous le titre: *Autonomies ecclésiastiques: Églises unies*, n'a pas paru; à part, *L'Illyricum ecclésiastique* (c'est le chap. VI), B. G. Teubner, 1892, in-8°, paginé 531-550; à part, *Les Missions chrétiennes au sud de l'Empire romain*, *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.*, 16^e année, 1896, Rome (c'est le chap. VII), p. 79-122.

D. entend sous le terme d'*autonomies ecclésiastiques* les Églises qui revendiquent leur indépendance à l'égard de Rome. Le volume dont nous venons de donner le titre est en réalité un premier volume où il s'occupe des Églises qui ont rompu avec Rome: Église anglicane, Églises orientales et Églises grecques. Un second volume, qui n'a jamais paru, devait être consacré aux *Églises unies*, c'est-à-dire aux Églises qui ont gardé leur autonomie, tout en étant soumises à Rome.

Trad. anglaise: *The Churches separated from Rome . . .*, transl. by A. H. Mathew, ix-224 p., London, 1907.

- 91 — *Le Concile d'Elvire et les flamines chrétiens*, Paris, Vieweg, 1886, in-8°, paginé 159-174. Tiré des *Mélanges Renier*, recueil de travaux publiés par l'École des Hautes-Études, in-8°, Paris, 1886.

D. place le concile d'Elvire aux abords de l'an 300. Il étudie spécialement les canons qui concernent les rapports du christianisme avec le paganisme officiel, notamment en ce qui regarde les flamines. Le concile n'interdit pas absolument le flaminat aux chrétiens, mais il porte des peines contre ceux qui président aux sacrifices païens et à la célébration des jeux.

- 92 — *Le Concile de Turin*, Nogent-le-Rotrou, imprimerie Dampiey-Gouverneur, 1905, in-8° de 25 p. Extrait de la *Revue historique*, t. LXXXVII, 1905.

Au sujet des deux thèses de Babut sur la plus ancienne décrétale et sur le concile de Turin (Paris, 1904). Babut propose d'attribuer cette décrétale non à Sirice ou à Innocent, comme on l'avait fait, mais à Damase. D. accepte cette donnée. Observations sur le texte de la décrétale. Pour la deuxième thèse D. repousse à peu près toutes les conclusions de l'auteur. Il n'y a pas eu, comme le veut B., deux conciles de Turin, l'un en 405, l'autre en 417, mais un seul en 405 ou aux environs de cette date. Il n'admet pas davantage la chronologie

proposée par B. pour les lettres de Zosime et pour celle de Valentinien III, ni les conclusions sur la lettre synodale du concile, sur Kemigius, sur les apocryphes de Vienne et la chronique de Villicaire.

- 93 — *Le dossier du Donatisme*, Rome, Cuggiani, 1890, in-8° de 66 p. Extrait des *Mél. d'archéol. et d'hist.*, t. X, 1890.

Il reprend la question des documents du Donatisme à l'occasion de l'étude d'Otto Seeck, et établit que saint Optat a eu en mains un recueil de pièces sur le Donatisme. Saint Augustin s'en est également servi en 411. Ce recueil existe encore en partie dans le *Parisinus 1711*. Toutes les pièces de ce recueil sont indubitablement authentiques, et les objections d'Otto Seeck sont sans valeur.

- 94 — [*Les fragments historiques et le synode de Béziers de 356*, par Dom Wilmart, dans *Revue bénédictine*, 1908, p. 225-229. A la p. 228 l'auteur fait part d'une heureuse conjecture sur le texte qui lui a été communiquée par D.]

- 95 — *Un nouveau Père apostolique*, dans *Bulletin critique*, 1884, t. V, p. 91-94, sous le titre *Variétés*.

Sur la *Αἰδαχή*. Essai de traduction sur le texte qui venait d'être communiqué à D. par Mgr Philothée Bryennios avant même sa publication.

- 96 — *Une découverte paléographique. Priscillien, évêque d'Abila*. *Ibid.*, 1886, t. VII, p. 415-418. Au sujet de la découverte par G. Schepss d'un manuscrit de Priscillien.

- 97 — *Les évêchés d'Italie et l'invasion lombarde*, comunicazione di Mons. Luigi Duchesne, dans *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, Roma, 1-9 aprile 1903; vol. III, *Atti della Sezione II: Storia medievale e moderna*. Roma, in-8°, 1906, p. 79-115.

Ce mémoire, fondé sur une enquête minutieuse et approfondie d'après les documents du VI^e au VIII^e siècles, établit que l'invasion lombarde a détruit un grand nombre d'évêchés dans l'Italie continentale et dans l'Italie péninsulaire, et qu'elle a confisqué les domaines de l'Église romaine. Ces conclusions s'opposent à celles de Crivelucci, publiées dans les *Studi storici* de Pise, t. V (1896) et t. VI (1897). Le mémoire se termine par une table des évêchés italiens au VI^e siècle.

- 98 — Ce mémoire a été donné, à peu près sous la même forme et sous le même titre, dans *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, t. XXIII (1903), p. 83-116, et t. XXV, 1905, p. 365-399. Au t. XXVI (1906), p. 565-567, sous le titre *Rectification*, une réponse à Crivelucci.

99 — *L'évêché de Montepeloso, Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.*, t. XXIII, 1903, p. 363-373.

Cet évêché remonte à la fin du x^e siècle ou au commencement du xi^e.

(b) *Histoire de l'Église de France.*

Tout en faisant la plus large part dans ses travaux à l'histoire de l'Église romaine, D. fut de bonne heure attiré par l'histoire des églises de France et en particulier par celle de sa province natale. Jean Guiraud nous a dit avec quel empressement il aimait à faire à ses amis les honneurs de Saint-Servan et des ruines de l'antique Aleth. Il en montrait les ruines romaines, la chapelle de Saint-Pierre, construite sur l'ancienne cathédrale où résidèrent pendant sept ou huit siècles les évêques avant de se transférer, au xii^e siècle, à Saint-Malo. Il évoquait les légendes locales pour lesquelles s'attendrissait sa critique si sévère aux autres. Il voyait avec peine la dévotion contemporaine abandonner les vieux saints celtiques, pour se porter aux saints étrangers à la Bretagne, et il reprochait à saint Antoine de Padoue de faire concurrence à saint Méen ou à saint Judicaël. Il se plaignait qu'un saint d'Austrasie, saint Servais de Tongres, eut supplanté, comme patron de sa ville, un vieux saint du pays, saint Servan. Il parlait sévèrement de Pierre de la Grille, l'évêque d'Aleth, qui découronna cette antique cité en transférant son siège épiscopal dans l'île d'Aaron, aujourd'hui Saint-Malo, ainsi que de saint Bernard et du pape Eugène III, qui lui facilitèrent cette opération, dressant désormais en face de l'antique cité d'Aleth, comme une parvenue en face d'une noble dame, la ville de Saint-Malo.¹ En 1890, avec le concours de la Société archéologique d'Ille-et-Vilaine et de M. de la Borderie, il fit des fouilles pour dégager à côté de la chapelle Saint-Pierre ce qui pouvait rester de la cathédrale d'Aleth et il mit à nu les fondations de l'édifice primitif dont on releva le plan et la coupe longitudinale.² Néanmoins sa bibliographie ne nous fournit qu'un petit nombre d'articles sur la Bretagne.

100 — *Lovocat et Catihern, prêtres bretons du temps de saint Melaine*, Nantes, imprimerie V. Forest et Grimaud, 1885, in-8° de 19 p. Extrait de la *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, 1885.

D. réédite ce document, le plus ancien concernant l'Église bretonne en Armorique ; condamnation des deux prêtres et de leurs pratiques.

101 — *La vie de saint Malo, étude critique*, signée L. Duchesne, *clericus Aletensis*, dans *Revue celtique*, t. XI (1890), p. 1-22.

Il étudie les deux rédactions de la vie publiées en 1884 par Dom

¹ Jean Guiraud, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

² Abbé Campion, *Saint Servatius, évêque de Tongres, patron de Saint-Servan* p. 56.

Plaine et par La Borderie. Conclusions : saint Malo a fondé le monastère breton d'Aleth et exercé la juridiction épiscopale dans les régions voisines ; il est mort à Saintes. Conclusions acceptées dans les *Anal. Bolland.*, t. X, p. 484-486.

102 — *Saint Patern*, dans *Revue celtique*, t. XIV (1893), p. 238-240.

Critique du mémoire de La Borderie paru à Vannes, 1892. Conclusions : saint Patern est du ^v^e siècle ; non du ^{vi}^e ou du ^{vii}^e. Il n'a pas été le premier évêque de Vannes ; cette ville a eu des évêques avant lui. Les traditions de l'église de Vannes contraires à ces conclusions sont sans autorité.

103 — *Nennius retractatus*, Chartres, imprimerie Durand, 1894, in-8° de 24 p. Extrait de *Revue celtique*, t. XV (1894), p. 174-197.

A propos du livre de Zimmer, *Nennius vindicatus*, dont D. conteste les conclusions. D. publie dans cet article un manuscrit inédit de Chartres, de l'*Historia Britonum*. Notes sur ce texte, et considérations sur la formation de l'*Historia Britonum*. L'*H. B.* primitive est à placer entre la fin du ^{vi}^e et la fin du ^{viii}^e siècle. Nennius n'a rien à voir avec l'*H. B.* primitive.

104 — L'*Historia Britonum*, *ibid.*, t. XVII (1896), p. 1-5.

Il revient sur la comparaison des divers textes de l'*H. B.*

105 — *Éleuthère et le roi breton Lucius*, *ibid.*, t. VI (1885), p. 491-493.

C'est la reproduction de la note du L. P. de Duchesne, t. I, p. cii (note de la rédaction).

Sa contribution à l'histoire de l'Église de France est beaucoup plus considérable. Élu membre de la Société des Antiquaires de France, il a donné dans le bulletin de la société plusieurs articles dont quelques-uns de première importance. Mais ce sont les origines des Églises des Gaules qui ont surtout attiré son attention, et ses études sur ce sujet, où il démolissait les légendes avec un entrain, une verve et une liberté sans retenue, ont soulevé contre lui bien des adversaires et ont ravivé des polémiques endormies.¹ La publication par Delisle des catalogues épiscopaux l'engagea dans une série de recherches d'où sortirent plusieurs mémoires et finalement son grand ouvrage des *Fastes épiscopaux*.

106 — *La civitas Rigomagensium et l'évêché de Nice*, Nogent-le-Rotrou, imprimerie Dampéley-Gouverneur, 1883, in-8° de 11 p. Extrait des *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, t. XLIII, 1883.

La *civitas R.* identifiée avec Thorame, près Digne. Limites des juridictions des sièges de Marseille et de Nice.

¹ A. Houtin, *La controverse de l'apostolicité des Églises de France au ^{xvii}^e siècle*, 3^e éd., Paris, 1903.

107 — *Plat en verre gravé trouvé à Vermand (Aisne)*, *Bull. Soc. nat. Ant. de Fr.*, t. XXX, 1886, p. 283.

108 — *Sur les origines des évêchés d'Avenches, de Windisch et de Constance*, *Bull. Soc. nat. Ant. de Fr.*, t. XXXII, 1888, p. 193.

109 — *Inscription mérovingienne sur l'autel de Ham, près Valognes, ibid.*, t. XXX, 1886, p. 285.

110 — *Sur le sens du mot Centenarium, ibid.*, t. XXX, 1886, p. 86.

Ce mot, qui se rencontre dans le L. P. et dans quelques inscriptions africaines récemment découvertes, a dans le L. P. le sens de tuyau de conduite en plomb; dans les inscriptions africaines, acception un peu différente, c'est probablement la fontaine ou piscine à laquelle aboutissait le tuyau.

111 — *Origines du Christianisme en Gaule*, dans *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, t. VIII (1883), p. 1-15.

C'est le premier exposé du système qui sera développé quelques années après dans le mémoire dont le titre suit, et dans les *Fastes*.

112 — *Mémoire sur l'origine des diocèses épiscopaux dans l'ancienne Gaule*, Nogent-le-Rotrou, imprimerie Dampéley-Gouverneur, 1890, in-8° de 80 p. Extrait des *Mémoires de la Soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France*, t. L, 1889 (v^e série, t. X), p. 337-416.

Le système qui fait remonter les Églises des Gaules au 1^{er} siècle est fondé sur des légendes postérieures à Charlemagne. Ces légendes écartées du dossier, il ne restait que quelques textes de Sulpice Sévère, de Grégoire de Tours, etc. Les listes épiscopales apportent un élément nouveau et sûr. Date approximative de leur origine. Sur trente-trois églises qui ont leur date approximative de fondation, une seule, celle de Lyon, remonte au 11^e siècle; quatre remontent au 11^e; les autres au 14^e. Analogies avec les églises de la haute Italie. Cf. *R. H. L. R.*, t. I, 1896, p. 375-383, et *Anal. Boll.*, t. X, p. 475.

113 — *Les anciens catalogues épiscopaux de la province de Tours*, Paris, Thorin, 1890, in-8° de 102 p.

Étude sur les catalogues des églises de Tours, du Mans, d'Angers, de Nantes, de Vannes, de Quimper et autres évêchés de la Bretagne du Nord, *Civitas Redonum, civitas Ossismorum*, Aleth. Cf. *R. H. L. R.*, t. I, p. 377.

114 — *Nectaire et Dom Chamard*, nouvelle étude sur la liste épiscopale de Poitiers, dans *Revue poitevine et saintongeaise*, t. IV, 1888, p. 353-362.

115 — *Sur le caractère administratif ou ecclésiastique de la Notia des Gaules*, *Bull. Soc. nat. Ant. de Fr.*, t. XXXVI (1892), p. 247.

- 116 — *La primatie d'Arles*, Nogent-le-Rotrou, imprimerie Dampépey-Gouverneur, 1893, in-8°, paginé 155-238, Paris, 1893. Extrait des *Mém. Soc. ant. de Fr.*, t. LII (6^e série, t. II), 1891, p. 155 à 288).

Étude sur le vicariat pontifical dont les évêques d'Arles furent investis à diverses époques et sur la formation de la province ecclésiastique d'Arles au v^e et au vi^e siècle. Importance de cette église d'où sortit au vi^e siècle à peu près tout le droit canonique de la France mérovingienne.

- 117 — *La Gaule chrétienne sous l'empire romain*, dans *XIV^e centenaire du baptême de Clovis. La France chrétienne dans l'histoire*, ouvrage publié sous le patronage du cardinal Lavigerie et sous la direction de Mgr Baudrillart, Paris, Didot, in-12, s.d. [1895].

L'article Duchesne, p. 1-13. Résumé de l'histoire du christianisme en Gaule jusqu'au v^e siècle.

- 118 — *Les Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, t. I, Paris, 1894, in-4° de vii-376 p.; 2^e éd., 1907; t. II, Paris, 1900, 488 p.; 2^e éd., 1910; t. III, Paris, 1915, 270 p.

Quelques-uns des mémoires mentionnés dans les numéros précédents montrent la préoccupation de D. de soumettre à une revision sérieuse l'histoire de l'origine des sièges épiscopaux en Gaule et de la formation des provinces ecclésiastiques. La publication de nouveaux documents et le progrès des études critiques exigeraient que le *Gallia Christiana*, malgré tous ses mérites, fût repris et refondu sur un plan nouveau. Les *Fastes épiscopaux* n'ont pas la prétention d'être ce nouveau *Gallia Christiana*, mais ils seraient une contribution de premier ordre à cet ouvrage, comme ils sont un complément indispensable de l'ancien. Quelques-uns des mémoires et articles cités dans les numéros précédents ont été réédités ou refondus dans les *Fastes*. Cf. *R. H. L. R.*, t. I, p. 375 et t. V, p. 270.

- 119 — [Lettre d'U. Chevalier sur les *Origines des églises de France et les Fastes épiscopaux*, *Bull. crit.*, 1896, t. II, 2^e série (t. XVII), p. 173, à propos de l'article Duchesne, *ibid.*, p. 122-131.]

(c) Critique et hagiographie.

Le trait le plus accentué de sa physionomie littéraire est, je crois, sa tendance critique. En vrai descendant de Launoy, encore qu'il se soit souvent défendu d'être un dénicheur de saints, il est prévenu *a priori* contre toute légende. Il est dès l'abord sur la défensive, et si son attitude est celle du doute, c'est un doute agressif. Ce n'était pas, comme on l'a cru quelquefois chez lui, un goût naturel de démolisseur, car on l'a vu plus d'une fois au contraire défendre l'authenticité de

documents attaqués par une critique radicale. Il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'il a démolé sans respect nombre de légendes et de prétendues traditions. Il est possible qu'il ait parfois dépassé la mesure et froissé par le ton de sa critique de légitimes susceptibilités, mais il n'est aucun de ces mémoires où il n'ait porté la lumière et discuté les documents avec une maîtrise rare. Il faut ajouter que la plupart de ses conclusions ont obtenu l'approbation des meilleurs juges en la matière, les Bollandistes, chargés de veiller sur le domaine de l'hagiographie et d'en faire la police. C'est en tout cas dans ces études qu'il a déployé le plus brillamment ses qualités d'investigation, de clarté et de pénétration. Ce Breton, qui n'a rien du lyrisme et de la rhétorique d'un Chateaubriand ou d'un Lamennais, apporte dans cette besogne une causticité et un esprit qui rappellent plutôt Rivarol ou Chamfort, pour ne pas parler de Voltaire à qui ses traits l'ont plus d'une fois fait comparer.

Mais la cause des saints, en dehors des légendes hagiographiques qu'il a défendues, comme celles de sainte Geneviève et des saints du Jura, lui doit l'incomparable mérite d'avoir étudié avec une admirable perspicacité les sources du martyrologe hiéronymien, d'en avoir déterminé la valeur et d'en avoir donné, comme du *Liber Pontificalis*, une édition que l'on pourrait appeler définitive si aucune édition pouvait être considérée comme définitive.

120 — *La passion de saint Denys*, dans *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 1885, p. 31-38.

D. démontre que cette pièce a bien été composée dans le midi de la Gaule vers 800, comme le croyait J. Havet et contrairement à l'hypothèse de Krusch qui place cette passion vers le milieu du VIII^e siècle et lui donne pour auteur un anglo-saxon. Thèse admise par les *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XIV, p. 335.

121 — *La crypte de Mellébaude et les prétendus martyrs de Poitiers*, Melle, imprimerie E. Lacuve, 1885, in-8° de 28 p. Extrait de la *Revue poitevine et saintongeaise*, 15 juillet 1885.

La crypte de Mellébaude ou hypogée des Dunes, découverte à Poitiers, est une chapelle funéraire du VII^e ou du VIII^e siècle. L'hypothèse des 72 martyrs poitevins défendue par quelques archéologues est une pure fantaisie ; les 72 noms mentionnés dans l'inscription ne désignent que les noms des martyrs dont les reliques durent être déposées dans la crypte.

Cette question a donné lieu à une longue controverse à laquelle prirent part Arthur Loth, Dom Chamard, Barbier de Montaut et surtout le P. Camille de la Croix, auteur de la découverte. Nous ne jugeons pas utile de donner les titres de ces mémoires que l'on trouvera dans U. Chevalier, *Topo-bibliographie*, au mot *Poitiers*.

122 — [Lettre du P. Camille de la Croix sur la crypte de Mellébaude à propos d'un entrefilet du *Bull. crit.*, t. VII, 1886, p. 39, dont l'auteur semble être D. La lettre du P. de la C. est au t. VII, p. 76.]

123 — *En quelle langue ont été écrits les actes des saintes Perpétue et Félicité*, Paris, imprimerie nationale, 1891, in-8°, 15 p. Extrait des *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1891.

Contrairement à Harris, Gifford, Harnack, etc., D. croit que le texte grec découvert à Jérusalem par les deux premiers n'est pas l'original, mais une traduction du latin.

124 — *Sur saint Alexis* dans *Bull. crit.*, 1889, t. X, p. 263-266, et t. XI, p. 435, 436 à propos du livre d'A. Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de s. Alexis, l'homme de Dieu*, Paris, 1889. Cf. *Anal. Bolland.*, t. X, p. 483 et *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 1890, t. X, p. 234-250.

125 — *Saint Jacques en Galice*, Toulouse, Privat, 1900, in-8° de 37 p.

Aucun témoignage sérieux en faveur du voyage de saint Jacques en Espagne, avant le ix^e siècle. Le tombeau découvert à Compostelle au ix^e siècle devient le centre du culte de saint Jacques et du pèlerinage.

126 — [*Les sources relatives à la persécution des chrétiens de Nedjran.*]

Dans son mémoire sur cette question présenté à l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres en 1889 et publié ensuite dans la *R. des Études juives*, M. Jos. Halévy s'est efforcé de prouver que les persécuteurs étaient non des Juifs, comme on l'avait toujours cru, mais des Ariens. Duchesne répond à Halévy dans la séance de l'Académie et sa réponse a été publiée dans la *R. des Études juives*, avril-juin 1890, p. 220 sq. Il examine les textes de Procope, de Jacques de Sarug, de Jean d'Asie, de Siméon de Beth-Arsam, qui tous s'accordent à dire que les massacres du Yémen sont imputables aux Juifs. Cette thèse est adoptée par les Bollandistes, cf. *Anal. Bolland.*, t. X (1891), p. 58-59; et t. XIII, p. 169.

127 — *Saint Martial de Limoges*, Toulouse, Privat, 1892, in-8°, paginé 289-330. Extrait des *Annales du Midi*, t. IV, 1892.

Date, origine, autorité de la tradition qui fait de saint Martial le premier missionnaire de Limoges aux temps apostoliques. Découvertes du chanoine Arbellot. Les légendes antérieures au xi^e siècle sur saint M. n'ont aucune valeur historique. Pour les travaux du chan. Arbellot cf. U. Chevalier, *Topo-bibliographie*, au mot *Limoges*.

128 — *Saint Barnabé*, Rome, Cuggiani, 1892, in-8° de 35 p. Extrait des *Mélanges G. B. Rossi*, supplément aux *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'école française de Rome*, t. XII.

Saint B. n'est jamais venu à Rome. L'hypothèse de Lipsius et Harnack que saint B. aurait fondé cette église et que les Papes auraient

fait disparaître cette tradition ne repose sur rien. Le tombeau de saint B. en Chypre, légendes sur saint B. La croyance à l'apostolat de saint B. à Milan ne remonte pas au delà du XI^e siècle.

- 129 — *La vie de sainte Geneviève*, dans *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 54^e année, 1893, p. 209-224 ; à part, Nogent-le-Rotrou, imprimerie Damppeley-Gouverneur, in-8^o, paginé 209-224.

L'auteur de la *Vita* écrivit dix-huit ans après la mort de sainte G. et non à la fin du VIII^e siècle, comme le veut Krusch. La *Vita* est un document historique de valeur.

- 130 — *Sur les saintes tuniques vénérées au VI^e siècle*, dans *Bull. Soc. Ant. de Fr.*, t. LVI, 1897, p. 122-126.

Il y avait au VI^e siècle une sainte tunique vénérée à Germia, en Galatie (la ville est identifiée par D.), dans un sanctuaire des anges ou des archanges ou de l'archange ; et une autre à Safed, colonie juive au nord du lac de Tibériade.

- 131 — *A propos de Jeanne d'Arc*, *Bull. crit.*, t. XV (1894), p. 54-56.

D. réfute en deux pages la publication de Gaston Save, *Jehanne des Armoises*.

- 132 — *La passion de sainte Salsa et la basilique de sainte Salsa à Tipasa* (Afrique).

Lecture en séance publique des cinq académies. Cette étude sur la *Passio* publiée dans le t. I du *Catalogue des manuscrits hagiographiques de Paris*, p. 344-352, est insérée dans les *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1890, p. 116 sq.

Elle est reproduite dans les *Précis historiques*, 1890, p. 523-531.

Sur les fouilles de Gsell et la découverte de la basilique de Sainte-Salsa, cf. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1891, p. 179-185 ; *Bull. di archeologia cristiana*, 1891, p. 25 ; *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XI, p. 469-470.

- 133 — *La légende de sainte Marie-Madeleine*, Toulouse, Privat, 1893, in-8^o de 35 p. Extrait des *Annales du Midi*, t. V, 1893. Cf. *Anal. Boll.*, t. XII, p. 296, 297.

Étude sur les légendes de sainte M.-Madeleine, de sainte Marthe et de saint Maximin et leur culte à Vézelay, à Tarascon, à Saint-Maximin, à la Sainte-Baume. Ces légendes se sont formées du XI^e au XIII^e siècles.

- 134 — *Les anciens recueils de légendes apostoliques*, Bruxelles, imprimerie Polleunis et Ceuterick, 1895, in-8^o de 15 p. Extrait du *Compte rendu du III^e congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Bruxelles du 3 au 8 septembre 1894*, Bruxelles, 1895, p. 67-79.

Les légendes des apôtres et les traditions conservées dans le recueil de Leucius Charinus, dans celui d'Abdias, et dans les catalogues grecs des apôtres ; valeur de ces documents.

135 — *Sur la translation de saint Austremonne*, extrait des *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XXIV, p. 105-114, Bruxelles, 1905, in-8°.

Au sujet de l'article Levillain dans *Le Moyen Âge*, t. XVII, p. 281 qui place la translation en 863; D. maintient que la translation eut lieu sous Pépin le Bref. Critique des documents relatifs à saint Austremonne.

136 — *La vie des Pères du Jura*, *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 28^e année, 1898, p. 3-16; et sous le même titre, dans *Compte rendu du IV^e congrès scientifique international des catholiques tenu à Fribourg (Suisse) du 16 au 20 août 1897*, 5^e section, Sciences historiques, Fribourg, 1898, p. 97-105.

La Vita Patrum Iurensium, malgré les objections de Bruno Krusch, est du vi^e siècle, antérieure à Grégoire de Tours; l'auteur, qui écrivait à Condat, est séparé des saints dont il est le biographe par une seule génération et représente une tradition sérieuse. Cf. aussi *Bulletin critique*, 1897, p. 301, 325, 381, 418, 451, 471.

137 — *In Ægypto. Une fabrique de fausses légendes égyptiennes*, dans *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 37^e année, 1918-1919, p. 179-199.

Sur le texte publié par le P. A. Poncelet dans les *Anal. Bolland.*, t. XXVIII, p. 464 sq. (1909) de trois passions égyptiennes provenant d'un manuscrit de Bobbio. Selon D. ces récits n'ont aucune valeur; ce n'est qu'un plagiat. L'auteur a bâti de toutes pièces une légende sur les noms de martyrs empruntés à des documents hagiographiques antérieurs.

138 — *Les sources du Martyrologe hiéronymien*. Avec préface de M. G. B. de Rossi. Rome, Cuggiani, 1885, in-8°, 48 p., extrait des *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, t. V, 1885, p. 120-160.

Le M. H., ses manuscrits; les sources; le martyrologe oriental, le calendrier, les listes africaines, les additions. Date de la compilation combinant ces éléments, milieu du v^e siècle. Le texte original est perdu. Ce travail peut être considéré comme préliminaire à l'édition (voir le numéro suivant). De Rossi s'est réservé plus spécialement l'étude des manuscrits et leur édition critique; Duchesne a étudié surtout les sources de ce martyrologe.

139 — *Martyrologium Hieronymianum, ad fidem codicum, adiectis prolegomenis, ediderunt Ioh. Bapt. de Rossi et Ludov. Duchesne* (ex *Act. SS. novembris*, t. II), Bruxellis, typis Polleunis et Ceuterick [1894], lxxxii-96 p., in-4°. Cf. *Revue d'hist. et de littér. religieuse*, t. II (1897), p. 438, 439. Voir aussi le numéro précédent sur le partage du travail entre les deux éditeurs.

140 — *A propos du Martyrologe hiéronymien*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XVII (1898), p. 421-447.

Réponse de D. à l'article de Krusch qui avait jugé sévèrement l'édition Duchesne et avait proposé comme pays d'origine Luxeuil, et comme date 627-628. D. distingue entre une compilation italienne vers le milieu du ^v^e siècle, aujourd'hui perdue, et la compilation actuelle faite à Auxerre un siècle et demi plus tard.

141 — *Un dernier mot sur le Martyrologe hiéronymien*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XX (1901), p. 241-245.

D. revient sur cette polémique avec Krusch.

(d) *Liturgie.*

Duchesne ne s'est jamais donné comme un liturgiste de profession. Mais avec son sens réaliste et le goût des antiquités ecclésiastiques qui était en lui, il ne pouvait manquer de s'intéresser à la liturgie. Il ne faut pas oublier de dire aussi que sa piété, très réelle quoi qu'on en ait dit, était surtout liturgique. On a pu relever son goût pour les offices de l'Église, l'émotion qu'il y ressentait parfois et qui perce dans quelques-unes des pages de ses *Origines du culte chrétien*.¹ Ces rites, qu'il a étudiés et décrits avec tant de soin, n'étaient assurément pas pour lui des simples gestes hiératiques sans valeur spirituelle. Néanmoins son bagage liturgique proprement dit se réduit à son ouvrage sur *Les Origines du culte* et à quelques articles. Il est vrai que les notes sur le L. P., ses études sur le Martyrologe hiéronymien et quelques autres mémoires contiennent de nombreuses données qui sont des plus utiles au liturgiste.

Je croirais assez volontiers qu'il a été amené à étudier les livres liturgiques latins par la publication du fameux mémoire de Delisle sur les sacramentaires, en 1886, qui l'avait beaucoup frappé. Nous avons du reste déjà constaté l'influence sur D. du savant que fut Delisle. En tout cas son étude sur les sacramentaires latins fit l'objet d'un cours à l'Institut catholique. De là sortira bientôt son livre des *Origines du culte chrétien*. Dès 1888, au congrès scientifique des catholiques il donne un premier mémoire sur *Les origines de la liturgie gallicane* qu'il reproduira en partie dans son chapitre III des *Origines du culte*.

142 — *Les origines de la liturgie gallicane*, dans *Congrès scientifique international des catholiques, tenu à Paris du 8 au 13 avril 1888*, Paris, 1888, bureaux des *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, t. II, p. 387-396.

Il y combat le système qui fait remonter l'origine de la dualité de

¹ Cf. l'article de J. Guiraud dans *La Croix*, déjà cité, et l'article *Culte et dogmatique* dont l'auteur, J. Houdan, relève le côté poétique et religieux des *Origines du culte chrétien*, *R. H. L. R.*, t. III, p. 184 sq.

l'usage liturgique occidental à la liturgie d'Éphèse. La liturgie gallicane, terme sous lequel il fait rentrer les liturgies mozarabe, celtique, et même ambrosienne, trahit une origine du ^{iv}^e siècle. Ce n'est ni à Lyon, ni à Arles qu'il faut chercher son origine, mais à Milan, et le caractère oriental de cette liturgie a pour cause le passage du cappadocien Auxence, de 355 à 374, sur le siège de Milan. Cf. dans les *Origines du culte chrétien* le ch. III, *Les deux usages liturgiques de l'occident latin*.

143 — *Les origines du culte chrétien. Étude sur la liturgie avant Charlemagne*, Paris, 1889, in-8° de viii-504 p.; 2^e éd., 1898, de viii-534 p.; 3^e éd., 1902, viii-556 p.; 4^e éd., 1908, viii-568 p.; 5^e éd., 1920, viii-574 p.¹

144 — La traduction anglaise, *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution*, translated from the third French ed. by Mrs McClure, S.P.C.K., London, 1903, in-8°, xvi-558 p.; 5^e éd., London, 1919, xx-593 p.

La première édition anglaise et les suivantes contiennent quelques notes et additions de D. A la cinquième éd., D. ajoute un nouvel appendice, le 6^e, sur le mémoire de Dom Connolly, *The so-called Egyptian Church Order*, et quelques autres notes.

Il serait trop facile de remarquer que le livre manque d'unité et ne répond pas au titre qui fut imposé à l'auteur par l'éditeur. Le premier chapitre, intéressant en lui-même, est un hors-d'œuvre. Mais malgré toutes les critiques qu'on ne lui a pas ménagées, c'est un ouvrage capital, qui a fait époque dans l'histoire de la liturgie, ramené l'attention des érudits sur ces questions, et D., avec ses dons extraordinaires de discernement et de clarté, a débrouillé une foule de points obscurs et suggéré des hypothèses fécondes.²

145 — *Sur l'origine de la liturgie gallicane*, *R. H. L. R.*, t. V, 1900, p. 31-47.

Parmi les critiques faites à son livre, D. a voulu répondre à celles de Dom Cagin, *Avant-propos* dans le t. V de la *Paléographie musicale*, Paris, 1896. D. avait ramené les liturgies ambrosienne, mozarabe, mérovingienne et celtique à un seul type; il avait fixé Milan comme centre d'influence de ces liturgies, et essayé de démontrer l'origine orientale de certains caractères des liturgies gallicanes. Dom C. fait rentrer toutes les liturgies latines dans une même famille dont le centre

¹ Pour les additions et changements apportés aux différentes éditions cf. *R. H. L. R.*, t. III, p. 184, et t. IX, p. 180, et notre article : *L'Œuvre liturgique de Mgr Duchesne*, dans *La Vie et les Arts liturgiques*, mars 1923.

² Cf. Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, Oxford, 1918, et nos articles Gélisien et Grégorien, dans le *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, et aussi notre article du *Tablet*, 6 mai 1922.

est Rome et refuse de chercher en Orient l'origine des caractères de ces liturgies. Dans son article, D., tout en cédant sur certains points, maintient son hypothèse.

On peut aussi renvoyer aux numéros suivants de notre liste qui traitent des questions connexes à liturgie : 27, 29, 30 à 49 ; 52, 54, 77, 95, 121.

4° — DISCOURS ET ŒUVRES DE CIRCONSTANCE.

- 146 — *Lettre au directeur du Bulletin [critique] sur le programme du Bulletin critique, Bulletin critique*, t. I, 1880-1881, p. 121-125.
- 147 — *Les jours de la création, ibid.*, t. II, 1881-1882, p. 198-202. Expose l'hypothèse de Mgr Clifford.
- 148 — *Lettre Préface à l' 'Histoire de l'Église' de Funk, traduite de l'allemand par l'abbé Hemmer*, t. I, Paris, 1891.
- 149 — *Charles Graux* (article nécrologique), *Bull. crit.*, t. II, 1881-1882, p. 356-358.
- 150 — *Discours* [éloges de Xavier Mossmann, du chanoine Cagny, de l'abbé Eug. Bernard, etc.], dans *Bull. Soc. ant.*, t. XXXVIII, 1894, p. 58.
- 151 — *J. B. de Rossi*, dans *Revue de Paris*, 15 oct. 1894, p. 719-730.
Expose les résultats des travaux de Rossi et lui reconnaît le mérite d'avoir établi scientifiquement la chronologie et la topographie des Catacombes. Son rôle politique et religieux à Rome.
- 152 — *Institut de France. Académie des Sciences morales et politiques. Funérailles de M. Geffroy . . . le 17 août 1895*. Discours de Léon Say, de Himly et de l'abbé Duchesne. Paris, imprimerie de Firmin Didot, 1895, in-4°, 13 p.
- 153 — *Auguste Geffroy* [1820-1895], par L. D., *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.*, 15^e année, 1895, Rome, p. 141-153. Sur la carrière scientifique de Geffroy.
- 154 — *Sur la mort de Samuel Berger*, signé L. D., *Bull. crit.*, 1900, t. VI, 2^e série [t. XXI], p. 400.
- 155 — *Edmond Leblant*, article nécrologique, dans *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.*, t. XVII (1897), p. 491.
- 156 — *Berthold Zeller et Paul Fabre*, article nécrologique, *ibid.*, t. XIX (1899), p. 145-147.
- 157 — *E. Müntz*, article nécrologique, *ibid.*, t. XXII, 1902, p. 467.
- 158 — *Guillaume Haats*. Un mot sur G. H., éditeur romain, *ibid.*, t. XXV (1905), p. 155.

- 159 — *Lettre Préface* dans Jules Haize, *Une commune bretonne pendant la Révolution. Hist. de Saint-Servan de 1789 à 1800*. Saint-Servan, J. Haize, 1907, in-8° de xi-285 p.
- 160 — *Allocution prononcée par M. l'abbé Duchesne* [au mariage de M. Maurice Besnier]. Caen, imprimerie Vallin ; 1899, in-16, 10 p.
- 161 — *Allocution prononcée au mariage de M. Paul Gruson et de M^{lle} Madeleine Collignon, le 8 juillet 1902, dans l'église de Saint-Séverin, par Mgr D.*, Paris, imprimerie Dumoulin, 1902, in-8°, 10 p.
- 162 — *Allocution prononcée à l'école Saint-Charles de Saint-Brieuc, Nouvelliste de Bretagne, 21 juillet 1910.*
- 163 — *Institut de France. Académie française. Discours prononcés dans la séance publique tenue par l'Académie française pour la réception de M. (sic) Duchesne, le 26 janvier 1911, in-4°, 59 p., avec portrait.*
- 164 — *Institut. Académie française. Discours prononcés dans la séance publique pour la réception du général Liautey, le 8 juillet 1920. Réponse de Mgr Duchesne. Cf. La documentation catholique, 14 août 1920, p. 101-107.*

ADDENDA

Monuments du culte chrétien : Cuvette de fontaine et jambage d'autel. Cet article de Duchesne contenu dans : *Collections du musée Alasui publiées sous la direction de M. R. de la Blanchère*, 1^{re} série, 1890, Paris, Didot, format atlantide, va de la p. 45 à la p. 50.

L'origine du livre bleu, dans *Compte rendu du V^e congrès scientifique international des catholiques*, München, 1901, in-8°. Duchesne, p. 55-60, y étudie les dossiers des donatistes, celui d'Athanase, celui d'Hilaire et quelques autres qui peuvent être considérés comme les antécédents des livres bleus. Cf. sur cette conférence *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique de Louvain*, 1900, t. I, p. 577.

La première collection des décrétales dans *Atti del II^o congresso internazionale di archeol. crist. in Roma nell' aprile 1900*, in-8°, Roma, 1902, p. 159-162.

Le Palatin chrétien dans *Nuovo bull. di archeol. crist.*, 1900, t. VI, p. 17-28 ; et *Lettre à Mgr de Waal* dans *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1904, t. XVIII, p. 39, à rapprocher du n° 42 de notre bibliographie.

Le nombre des Papes dans *Miscellanea di storia ecclesiastica e studi ausiliari*, novembre 1903, p. 3-8.

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ST JEROME AND THE VULGATE NEW TESTAMENT.

III.

§ 11. *The Vulgate N.T. is the Work of a Single Author.*

WE have now arrived at two very curious and very important characteristics of St Jerome. It was well known that as a commentator he was free, inconsistent, amassing all sorts of incongruous and even unorthodox material, so that the results are of ever varying value.

I. But we have now seen that he is just as wild in his quotations from Scripture. Sometimes he uses his own versions, exactly or freely; sometimes he quotes from memory, or makes a new translation. While regularly exalting the *Hebraica veritas* above the Greek, he continually quotes from the LXX. He is so inconsequent that one cannot prophesy that a new version from the LXX in one column will not be followed by a new version from the Hebrew in the next, while either may be adulterated by reminiscences of the Vulgate.

II. On the contrary, in correcting the New Testament he keeps, as far as possible, to St Damasus's directions, and introduces new readings only where the Greek obliges him to do so. But he makes a number of small improvements, to which I have not had occasion to draw attention in this paper. I used to suppose that having corrected the Gospels and Acts with great care, St Jerome had slurred over the rest of the New Testament. I see now that this hasty opinion was unfounded. The variety of readings in the Gospel codices was enormous; the 'Western' interpolations in Acts necessitated radical operations; but in the Epistles the variations in the Greek were small, the Old Latin variants were neither numerous nor important. Far less alteration was necessary, and what alterations St Jerome actually made, he made with extreme caution and even timidity. I see no signs of haste or superficiality, only of reverence for a traditional text, of fear of malignant criticism, and (especially) of deference to the wishes of his deceased patron, Pope Damasus.

I am assuming already that St Jerome revised the whole New Testament. It is time to give the proofs. They are of overwhelming strength.

The data are simple enough :

1. The 'Vulgate' New Testament is a revision of the whole New

Testament—Gospels, Acts, St Paul, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse—which has come down to us in an incomparably vast number of manuscripts. It was, in all these five portions, a revision of versions which existed before it in considerable variety. Its own varieties are due mainly to the infiltration of older readings. It is as definite a text as the Vulgate Old Testament.

2. It is also homogeneous; for in every part it is a revision of the older text according to the Greek, and according to Greek manuscripts of a particular type, viz. the 'Neutral' \aleph B family.

3. It has come down to us in the same streams of traditions, the same great families of codices—only that the MSS of the Gospels are enormously more numerous.

4. It is beyond question all of much the same date.

Consequently, were it proved up to the hilt that Pelagius was all that he was not—a great textual scholar, a Hellenist, an explorer of manuscripts, a student of readings, a critic of Latin renderings—that his commentary (published before 410) was upon a pure Vulgate text—that Prologues, certainly by him, were prefixed to all Vulgate MSS of St Paul—one would still hesitate before admitting that the revision of the Apostle was due to him. For the question would arise: Who revised Acts? Who revised the Catholic Epistles? It would be difficult enough to have accepted Pelagius and St Jerome as authors each of a part. But that three or more authors, working on the same lines, with the same methods, revising according to the same type of Greek MSS,¹ should have produced three or more homogeneous revisions of

¹ This is denied by Dom D. De Bruyne with regard to the Catholic Epistles (in a review of Père Vosté's Commentary on Ephesians, in *Rev. Bénéd.*, Oct. 1921, p. [4]). He refers to Harnack's *Zur Revision der Prinzipien der N. T. Textkritik*, 1916, in *Beiträge z. Einl. in das N. T.* vol. vii, pp. 117–130. Now it is true that Harnack concludes that St Jerome revised only the Latin style of the Catholic Epistles, scarcely, if at all, referring to Greek MSS. But is Harnack right? I take as a test the first chapter of 1 Peter, and I choose two excellent examples:

1 Pet. i 16: *estote r* (Freising fragm.) Hier. (c. Jov.) Gildas Spec (sitis Spec Θ)
eritis Vulgate

$\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ K P *al pl*, $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ L *al*²⁵ Theoph Oec syr^{ch} sah cop arm
 $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\theta\epsilon$ \aleph A B C 5 13 36 37 65 66** 133 137 etc. syr^p aeth Clem.

1 Pet. i 22: *per spiritum* Vigil Gildas Spec.

om per sp. Vulgate

$\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ K L P *al pl* aeth Theoph Oec

om $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \pi\nu.$ \aleph A B C 13 27 73

Now Harnack is witness that the Latin text usually agrees with K P &c.; in these two cases the O.L. goes with K P, and the Vulgate has been revised according to \aleph A B C. I turn to Harnack's discussion of the readings, and I find that he has not

three or more divisions of the New Testament, and that these three or more portions should have become the homogeneous whole which we know, and should have come down to us in one great tradition—this would be so improbable *a priori*, that one would have been inclined to put aside the most convincing proofs about Pelagius until something could be discovered as to the reviser of Acts and the rest, and some hypothesis (at least) could be suggested to account for the union of the parts in one dominant whole, which conquered and utterly destroyed all pre-existing versions.

But Pelagius is fortunately out of the question. There is no other claimant for St Paul; there is no claimant at all for the other portions,—except, of course, St Jerome.

It is admitted that the Gospels are by St Jerome. We are perfectly free to attribute the whole of the homogeneous revision to the same reviser. It is the obvious thing to do. I believe I have removed the only objections that could be raised.

5. Tradition is unanimous. Until the few rather hasty modern critics, not a voice was ever raised to suggest that St Jerome did not revise the whole New Testament. The victorious career of the Vulgate is entirely due to the fact that it was universally believed in early times to be a revision carried out by the most learned of Western Doctors at the bidding of Pope Damasus. It is true that the Old Latin did not immediately expire, and that St Gregory the Great at the very end of the sixth century declared that the Roman Church used the old version

noticed either of these cases! Yet he has discussed the other curious readings in i 22, where the Latin copies have *caritatis*, except St Jerome (*c. Iov.*) and the Luxeuil lectionary, which gives *ueritatis* with the Greek. (Why St Jerome left this blunder in the Vulgate, I cannot explain, as *ἀγάπης* does not appear in any Greek MS.)

Further, Harnack's principal argument is based on a claim, that the Bobbio St James is pre-Hieronymian, and represents the Old Latin text which St Jerome employed for his revision. It is far more probable that the Bobbio codex has an Old Latin text largely contaminated by the Vulgate; and St Jerome's revision did not consist in taking a single MS and revising its grammar, but in choosing the best readings and renderings out of several O.L. MSS. Consequently I am not impressed by the reference to Harnack, for I regard his study of the Catholic Epistles as exceedingly interesting and suggestive, without being on most points either complete or convincing. Our knowledge of the O.L. of the Catholic Epistles is very small, and more knowledge of the Vulgate MSS is needed. The best witnesses to the Vulgate are G and F. It is curious that F, which is half O.L. in St Paul, should be the best MS of the Catholic Epistles. It is the only Latin MS. so far as I know, which omits 'deglutiens mortem, ut uitae aeternae haereditas efficeretur' in 1 Peter iii 22, a passage which is found in no Greek MS. But G has only 'deglutiens mortem ut uitae heres esset', so I presume that its archetype had the words illegibly added in the margin. This is a remarkable case of the best Vulgate MSS agreeing with the Greek, against all other Latin authorities.

as well as the new.¹ In theory, yes. But even from St Jerome's time onwards, pure Old Latin is not often to be found for the N.T. We have Vulgate, impure Vulgate, and mixed Old Latin and Vulgate, but no longer a rival Old Latin. The Vulgate triumphs early, and eventually triumphs completely.

6. And behind this tradition we have absolutely definite and categorical statements by St Jerome himself, that he revised the whole New Testament.

Did he mean what he said? Was he a boaster and a liar? Yes, it is said: he claimed to have translated the Old Testament when he had only completed three-quarters of it. I propose to shew that this notion is founded on a false reading in the MSS of *De uiris illustribus*.

§ 12. *Digression on the Textual Criticism of St Jerome's 'De uiris illustribus'.*

For in Vallarsi's, Bernouilli's and Richardson's editions of *De uiris illustribus* St Jerome is made to say, cap. 135: *Nouum Testamentum Graecae fidei reddidi; Vetus iuxta Hebraicum transtuli*. (Richardson gives *Hebraicam*, without citing MS authority.)

As in 392 St Jerome had only translated some two-thirds of the Old Testament, Vallarsi could argue that we are not forced to believe he had revised the whole of the New.

It has been generally inferred that St Jerome is here boasting of what he has not performed, and that the claims he makes are to be taken *cum grano salis*, to say the least. This is grossly unfair, so far as other passages about his own works are concerned; for he is everywhere careful to say exactly how much he has written, and even whether he has worked hurriedly or with conscientious care.

It is therefore not astonishing to find that the words *Vetus iuxta Hebraicum transtuli* are omitted by the best MSS, and by Herding in his edition (Teubner 1879). They seem to be quite certainly an interpolation.

As Richardson's edition is generally followed, it is unfortunately necessary to say something shortly about the text of *De uiris illustribus*. Herding followed the (probably) oldest MS, the upper writing of a well-known Vatican palimpsest, and therefore gave a good text. Bernouilli

¹ The victory of the Vulgate O.T. over the O.L. was very doubtful up to St Gregory's time, for the prejudice in favour of the LXX was very strong; but according to the extant evidence, the conquest was practically complete from St Gregory onwards. This almost sudden change may have been due to St Gregory's influence, for his own commentaries are on the Vulgate. The N.T. was on a different footing; it was not a new translation, but merely the last and best of many competing revisions, and it was partially or wholly adopted at an early date.

(1895) gave a fairly similar text, with collations of the four oldest MSS. Richardson describes about a hundred codices, and divides them into families. Having chosen nine for collation (viz. the seven oldest, and two of the tenth century to represent a different strain of text), he gives a selection of their readings in his *apparatus criticus*, and a few more of their readings in his Preface. This regrettable practice of giving only select readings which the editor thinks interesting is, alas, too common.¹ But the discussion in Richardson's Prolegomena is full enough to enable the patient reader to gather that his text is based on wrong conclusions.

Putting aside the tenth-century MSS, C and H, his other seven MSS fall into two groups. He follows 31, *a* and *e*, of which 31 (Montpellier) is eighth-ninth century, *a* is at Munich (ninth century), and *e* is a Bobbio MS of the eighth-ninth century at Vienna. The other group is older. It consists of T (Vatican) sixth-seventh century; close to it in readings is 25 (Verona, early eighth century, but De Rossi thought it by the same hand as another Verona MS dated 517), and close again is 30 (Vercelli, seventh-eighth century). T 25 30 form a group with which A is closely connected (Paris, sixth century, according to Delisle, Bernouilli, p. xviii). The group A T 25 30 comprises the four codices used by Bernouilli. It is well that Richardson should have added the independent witness of *a* 31 *e* and C H. But it is astonishing that he should have arrived at the conclusion not only that Vallarsi was wrong to base his text on 25, and Herding to base his on T, and Bernouilli equally wrong to base his text on T A 25 30, but that where T 25 30, or even A T 25 30 are against the remaining MSS, their reading is always to be rejected, while *a* 31 may be right against all the rest. Surely any one family or sub-family might conceivably contain a right reading against all the rest! Not only can we never know what readings an early codex may have received from some MS with which its writer (or the owner of its archetype) compared it, but we have to realise that *plausible* readings are propagated with extraordinary ease. Further, it would seem that all our oldest MSS are derived from an early archetype which absurdly read *Pertinace* for *Nerua principe* in cap. ix, *Carinum* for *Caricum* in cap. xli, Antionitas (Anthionetas) in lxii, *omnimodam historiam* and *eruditissimos commentarios* in cap. lxxxi (where the noni-native is wanted). All the older MSS contain Gennadius's continuation

¹ Hilberg tells us in the Vienna edition of St Jerome's letters (1910, p. vi), of which he has so greatly improved the text: 'Integram lectionum farraginem a me enotatam ut nimis prolixam salubribus lituris macrescere iussit Augustus Engelbrecht, cuius prudenti iudicio debetur, quod hoc uolumen non in maiorem etiam ambitum creuit.' I hope that Herr Hilberg will overlook Engelbrecht's injudicious advice, and consent to print separately the interesting *farrago* which will permit his readers to exercise their own judgement. But he has given a large apparatus as it is, whereas Richardson's is scanty.

as well as Jerome. But while 25 and 30 are closely related in the text of Gennadius as well as of Jerome, and are therefore presumably derived from a parent later than Gennadius (c. 490), on the contrary, T has a different text of Gennadius, so that the archetype of A T 25 30 was very likely pre-Gennadian. Similarly in Gennadius, 31 *e* form a group with T, to which *a* does not belong, for it agrees rather with 30 25. So the archetype of *a e* 31 for St Jerome was probably also pre-Gennadian. Consequently the archetype of all the seven was presumably of the fifth century, and perhaps not much later than St Jerome.

1. A T 25 30 have a certain number of omissions *propter homoeoteleuton* :

xi De natura et inuentione liber unus	<i>om.</i> A 25 30
xi De tribus uirtutibus liber unus	<i>om.</i> A T 25
xi De ebrietate duo	<i>om.</i> T 25
lxxx Quatuor, Ad Seuerum epistularum libros duos, Ad Demetrianum auditorem suum epistularum libros	<i>om.</i> A 25 30 (<i>Gk.</i>)
cxxxv De locis librum unum	<i>om.</i> T 25

and some other careless omissions :

ix et uidimus	<i>om.</i> T 25 30
ix per ordinem	<i>om.</i> T 25 30
xxii usque	<i>om.</i> T 25 30
xlili Caesareae	<i>om.</i> T 25
lxxxvi Constantino et	<i>om.</i> 25 30

also some wrong readings :

xxxv chrismate (<i>for</i> schismate)	A T 25 30
lxv + qui usque hodie extat	25 30 (<i>Gk.</i>)
cxxii ordine (<i>for</i> opere)	T 25 30

These errors establish the close relationship. Notice that 25 is wrong every time. It looks as if the other MSS had been more corrected than 25, and that it preserves the errors of its ancestors with peculiar and admirable faithfulness. By a paradox, its persistence in error makes it our safest guide.

But the same MSS witness to the true reading where the other family, *a e* 31, has received emendation, for they frequently omit words like *liber*, *uolumen*, *epistola*, which have been interpolated by a corrector. I bracket the words omitted :

vi Epistolam . . . quae inter apocrypha(s) [scripturas] legitur (<i>Gk.</i>)	<i>om.</i> T 25 30
vii inter apocryphas [scripturas] computemus (<i>Gk.</i>)	<i>om.</i> T 25 30
viii [librum] super eorum conuersionem scriptis (<i>Gk.</i>)	<i>om.</i> T 25 30
xi et de uita nostrorum [liber] de quo supra diximus (<i>Gk.</i>)	<i>om.</i> T 25 30

- xxxviii meminit . . . [uoluminis] Tatiani Adv. Gentes
 (Gk.) om. T 25
 lxxi scripsit [epistulam] Ad Fabianum (Fabium 31,
 al) (Gk.) om. T 25 30
 lxxv in xii Proph. xxv ἐξηγήσεων Origenis [uolumina]
 manu eius exarata repperi (Gk.) om. A T 25 30
 cxxxv haec scripsi : uitam Pauli monachi [epistularum]
 Ad Diuersos librum unum (Gk.) om. T 25

These plausible emendations have percolated twice into 30, but never into T 25, whereas A has all but one. It is clear that T 25 (and especially Vallarsi's revered 25) have best preserved the readings of the archetype A T 25 30, whether wrong or right.

Here are some more corrector's emendations which have not contaminated T 25 :

- ii Origenes *ceteri* (Gk.) Adamantius A T 25 30
 vii Lucam non solum ab Apostolo [Paulo] didi-
 cisse (Gk.) om. T 25 30
 xv Apostolus [Paulus] ad Philippenses scribens
 (Gk.) om. 25 30
 xviii quid Aristion . . . et Iohannes loquebantur *multi*
 (Gk.), loquantur A 25 30 C
 xix ualde utilem *ceteri* (Gk.), ualde necessarium T 25
 xxix inflatus eloquentiae tumore *ceteri*, elatus el. tum. T 25 C (Gk.)

Paulus is not wanted. *Loquantur* is true to Papias (Euseb. *HE.* iii 39), but the corrector did not understand. *Valde necessarium* looked odd; *elatus tumore* is a mixed metaphor, and clamoured for emendation.

Another emendation is in cap. iv 'Iudas, frater Iacobi' (from Jude i 1) for 'Iudas, frater Domini', T 25 30 (Gk.) with Eusebius. The corrector (and Richardson) misunderstood cap. ii, where Jerome explains that he prefers to take *frater Domini* to mean 'cousin' rather than half-brother. I have found in Richardson's sparse apparatus a number of other readings where T 25 are almost certainly right. But in all the cases I have quoted, Richardson has rejected the reading of T 25. It seems to me that, in spite of their obvious mistakes (the other MSS have as many and more) they are far the best MSS, and that Vallarsi, Bernouilli, and Herding were more successful in restoring the true text than Richardson, with all his laborious work.¹

¹ I have added (Gk.) to the readings above, in order to shew that the Greek version of Pseudo-Sophronius is almost invariably with the bulk of the MSS against T 25. (a) It has one of the omissions only (lxxx). (b) It has xxix *usque hodie exstat*, which looks like a marginal note by an editor; and it is in the wrong position in the Latin. (c) For xxix *elatus eloquentiae tumore* it gives τῷ ὀργῇ τῆς παιδείας ἐπαρθεῖς. (d) It recognizes the correct *frater Domini* in ii. In every other case the Greek sides against T 25. It was translated from a copy already corrected and interpolated.

Let us turn to cap. cxxxv, where St Jerome enumerates his own works. We have already seen one wrong reading (*om. de locis librum unum*, T 25) by *homoeoteleuton*, and a right one (*om. epistularum*, T 25); in both cases it is probable that T 25 have preserved the reading of the archetype of A T 25 30. One reading in this chapter, *Captivum monachum*, is actually adopted by Richardson (rightly, without doubt) on the authority, one gathers, of T 25 *e*.¹ But he reads *In Lucam homilias triginta nouem*, whereas T 25 30 have *Origenis* after *homilias*, against the rest of the MSS and the Greek. Some corrector seems to have struck out *Origenis*.² In 392 St Jerome would certainly not have claimed the homilies as his own, and translation is easily understood, as the preceding item was a translation from Didymus. In the Preface to Jerome's Commentary on Micah, Bk. ii, written in this same year, immediately before the *De uiris ill.*, he is proud of his versions of Origen: 'Nam quod dicunt Origenis me uolumina compilare, et "contaminari non decere" ueterum scripta, eandem "laudem ego maximam duco"'. (The quotations are from Terence). I do not doubt that T 25 have the right reading, for they are almost wholly free from the conjectures of correctors.

Consequently, the omission by T 25 of 'Vetus iuxta Hebraicum transtuli' is, on purely textual grounds, almost certain to represent the reading of the archetype of A T 25 30, the other two MSS having been corrected. On the other hand it was natural to insert other books of St Jerome into this list. Cod. 25, so clearly uncorrected in Jerome, has in Gennadius inserted the whole of Possidius's *indiculus* of St Augustine's works into cap. xxxix on that Father. In our chapter, H has added *quaestionum Hebraicarum et traditionum in Genesi*, while C and most cursives and the Greek add *aduersum Iovinianum libros duos, et ad Pamachium apologeticum et epitaphium*, from St Jerome's preface to his commentary on Jonah. But the translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew was Jerome's most famous work; it was obvious to add it to the list, and the interpolation, once added to an early edition, would be copied into every family; for every corrector would (like Richardson) presume an omission in his text. Consequently Herding was perfectly right to expunge the words.

I note, finally, that those who use Richardson's apparatus in order to quote St Jerome, should beware of the readings of *a*, where that codex

¹ The MSS give several variants. The Greek has τὸν βίον ἀρχιμαλῶτου μοναχοῦ.

² For the tendency to alter or omit heretical names, compare the phenomena in many MSS of Palladius (ed. Butler, vol. ii p. lxxxv), where (amongst other substitutions) the name of Origen, the economist of St Pambo, is regularly changed! In the present case, respect for St Jerome would suggest the omission of *Origenis* as a blunder or a libel.

has been corrected according to Eusebius. Richardson has regularly been deceived by the plausibility of these corrections, just as in the similar cases I have noted above.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO § 12.

This section was written long before the appearance of Fr Feder's article in *Biblica* (i p. 500, Rome 1920): *Zusätze zum Schriftsteller-katalog des hl. Hieronymus*, where information is given about a Bamberg MS of the *de uiris illustribus* of the beginning of the sixth century. Fr Feder considers it to be the oldest extant. I hope he will soon publish some further information, as it will be interesting to know whether it connects itself with the families already known. I am sorry I cannot agree with his suggestion that St Jerome made frequent additions to the last chapter of his catalogue, though the idea is in itself probable, and had naturally occurred to me in connexion with the addition *Vetus . . . transtuli*, a passage of which Fr Feder makes no mention.

He notes that there are two forms of the addition at the end of the last chapter: the first gives only *c. Iouin.* and *Apol. ad Pammach.*, the second adds *et epitaphium*, and omits the introductory words *item post hunc librum dedicatum*. The common view has been that these are two incomplete forms of a single interpolation, borrowed from the Preface to the Comm. on Jonas. But that Preface gives the *de optimo genere interpretandi ad Pammach.* (Ep. 57) as well as the *apologia*, and the *ad Nepotianum* as well as the *epitaphium Nepotiani*. One would therefore conjecture that the original form of the interpolation commenced *item post h. l. d.* and gave all these books. It is interesting therefore to find the *ad Nepotianum* added to this in the Bamberg codex, together with the mention of the commentary on Jonas, and that on Abdias which was published together with it, thus (l. c. p. 505):

(Form iii). *Item post hunc librum dedicatum* in Iona lib. i, in Abdia lib. i *contra Iouinianum haereticum lib. ii et apologeticum ad Pammachium ad Nepotianum lib. i* EPITAFIUM eiusdem Nepotiani prbt lib. i.

The words italicized are identical with Form i; EPITAPHIUM belongs to an excerpt, which we call Form ii: *aduersus Iouinianum libros duos et ad Pammachium apologeticum et Epitaphium*. This short Form ii is actually found in the greater number of the very numerous MSS, e.g. out of seventeen Vatican MSS, I have found it in twelve.

But Form ii very often indeed appears with the addition *sed et epistolam ad Dextrum suprascriptam, contuli*, e.g. in five out of twelve Vatican MSS. We may as well call this 'Form iv'. It is not mentioned by Fr Feder until p. 511, as he does not attribute it to St Jerome. Now the oldest MS he quotes for Form ii is of the tenth century, and

he adds three of the fourteenth and fifteenth, whereas for Form iv he gives one of the eighth, one of the ninth, as well as two of the tenth. This might have suggested to him that iv was the original, the unnecessary mention of the dedicatory letter to Dexter having very naturally been omitted by ii.

But a consideration of Form iv shews that it gives the explanation of the strange expression of Form ii-iii: *item post hunc librum dedicatum*. Why *dedicatum*? Why 'after this book was dedicated', and not 'after this book was written'? The answer is evident: the interpolator has taken into account the fact that a dedicatory letter is written after the completion of the book which it accompanies; consequently the next work of St Jerome to be enumerated is the dedicatory letter to Dexter, no doubt the very next thing he wrote after completing the last chapter of the book. Therefore it has to be mentioned before the *ad Iouinianum* and *ad Pammachium*: 'Next, after the dedication of this book, on Jonas one book, on Abdias one book, . . . and the above-mentioned letter to Dexter'.

Consequently I am inclined to look upon the four forms as relics of an addition, which I restore thus, putting parallel with it the passage of St Jerome from which it appears to be taken.

Praef. ad comm. in Ionam.

Triennium circiter fluxit, postquam quinque Prophetas interpretatus sum, Michaelam, Naum, Abacuc, Sophoniam, Aggeum; et alio opere detentus, non poteram implere quod coeperam: scripsi enim Librum DE ILLVSTRIBVS VIRIS, et *aduersum Iouinianum* duo uolumina: *Apologeticum* quoque et *de optimo genere interpretandi ad Pammachium*: et *ad Nepotianum*, uel *de Nepotiano* duos libros, et alia quae enumerare longum est.

de Vir. ill. cxxxv fin.

Scripsi praeterea in Mich. . . in Soph. . . in Naum . . . in Abacuc . . . in Aggaeum. Multaque alia de opere prophetali, quae nunc habeo in manibus, et necdum expleta sunt. EXPLICIT.
[Item, post hunc librum dedicatum, in Iona lib. i, in Abdia lib. i, contra Iouinianum haereticum lib. ii, et *Apologeticum ad Pammachium* [de optimo genere interpretandi ad Pammachium,] *ad Nepotianum* lib. i, *epitaphium* eiusdem *Nepotiani* prbt. lib. i, sed et epistola ad Dextrum superscripta. CONTULI.]

I assume that *de optimo . . . Pammachium* fell out by *homocoteleuton*. The only part worth copying was continually copied, viz. Form ii; in *Iona* and in *Abdia* were omitted, because they were included in the *opus prophetale* mentioned by St Jerome. The parallel with the Comm. on Jonas is very close. The mention of the book *de uiris illustribus*, and the remark that after three years St Jerome had not been able to complete the minor prophets, would necessarily suggest to a critical

reviser the advisability of adding to ch. cxxxv the books here enumerated. This has been the usual explanation of Form ii until now, though Martianay and Vallarsi admitted it to the text.

But Fr Feder suggests that Forms i, ii, and iii are additions made by St Jerome himself in 'dedication copies', in the years 393-394, 396-397, and 406 respectively. I do not know what 'dedication copies' may be. 'Presentation copies' one understands; but if a book was once dedicated to Dexter, then *praefectus praetorii*, how could it be 'dedicated' again in successive years to other people?

As to Form iii, that of the Bamberg MS, it adds after the *epitaphium Nepotiano presb. lib. i* (omitting the letter to Dexter) a list of twenty-four more works of St Jerome, the latest of which is of 406. But it seems quite impossible to attribute this catalogue to St Jerome himself.

1. Because St Jerome is most careful to give his writings in chronological order, whereas the list is all higgledy-piggledy. The dates of the writings are: 395, 395, 392, 392, 394, 396, c. 398, 396, before 402, 395, 395, 382 (!), 396, 395, after 400, 392, 401, 398, 392, after 386, after 389, before 406, 406, 392, 399, 401, 399, 397, 402, 406.

2. Because the list is incomplete. St Jerome might in 406 have left out his translations of Origen's homilies on Isaias and of the rule of St Pachomius, but he would hardly have omitted his version of *de Principiis* (398), still less his laboriously polished renderings of the letters of Theophilus, or their dedicatory epistles (396, 398, 404), or even the letter of St Epiphanius (Ep. 51, 394). The list does not contain such important works as *ad Fabiolam de xii mansionibus* (Ep. 78, 399), and *ad Eustochium de morte Paulae* (Ep. 108, 404). If Fr Feder is right in identifying no. 17, *item ad Pammachium* with Ep. 84, and no. 23 *ad Vigilantium pbtm.* with Ep. 61, then the short but not unimportant books c. *Ioann. Hierosol. ad Pammachium* (398-399) and c. *Vigilantium* (406) are not in the list.

3. Because No. 20 *ad Marcellam ex nomine Paulae, de sanctis locis* would hardly have been counted by St Jerome amongst his own works, though he certainly wrote it himself.

4. Because the lists probably overlap that of *de uiris illustribus*. No. 12, *ad Damasum episc. Romanum*, is identified by Fr Feder with the Preface to the Gospels *Nouum opus*, but this is extremely unlikely. The only letters to Damasus not actually mentioned in St Jerome's list are 15 and 16, very early letters, which were no doubt included in the book of letters *ad diuersos*, and have therefore already been mentioned. If we suppose that a lost letter is intended, it is indeed astonishing to find St Jerome adding in 406 to his list of 392 a work composed before the death of Damasus in 384!

5. Because No. 10 *ad Furiam de uirginitate seruanda* is a blunder due

to a confusion between Ep. 22 (*ad Eustochium de uirginitate seruanda*—so several MSS) and Ep. 54 (*ad Furiam de uiduitate seruanda*), though it must be admitted that the slip *might* be due to a scribe.

The list has apparently been made up by some admirer of St Jerome out of MSS known to him. He did not happen to know the commentaries on the Major Prophets or the books against the Pelagians, so that the list has the air of stopping at 406. But it is so incomplete that such omissions have no significance.

Fr Feder goes on to attribute some other additions to St Jerome himself.

The only one of these which has any appearance of probability in its favour is in ch. lxxxi: *Contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribebat in Sicilia, ut quidam putant, libri uiginti quinque*. Here some MSS read for *libri uiginti quinque* the words *libri triginta, de quibus ad me tantum uiginti peruenerunt*. A few years later (between 399 and 403) St Jerome wrote (Ep. 70, 3): 'Eusebius et Apollinaris uiginti quinque et triginta uolumina condiderunt' against Porphyry. It seems obvious to conjecture that the true reading is the longer one, and that *libri uiginti quinque* was a correction (possibly in its origin a mere marginal note) made by a scholiast who had noted the *uiginti quinque* in Ep. 70. But some further study of the MSS is needed before one can put forward such a conjecture with confidence. The words are in the Greek translation, but in few MSS.

The other interpolations attributed to St Jerome are wholly improbable. That he should have added *oppidum Italiae* after *Concordiae* in ch. liii, or be answerable for omitting *nunc praefectus praetorio* after *Dexter Paciani* in the table of contents at a date when Dexter had ceased to hold this office, are not likely suggestions. When we are told that St Jerome himself omitted by mistake the words *item Coloni de paenitentia* (ch. lxix) in writing out Eusebius, but added them in a subsequent 'dedication' copy, our credulity is still more seriously tried. For the passage runs thus: *ad Laodicensis de paenitentia, item ad Cononem de paenitentia*, and the omission in many MSS is an ordinary case of *homoeoteleuton*. We should even be astonished did it not occur in some codex or other.

§ 13. *St Jerome is always accurate and sober in enumerating his own Writings.*

St Jerome's works are very numerous. It is generally possible to determine in what order he wrote them, and in what year, from his own statements. We can discover the dates of his translations of various books of the Old Testament. His letters have nearly all been arranged in the order of their composition. When he speaks of his age he is not

always to be trusted, as he is sometimes inclined to exaggerate his years, to speak of himself as an aged man, when we might think him in late middle age; and when looking back to his youth he seems to exaggerate his youthfulness at the date he is recalling. This makes it difficult to determine the date of his birth. But in determining the dates of his writings we do not encounter these difficulties. And he is accurate as to amount. He usually mentions the number of books in each work. He complains of the labour they cost him; he is proud of the care he took in translating the Old Testament; yet he frankly says in his Preface to his version of Tobit: 'unius diei laborem arripui', and in his Preface to Judith 'huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi', for he only gave a few hours to these tasks, to please his friends.¹

I cite, as a good example of Jerome's careful accounts of his work, the last written of his prefaces to his commentaries on the minor prophets. It is addressed to Pammachius (A. D. 406):

'Praepostero ordine atque confuso duodecim prophetarum opus et coepimus, et Christo adiuuante, complebimus. Non enim a primo usque ad nouissimum, iuxta ordinem quo leguntur, sed ut potuimus, et ut rogati sumus, ita eos disseruimus. NAUM, MICHAËAM, SOPHONIAM et AGGAEUM, primo φιλοπονотάταις Paulae eiusque filiae Eustochio πρωτεφώνησα: secundo in ABACUC duos libros Chromatio Aquileiensi episcopo delegavi: tertio, post longi temporis silentium, ABDIAM et IONAM tibi imperanti edisserui: praesenti anno, qui sexti consulatus Arcadii Augusti et Anitii Probi fastis nomen imposuit (406), Exuperio Tolosanae ecclesiae pontifici ZACHARIAM, et eiusdem urbis Mineruio et Alexandro Monachis MALACHIAM prophetam interpretatus sum. Statimque recurrens ad principium uoluminis, OSEE et IOEL et AMOS tibi negare non potui. Et post grauissimam corporis aegrotationem, dictandi celeritate ostendi temeritatem meam' etc. (*In Amos lib. iii Praef.*)

The first five were published in 392, for in the preface to Jonas (already referred to) he said (in 395):

'Triennium circiter fluxit postquam quinque prophetas interpretatus sum, MICHAËAM, NAUM, ABACUC, SOPHONIAM, AGGAEUM; et alio opere detentus, non potui implere quod coeperam: scripsi enim librum *De illustribus uiris*, et *Aduersum Iovinianum* duo uolumina, *Apologeticum* quoque, et *De optimo genere interpretandi* ad Pammachium: et *Ad Nepotianum* uel *De Nepotiano* duos libros, et alia quae enumerare longum est'.

So in 395 he is careful to explain that he had as yet commented on only five of the minor prophets, just as in 406 he tells us that it was only 'after a long silence' that he started on the sixth. In the Preface *Iungat epistola* to the Vulgate Solomon he explains that illness has pre-

¹ So in the Pref. to his Comm. on Matt., he insists on the hurry with which he had to dictate it.

vented his writing the commentaries on Osee, Amos, Zacharias, and Malachias, which Chromatius and Heliodorus were demanding. These two bishops paid St Jerome's secretaries and scribes (*notarii* and *librarii*). But the writing of *De uiris illustribus* was the first cause of the delay. In the last chapter (cxxxv) of that work he tells us that he had only commented on the five, but meant to get on with the rest. I transcribe the last part of the chapter, restoring the true text :

De Spiritu Sancto Didymi, quem in Latinum transtuli, librum unum,
In Lucam homilias Origenis triginta nouem,
In Psalmos a decimo usque ad sextum decimum tractatus septem,
Captiuum monachum, Vitam beati Hilarionis,
Nouum Testamentum Graecae fidei reddidi,
Epistularum autem *ad Paulam et Eustochium*, quia cottidie scribuntur,
 incertus est numerus.

Scripsi praeterea *In Michaeam* explanationum libros duos, *In Naum*
 librum unum, *In Abacuc* libros duos, *In Sophoniam* librum unum,
In Aggaeum librum unum,
 Multaque alia de opere prophetali, quae nunc habeo in manibus, et
 necdum expleta sunt.

This is very frank and detailed. He carefully explains that he has written *tractatus* on seven Psalms only, and mentions which. He would give the number of letters to Paula and Eustochium, if he could.

His letter to the Spaniard Lucinus (so Hilberg with MSS, not Lucinius), Ep. 71, written in 398, is still more to the point. Lucinus had sent six scribes to Bethlehem to copy all that Jerome had written from his youth up (Ep. 75. 4); but he wanted copies of some works which were non-existent :

'Porro Iosephi libros et sanctorum Papiæ et Polycarpi uolumina *falsus ad te rumor pertulit* a me esse translata; quia nec otii nec uirium est, tantas res eadem in alteram linguam exprimere uenustate. Origenis et Didymi *pauca transtulimus*, uolentes nostris ex parte ostendere, quid Graeca doctrina retineret. Canonem Hebraicae ueritatis, *excepto Octateucho*, quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis describendum dedi—septuaginta interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito—et ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatum, studiosis tradidi. *Nouum Testamentum Graecae reddidi auctoritati*. Ut enim ueterum librorum fides de Hebraeis uoluminibus examinanda est, ita nouorum Graecae sermonis normam desiderat.' (Ep. 71. 5).

I have italicized a few passages. We see here why St Jerome had to be so meticulously careful in the enumeration of his writings; it is because so many were ascribed to him which he had not written, and he was worried to give copies of non-existent works.

He does not shew himself a boaster. He does not vaunt that he has published Josephus and Polycarp and Papias in Latin; he does not claim to have translated a great quantity of Origen; he is particular in

explaining that he has not finished the Octateuch, though in fact he had already done a portion of it. We cannot doubt that he is sincere when he asserts that he revised the LXX¹ and the N. T., and that he means to be understood of the whole of both.

Were it otherwise, he would have been a liar, and a fool as well as a liar—and he was far from being a fool. *We are asked by the critics to believe that, while he is correcting a false and annoying rumour that he had translated books which he had not translated, with the same pen and on the same paper² he is propagating a false rumour that he has translated other books which he had not translated!* Why, Lucinus's copyists were on the spot; Lucinus was expected shortly at Bethlehem in person; he would be sure to ask for a copy to be made of this new recension of Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse (for if St Jerome is lying, Lucinus cannot have possessed one already),—and how is Jerome to get out of it? Why, the readers all over Christendom of that most popular book, *De uiris illustribus*, would clamour for copies of this (till then unheard of) revision; Bethlehem would be overwhelmed with letters from publishers and booksellers and friends and unknown correspondents, and the recluse would have had to explain and explain that he had only been talking big, and there was nothing to copy.

But in fact the list of writings in the *De uiris illustribus* was just as careful not to say too much. It does not mention the revision of the LXX, for most of it had been destroyed³; it had been a laborious work and St Jerome was proud of it, but he could not mention it, as he would be bored by requests for copies. It does not mention the translation of the O. T., although in the preceding chapter (134) we are told of Sophronius of Bethlehem: 'opuscula mea in Graecum eleganti sermone transtulit: Psalterium quoque et Prophetas quos nos de Hebraeo in Latinum uertimus.' It is only from this passage that we know that St Jerome had translated the Prophets and the Psalms as early as 392. But he seems not to have cared for his translations to be circulated much, except among his friends,⁴ until the whole should be finished, probably

¹ He seems also to mean the whole of the LXX, *adv. Ruf.* i 24. Cp. also Preface to Hebrew Psalter.

² To avoid captious criticism by the unlearned reader, I will note that at this date it was still considered rude to write a letter on parchment. Paper was always used. The pen, however, was probably in the hand of St Jerome's secretary, not in his own.

³ 'Pleraque enim prioris laboris ob fraudem cuiusdam amisimus,' *Ep.* 112. 19.

⁴ He writes in 393 to Pammachius: 'Libros sedecim Prophetarum, quos in Latinum de Hebraeo sermone uerti, si legeris, et delectari te hoc opere conperero, prouocabis nos etiam cetera clausa armario non tenere. Transtuli nuper Iob in linguam nostram; cuius exemplar a sancta Marcella consobrina tua poteris mutuari. Lege eundem Graecum et Latinum, et ueterem editionem nostrae translationi compara: et liquido peruidebis quantum distet inter ueritatem et mendacium.'

because he wished to reserve to himself the power of still making alterations. Finally, the list does not mention the Roman or the Gallican Psalter.¹

Why then does the list include the revision of the N. T., except because it was published to the world and widely known? Its very position in the list shews that the Gospels alone are not meant. The Gospels appeared in 384, and their place in the list would have been among the works published while St Jerome was at Rome.

§ 14. *St Jerome published his revision of the whole New Testament in 391.*

It is thus certain that St Jerome twice declares that he revised the New Testament, and that on both occasions he makes this declaration in the course of giving a detailed and precise list of writings. The list in the *De uiris illustribus* is strictly chronological. We can therefore quite simply determine the year in which St Jerome published to the world his completed revision. The dates of the preceding and following works are certain enough :

Origen on Luke, translated	389
Lives of St Malchus and St Hilarion	390
NEW TESTAMENT	?
Letters to Paula, still being written	392
Comm. on five minor Prophets	392

Miseram quaedam τῶν ὑπομνημάτων in Prophetas duodecim sancto patri Domnioni, *Samuilelem quoque et Malachim*, id est quatuor Regum libros' (Ep. 48 [49]. 4). So St Jerome kept some finished translations in his cupboard. Probably Job was in the cupboard, for it was clearly not on sale, although Marcella had been allowed a copy. Samuel and Kings were apparently the first books to be translated, yet they may have been in the cupboard still, and only communicated to friends. The Prologue to them is a 'helmeted Prologue', it complains of 'barking dogs', and it begs the reader not to pass judgement on the translator till he has first read and studied the version : 'Lege ergo primum Samuel et Malachim meum : meum, inquam, meum,' etc. One may infer, perhaps, that some translations had been carped at already, probably having been communicated in the first place to friends. We must compare the story of St Jerome's translation of Origen's Περὶ Ἀρχῶν (Ep. cxxiv). He sent a copy, the only one made, to Pammachius in 399. The latter shut it in his desk, *reclusit scrinio*, but a friend borrowed it, and lent it to others. St Jerome tells Paulinus (Ep. 85) in 400 to borrow it from Pammachius, 'a supradicto fratre *poteris mutuari*', the same words he used about Job to Pammachius. In 409 he had a second copy made for Avitus (Ep. 124). MSS of Ep. xlviii (the *Apologia ad Pammachium* of 393) give an interesting glimpse of some scribe at Bethlehem correcting his text from St Jerome's original, '*cursim contulimus Bethlem*' says K (Epinal 68, eighth century), which is repeated in another form : '*emendauit in Bethlem*' by Π (Reichenau MS at Turin, 49, ninth century).

¹ The date of the Gallican Psalter is not known, but it is commonly placed before 392, and before the translation from the Hebrew.

The lives of the captive monk and Hilarion are placed in 390, on the strength of this list, by Vallarsi, &c. The early part of 392 must have been wholly occupied by the five commentaries and work commenced on other prophets.

Hence it seems that we can hardly be wrong in placing the N. T. in 391, four years after the commentaries on St Paul, and seven years after the appearance of the four Gospels alone.

I fear the reader of this article may think I have argued with an unnecessary amount of detail. But the conclusions at which we have at length arrived are of such great importance for the revision of the Vulgate, that I have tried to make every point as clear as possible. Supposing the revision of the New Testament to have been made by several different authors, or to have been published at various times, or even to have passed through two or three successively corrected editions in the case of St Paul's epistles, or simply to be later than St Jerome's time, the whole question of restoring the text of the revision would be perturbed. If there were several revisers (as Corssen and De Bruyne have thought) we should have to learn the character of text preferred by each. If the parts were published at different dates, the genealogies of families of MSS would need to be treated in a different way. If the Vulgate St Paul was a third edition of Pelagius, it would be from fifty to a hundred years later than 391, and the earliest manuscripts would be far nearer to the original. I believe that the history of the texts makes such hypotheses impossible; and if research proceeded on the basis of such hypotheses, I imagine the whole subject would be involved in an inextricable tangle. The fact that St Jerome revised the whole with one method and published the result together, as a single book with one Preface to the whole, must simplify the history of the text of the N. T., the Gospels apart.

No less important, in my opinion, is the conclusion that St Jerome exercised great care and great restraint in revising St Paul, that he really collected a number of varying Latin texts, and was anxious not to introduce a new translation wherever any old reading would serve. This necessarily throws a light on his method of revising the Gospels.

It was the opinion of Bishop Wordsworth and Mr White when they published St Jerome's text (most judiciously restored) with the text of the *codex Brixianus* (*f*) printed below it, that the latter codex represents the Old Latin text on which St Jerome based his revision. I have always regarded *f* as a semi-Vulgate text. Mr Burkitt argues that it depends on the Gothic version. Prof. Souter has shewn that for the Parable of the Prodigal Son in Ep. xxi (A. D. 383) St Jerome used a codex resembling the Vercellensis (*a*), and he suggests that it is this type of text which lies behind St Jerome's revision.

I venture to disagree. I think St Jerome really did what he professes to have done in his letter *Nouum opus*. When Newman proposed to revise the Douai version of the Bible, he collected a number of editions of the English versions, Protestant and Catholic, and the volumes may be still seen on the shelves of the Edgbaston Oratory. Similarly, St Jerome seems to have collected a number of codices of the Gospels and of the rest of the N. T., and to have 'sat in judgement' upon them, as St Damasus had required. I do not think we can say that *a* or *f* dominates in the result. But many difficulties are explained by St Jerome's shyness in introducing new readings which were not supported by any of his MSS. And possibly the variety of codices on St Jerome's shelves supplies a partial explanation of the startling variety of his quotations in his later writings: he used any volume which came to hand, when he did not simply trust to memory.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

Note.—I am sorry that in my article in the number for Oct. 1922, on p. 44 I accused Père Cavallera of having committed a 'serious blunder'. I see that on the following page of his article (p. 284) he admits that St Jerome, in commenting on St Paul, did occasionally correct the Old Latin text which he used as a basis. Consequently there is no difference between his view and mine; we agree that St Jerome corrected, but not very often. This is also the same as Corssen's view! But I do not now understand what Père Cavallera meant on the previous page (p. 282 of *Bulletin de Littér. Ecclés.*, Toulouse) by saying: 'St Jérôme ne revendique JAMAIS la paternité de cette version qu'il commente'; the JAMAIS in small capitals is rather misleading in the context, as it seems to exclude the *nos posuimus* which Père Cavallera actually quotes on p. 284 from the Comm. on Eph. He has not expressed himself clearly; but I am glad that his enormously laborious enquiry has led to the same result as I have reached.

NOTES ON ST LUKE'S PREFACE,
suggested by reading the second volume of Foakes-Jackson and
Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity*.

I

THE view that Theophilus was a Christian in the making, and that in Luke i 4 *κατηχήθης* referred to formal instruction, or at any rate to favourable representations of the Faith, has no doubt had great influence on the general interpretation both of Gospel and Acts. The theory put forward in this volume, and more elaborately defended by Dr Cadbury in an article in the *Expositor*, June 1921, that Theophilus was a Roman official and the information he had received hostile, would, if accepted, have still greater influence. It would lead us to look everywhere for traces of an apologia not only in the Acts, where many have found them quite apart from this theory, but in the Gospel above. It is because I have not seen since the publication of the volume and article any careful discussion of this interpretation of *κατηχήθης* that I have ventured to add one more item to the vast body of criticism which has grown up round the word.

The argument is, of course, primarily founded on the hostile use of *κατηχεῖσθαι* in Acts xxi 21 and 24, and, before I go further, I would point out a fact which is ignored by Dr Cadbury, but discounts, I think, slightly, the probability of the theory. Luke does not use *κατήχησις* as an equivalent for *κατηγορία*.¹ He uses it in these two passages, which are virtually a single context, of a popular outcry, much like the classical use of the very similar word *καταβολή*. The moment we get to an accusation addressed to the Roman authority, *κατηγορία* or *ἐγκλημα* is substituted.

To digress for a moment to the general use of *κατηχεῖν*, *κατήχησις*,²

¹ I use the nouns because of the awkwardness involved in the different constructions of the two verbs.

² Dr Cadbury's note on *κατηχήθης* p. 508 is misleading, as he takes no notice of *κατήχησις* which is found much earlier and cannot be separated. Dr Burton's note on Gal. vi 6 is much better and leaves little to be desired. But I should like to note that his (and others) interpretation of *κατήχησις τῶν ἰδιωτῶν* in Hippocrates 28 Foes. (perhaps the earliest place where the word occurs, for there is said to be some reason for thinking that this treatise (*παραγγελίαι*) is an early if not genuine Hippocratican document) seems to me doubtful. It is taken to be the physician's advice or instruction to his patient. But an earlier passage (26) seems to me to suggest that it may mean what the common talk of outsiders tells the physician. The passage is exceedingly obscure.

I have a strong suspicion that the original meaning of the word drawn from the intensive *κατά* and the forcible *ἤχειν* is never quite lost, and that this prevailing notion is *insistence*. The insistence may lie in reiteration by a single person, or in the concurrence in a statement by a number of people, or again in a single emphatic statement by a single person. From the first we get the scholastic idea of instruction¹ which certainly appears in four passages of the N. T. From the second we have such passages as those quoted above from Acts, and the remarkable Stoic usage attributed both to Cleanthes² and Chrysippus,³ where *ἡ κατήχσις τῶν συνόντων* is coupled with *αἱ πιθανότητες τῶν ἔξωθεν πραγματειῶν ἢ φαντασιῶν* as one of the forces which pervert character.⁴ Here it seems to mean the ideas which are inculcated into a young man by what he hears from those around him. I have examined all the passages quoted in Stephanus and Wettstein,⁵ and find none where this idea of insistence is not possible, though in some it may not be necessary. I should add that it is natural enough that when it is used of statements in common circulation, the context should often suggest the idea of vague or even erroneous information, an idea which some have thought to be inherent in the word itself. The Ancients were quite familiar with the idea that Fame with her innumerable tongues was a lying jade.

I have said that this non-equivalence of *κατήχσις* and *κατηγορία* only slightly discounts the theory, for we might still suppose Luke to mean that the Roman official had heard some unfavourable reports. I go on to what is the main argument alleged, just indicated by the Editors on

¹ Rutherford *Chapter in the history of annotation* p. 31 rather positively says that the scholastic sense is the original one. The teacher makes the class 'ring out' in chorus the answers to his questions. If so the generalization would be like that of our own 'lesson', and the still more remarkable 'scan(d)'. In a recent note in the *Classical Review* (Aug.-Sept. 1922), I have suggested that the word *declamatio* for the oratorical exercise, which was the central feature in the Latin rhetorical schools—an odd word because it bears no relation to its Greek equivalent *μελετή*—may have been originally a translation of *κατήχσις*, the term which described the lesson as a whole coming to be used for its most prominent element.

² Diog. Laert. vii 89.

³ *Galen de plac.* Hipp. v 5.

⁴ Evidently this is the use which we find in Cic. *ad Att.* xv 12 when discussing the probable attitude of the young Octavius after Caesar's death, he puts on the unfavourable side 'quid aetati credendum sit, quid nomini, quid haereditati, quid *κατήχσει*?' The passage is noteworthy, as the appearance of the word in a Latin letter indicates a familiar use. It has been translated there 'education', but something more general is needed.

⁵ All the examples quoted by commentators come, I think, from one or other of these two sources. To them we may add one from the papyri mentioned by Moulton and Milligan s.v. where *κατήχῃσεν* is used of the client 'instructing' the advocate.

p. 179, and elaborated by Dr Cadbury in his article in the *Expositor*. It rests on the association of ἀσφάλειαν with κατηγοήτης in the Gospel as compared with that of ἀσφαλές with a word of accusation in the Acts. Here are the four passages concerned:

- Luke i 4 ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηγοήτης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. Acts xxi 33-34 ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη καὶ τί ἐστὶν πεποιηκώς. ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλο τι ἐπεφώνουν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ· μὴ δυναμένου δ' αὐτοῦ γινῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές διὰ τὸν θόρυβον ἐκέλευσεν κτλ.
- xxii 30 τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον βουλόμενος γινῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές τὸ τί κατηγορεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλυσεν αὐτόν.
- xxv 26 περὶ οὗ ἀσφαλές τι γράψαι τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἔχω· διὸ προήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὑμῶν . . . ὅπως . . . σχῶ τί γράψω· ἄλογον γάρ μοι δοκεῖ πέμποντα δέσμιον μὴ καὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ αἰτίας σημῶναι.

From these three passages in Acts, Dr Cadbury concludes that 'everywhere in Luke's writings ἀσφαλές is used of definite information sought in connexion with an accusation', and the inference is that the same idea is involved in the Gospel passage. He seems to me to have neglected a vital point. In all the three Acts passages τὸ ἀσφαλές is not the answer to the question 'what is the truth about the accusation?', but to the question 'what is the accusation?'. Possibly there may be some hesitation about this at first sight in the case of the first passage, but only at first sight. If we see a man hustled by a mob, and ask what he has done, we do not expect τὸ ἀσφαλές with regard to the justice of the charge, we expect it as to what they *say* he has done. In the second case it is obvious, and hardly less so in the third. Festus did not wish to send a judgement on the facts on which the emperor could give sentence, but an intelligible case for him to investigate.

If we applied this association to Luke i 4, what results should we get? We should have to suppose that Theophilus in his official capacity has received some vague reports about the *flagitia cohaerentia nomini* such perhaps as *odium generis humani*. He wants definite information as to what is really alleged and Luke will give it him. What would it be? I suppose if the book was dated in the Neronian period, Theophilus might expect statements as to how and where they had fired the city. If in a later period, accounts of the 'overturning of lamps,

promiscuous intercourses and feasts on human flesh'. I need not carry this further. It seems to me obvious, that if we take τὴν ἀσφάλειαν to mean definite information as to the vaguely reported λόγοι, it follows that as we know the former to be favourable, the latter are favourable also. If it is replied that it does not mean 'definite information' so much as 'the real truth about the λόγοι' (i. e. that they are false), this is conceivably possible, but at any rate it gets no confirmation from the alleged association.

It may, however, be worth while, assuming that the λόγοι are favourable, to enquire whether τὴν ἀσφάλειαν περί can mean 'definite information about'. Though it is not very important, there will still be some difference from the accepted interpretation. According to that interpretation, Theophilus has had full information of the story, but the Gospel will convince him of its truth. According to the other his information has been vague and imperfect, the Gospel will make it definite and complete. It may perhaps be thought that this last is more reasonable. The Gospel, it may be said, gives no further reason for believing the Christian story, but it gives a complete or apparently complete version of the story. Something like this is said by Prof. A. R. Ropes in an article quoted by Dr Cadbury with approval, though it does not appear to endorse his view that the κατήχησις was unfavourable. The argument does not seem to me convincing. Though the Gospel is no doubt addressed to the general reader, this particular sentence is addressed to Theophilus. Luke observes (1) that the story comes from αὐτόπται, (2) that he has given it the degree of care (whatever it may be) indicated by παρηκολούθηκόντι, &c., but behind these there is (3) the unspoken assumption that Theophilus knows enough of Luke to be sure that given these first two factors, the story may be believed. 'I heard it from the people who actually saw it and I examined their statements most carefully' may not be good evidence for the law-court, but it is cogent enough from a friend.

I should regard the choice between the two renderings as evenly balanced, if I could resolve one doubt which tells in favour of the traditional view. Dr Cadbury and his colleagues assume without question that ἡ ἀσφάλεια is the same as τὸ ἀσφαλές, that the abstract can be used for the concrete. Now it is true that the neuter adjective can regularly be used for the abstract noun, but I do not know that the converse can be assumed. No doubt it is true with regard to some and, probably, many words. Thus ἡ ἀλήθεια can be used for the thing which is true, as well as for the truthfulness or reality of the thing. Is ἀσφάλεια one of these words? I think our writers may have been led to overlook this question by the fact that 'certainty' is in English one of the abstract words which can be used concretely. We can say

'this fact is a certainty'. We cannot say 'this course is a safety' or 'a security', though we can use the last word concretely in technical legal senses. If we examine the examples of ἀσφάλεια in Stephanus, we shall find, I think, that out of about a hundred perhaps five may be described as concrete or semi-concrete. We have (1) ἐν ταῖς ἀσφαλείαις balanced against ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις by Isocrates. (2) and (3) Polybius uses ἀσφάλεια twice for a fortification or military shelter. (4) Hesychius gives it as a synonym for κλεῖθρα 'locks'. (5) Epictetus uses it for a written guarantee, and this is also found in the papyri v. Moulton and Milligan, s.v. In the last four cases the extension is from the condition of safety or certainty to that which affords such safety, not to that which possesses it. There does not seem to me then to be any direct authority or much analogy for supposing that γινῶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν περὶ λόγου can mean 'to know what are the real facts' or 'to get definite information about a story'. On the other hand, unless the logical objection noted above has real weight, there seems to be absolutely no objection to the usual rendering, which takes γινῶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν λόγου to mean 'to know the certainty or trustworthiness of a story'.

II

I pass now to a point of wider interest, a point indeed, as it seems to me, of great importance. It is contained in the notes on αὐτόπται and the surrounding words, pp. 498 ff. The suggestion put forward may, I think, be summarized as follows. Since the Hellenistic historians are governed by 'rhetorical ideas', and as the claim to αὐτοψία was a 'rhetorical commonplace' with them, we may attach a 'rhetorical' significance to the word in Luke's preface. Further as παρακολουθεῖν does sometimes imply an intimate connexion with the events 'we must leave the possibility open that the writer is claiming for himself actual presence and participation in the events described'. Putting these two together we have suggested to us that Luke is making a 'rhetorical' claim to αὐτοψία.¹ To find what is meant by 'rhetorical' we have to turn to the essay on the 'Greek tradition of writing history' by the Editors and Dr Cadbury, pp. 7-15. Here the thesis is elaborated that the Greek tradition of history is dominated by 'rhetorical' considerations, and though the term is still vaguely and loosely used, it is clear that it conveys to the writers mainly that idea of insincerity which we now usually associate with the word. That remarks of a similar tendency have been made by many distinguished

¹ If I understand the writer aright, it is also suggested that even if παρακολουθεῖν is not taken in this way, and Luke is merely saying that the story came from αὐτόπται, we must still discount his veracity on the grounds of the 'rhetorical' associations of the word.

scholars I do not deny, but they appear to me to be largely founded on a confusion between the ancient and the modern meanings of the term. I have written on this subject at length elsewhere, and here a very few points must suffice.¹

Greek and Latin rhetoric is simply a careful and elaborate formulation of the laws of effective speech based on a study of the earlier oratorical models. Of the rules and principles laid down by the rhetoricians the great majority are still accepted by those who aim at effectiveness whether on the platform, in the pulpit, or at the bar, or indeed in essays or lectures. The difference is that we follow the principles more or less unconsciously, or at least have not reduced them to a system. They, on the other hand, spoke by rule, and possibly for that very reason less effectively. But they knew why they spoke, and not only the speaker, but every intelligent hearer, could refer each effect to its cause.

Side by side with the rhetoric of the schools we have, of course, the rhetorical exhibitions of the Sophists, which had so enormous a vogue. This popular rhetoric, though based on the teaching of the schools, had to some extent to accommodate itself to a less precise taste. It dealt of course largely with fictitious situations, and when as so often it worked on historical themes it was natural that the speaker (though I do not remember any definite instances) should allow himself the liberty which historical novelists to-day, and dramatists at all times, have taken. It is possible, no doubt, that this imaginative aspect of rhetoric may have had an adverse influence on serious history. But it can hardly be assumed. We ourselves do not seem to think that the vastly increased output and circulation of fiction under which we live, has damaged our powers of historical criticism. On the other hand, the careful study of rhetorical theory in the schools probably had a considerable influence on historiography. But to understand what that influence was, it is necessary to study what the rhetoricians taught, not to jump at vague conclusions founded on the modern meaning of the term.

Rhetoric was primarily concerned with oratory, in which must be included the 'epideictic' form of discourse which corresponds most closely to our essay or lecture. But the orator had frequently to state a series of facts, and thus had a department *narratio* (διήγησις) which in form as the rhetoricians recognized was akin to history. It is here that we can best find a departure for the rhetorical conception of history. The main law of *narratio*, that it should be *brevis* (i. e. not periodic), *lucida*, *verisimilis* (i. e. consistent and convincing), belongs at any rate to a range of ideas very different to those tendencies which our writers

¹ In a paper called 'Some considerations as to the influence of rhetoric upon history', published in the *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, 1917.

suppose to have been fostered by rhetoric. In *dispositio* (οἰκονομία or τάξις) also rhetoric could contribute much to history, and Dionysius's *Critique of Thucydides* contains a valuable example of such an application. In *elocutio* (φράσις), outside the department of *narratio*, not so much was to be learnt, for history *narrat*, oratory for the most part *probat*,¹ and Cicero, Quintilian, and Pliny, all dwell on the vital difference between the two in this respect. All these facts have been much obscured to others besides our writers, by a complete misconception of the position of Cicero, who moved on the one hand by his admiration for history as the 'testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis',² on the other, by his idealization of the orator as the 'vir bonus, peritus dicendi' declared that history was 'opus unum oratorium maxime';³ i. e. a great speaker or writer can have no nobler subject than history—a remark which is twisted by our authors into 'history is akin to oratory, and therefore its principles are the same'.

Adopting this view of rhetoric and voicing the opinions of certain German authors, the writers proceed to tell us that 'instead of accuracy the purpose of ancient historians tended to make the form the chief point of emphasis'. A general statement of this kind cannot be either proved or refuted. Even if we have sufficient evidence to shew that the general standard of accuracy amongst Hellenistic historians is low,⁴ we have no right to conclude that it is because they cared for accuracy less than form. There are many passions and weaknesses far more fatal to historical accuracy than a taste for style. 'Novi semper scriptores', says Livy in what is next to Luke's the most famous of historical prefaces, 'aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt'. The historian wishes to tell the truth, and he wishes to make the truth interesting. As the former is more difficult than the latter nothing is more common than the observation that truth has been sacrificed to charm. Thus Macaulay, in the preface to the *Lays*, says this of Hume, as others in their turn have said it of Macaulay. I seem to have seen something of the kind said of Froude, and even of Gibbon, when he gets away from de Tillemont. Our writers observe that Polybius brings this charge against Timaeus and Herodian against his predecessors. What of it? Surely it only proves that both Polybius and Herodian believed that they themselves

¹ Quintilian x 1. 31.

² *De Or.* ii 36.

³ *De Legg.* i 5.

⁴ There are certainly many gibes in classical literature at the mendacity of historians including Herodotus: see a number collected by Mayor on Juv. x 174 ('quidquid Graecia mendax Audet in historia'). Is this body of disbelief to be taken at its face value, or should we rather say that such a sceptical spirit makes for careful historical criticism? Observe that the particular 'fiction' spoken of by Juvenal—the Athos canal—has been vindicated by archaeology.

‘certius aliquid adferunt’, and that this is more important than ‘rudes arte superare’.

At any rate the historians did not learn this preference of *verba* to *res* in the rhetorical schools. There the superior importance of εὐπερίαι, the provision of the material, to φράσις or its clothing in language, was a paramount doctrine. Quintilian devotes to the former twice as much space as to the latter. Nor, so far as I know, would historians learn any such principles from critical writers outside the rhetorical schools. It is extraordinary¹ that our authors should quote for their argument Lucian’s words in his *How to write history* comparing the historians to artists like Phidias or Praxiteles, and thus leave the reader under the impression that Lucian is one of those who make ‘form instead of accuracy the chief point of emphasis’. Who would have guessed from this that Lucian had written a little before?

‘Charm is an improvement, if it follows naturally, as beauty is to an athlete . . . , but so long as history holds fast to its proper purpose (τὸ ἴδιον), the setting forth of the truth, it will trouble itself little about beauty’ (§§ 12, 13).

And again—

‘This alone is the purpose of history, and he who starts to write it must sacrifice to no god but truth, and his standard and guide must be to look not to those who hear him now, but to those who will study his writings in future times’ (53).

Once more :

‘Such let my historian be, fearless, free, impartial, the friend of frankness and truth . . . one who does not consider what this or that will think, but tells us what actually happened. . . . As we have laid down frankness and truth as his aims in the sphere of thought, so too in language his first great aim must be to state his facts clearly and plainly, with words that are neither abstruse nor vulgar, so that the multitude may understand and the educated commend’ (54, 57).

But I must now pass on to the special application of this charge of rhetorical artificiality to Luke’s preface. The claim to αὐτοψία we are told had become a ‘rhetorical commonplace’ amongst historians.

Now it is probably the case in all ages that historians who can claim personal knowledge of the events they describe are glad to bring this claim to the notice of their readers. Possibly this may be unusually common with Greek historians, and if it is I should be disposed to say that rhetorical training had something to do with it. That is to say, having been trained in the schools to base their practice on the old masters, they would naturally carry this on to history, and finding that

¹ Possibly the explanation may be that H. Peter (*Wahrheit und Kunst* p. 431) uses the passage in the same way.

the two great models, Herodotus and Thucydides, laid stress on their personal knowledge, would do the same where possible. But clearly Dr Cadbury and the Editors mean more than this. They have made the usual jump from the ancient to the modern meaning of rhetoric, with its vague trail of insincerity. It may, indeed, be granted, that where value is assigned to *αὐτοψία* or close personal acquaintance, there may be some temptation to invent or exaggerate such claims. Whether any or many of the Greek historians succumbed to this temptation, I will not presume to say, but I certainly want much better evidence than Dr Cadbury supplies, before I accept the suggestion that such invention was really widespread. We are told that the claims of Diodorus, Josephus, Aelian, and Philostratus to 'eyewitness-ship' are suspicious, and reference is given to Peter *Wahrheit und Kunst* p. 426. When I turn to Peter, I find a few words in justification of the charge against Diodorus. Diodorus (who did not of course claim to have been an eyewitness of events, nearly all of which happened before his birth, but to have travelled widely to acquaint himself with the topography) is alleged to have borrowed his statement from Polybius.¹ There are certainly some resemblances in the two parallel passages.² But the argument seems to me very inconclusive. If Diodorus did travel for this purpose, nothing is more natural than that his language should be reminiscent of his great predecessor in identical circumstances. In the case of the other three all that Peter says is 'Ich stehe auch der Berufung auf Augenzeugen bei Josephus, Älian, Philostratus'³ misstrauisch gegenüber', and no reasons or references are

¹ Peter refers also to Wachsmuth *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte* p. 82. Wachsmuth supports the charge of 'Umschreibung' from Polybius by a statement that Diodorus shews not the slightest trace of topographical knowledge, an argument, which no doubt may have considerable force, but requires verification. The article in Pauly-Wissowa supports this generally, but makes an exception in favour of Egypt.

² The passages are Diod. i 4; Polybius iii 59. The references are not given by Peter, and one of them wrongly by Wachsmuth. The most definite resemblance is that both writers speak of meeting *κινδύνους καὶ κακωαθείας*.

³ I can make no sense of Dr Cadbury's words which clearly imply that Philostratus claimed *eyewitness-ship*. The few passages in the *Vitae Sophistarum* in which he gives personal reminiscences are quite beyond suspicion, I think. Peter, I imagine, referred to the old question whether the memoirs of Damis, on which Philostratus claimed to base his *Vita Apollonii* ever existed—a part really of the wider question whether he intended a religious romance or a real biography. Though the case is not properly analogous to those of Diodorus and Josephus, whom every one would admit to have been historians according to their lights, it may come in a sense under the head of 'Berufung auf Augenzeugen'. Has Dr Cadbury misunderstood the last word to mean 'eyewitness-ship' instead of 'eyewitnesses'? I ought to add that I should 'leave the possibility open' that Dr Cadbury has better evidence than this. But if so he should have indicated what it is.

given. Thus the suspicions of Dr Cadbury apparently resolve themselves into the unsupported suspicions of H. Peter.

But even if it should be shewn that these claims to *ἀποψία*, or other special knowledge, are in many cases fallacious, I should be slow to speak of the practice in general as a 'rhetorical commonplace', or as it is elsewhere called 'a literary artifice'. Such terms can only be applied when there is a convention amongst writers, if not amongst readers, that the statement is not to be taken as serious or literally true, and such conventions are only retained when they serve some further purpose. Thus an elaborate claim to eyewitness-ship is often employed very effectively in fictitious narrative, as for instance in *Gulliver's Travels*. Such, again, is the convention by which speeches, which were never actually delivered, were regularly inserted in historical works. This convention had been more or less sanctioned by Thucydides, and it held its ground because it enabled the writer to represent in a form attractive to that age what he believed to be the thoughts and feelings of the actors in the various scenes. That Luke availed himself of this convention in the speeches in the Acts seems to me quite possible. But I fail to see what purpose a 'conventional' claim to eyewitness-ship in what purports to be sober history can serve. If it ceases to ensure credence, it has no *raison d'être*. If I am told that it had no purpose—that writer after writer inserted it because it was the fashion, as we begin letters by 'Dear'—then I think it is an unsupported libel on both the seriousness and the literary ability of the age.

The utmost, then, that we can say is that a training in rhetoric and a study and observation of historical practice may have contributed to move Luke to put in the forefront of his narrative a statement as to his sources of knowledge, and his claim must be judged on its merits. If that claim really is that he himself was an eyewitness of the events in the Gospel, it is manifestly false and bungled to boot. For he has managed to give the vast majority of his readers the impression that he does *not* assert eyewitness-ship. If the claim is, as we have generally understood, that he had been in touch with the *αὐτόπται* and had carefully observed what they said, then it must be judged by what we conclude otherwise as to his date, accuracy, and sincerity. And it is not a whit affected for better or worse by the fact that he lived in a 'rhetorical' age, an age, that is, in which the 'ars bene dicendi' was the staple of education, and was more highly valued by the general public than it has been in subsequent times.

F. H. COLSON.

THE LOGOS OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

THAT there is a literary affinity between the Pastoral Epistles and those which are generally accepted as Pauline no one doubts. But it is still argued by competent authorities that this dependence is due to identity of authorship. Leaving this question entirely on one side, we may gain some light upon it by considering whether or not there is any literary dependence on the Johannine literature.

The expression 'to know the truth' is a purely Johannine mode of describing faith. It occurs with verb *ἐπιγινώσκω* in 1 Tim. iv 3, and with the noun *ἐπίγνωσις* in 2 Tim. ii 25, iii 7, Tit. i 1.

The use of *φανερώνω* to describe the manifestation in the flesh is almost uniquely Johannine. The only exception (outside the Pastorals) is 1 Pet. i 20, where it may possibly have been taken from 1 John.

It is used in 1 Tim. iii 16, 2 Tim. i 9, 10, Tit. i 3. The last two passages must be quoted:

χάριν, τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, φανερωθεῖσαν δὲ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καταργήσαντος μὲν τὸν θάνατον φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

'Grace, which was given to us in Christ Jesus before times eternal, but has now been made manifest through the epiphany of our Saviour Christ Jesus, who did away with death and brought to light life and immortality through the Gospel.'

It is difficult to dissociate this description from the Gospel as portrayed in John. The word *εὐαγγέλιον* is, of course, used in its Pauline sense, but its precise connotation here is not Pauline but eminently Johannine. The Logos pre-exists as Grace in the communion of the Father and the Son, and is manifested now as 'the eternal life, which was in communion with the Father and was manifested to us' (1 John i 1-2). The collocation *φανερώνω . . . ἐπιφάνεια . . . φωτίζω*, all referring to the incarnation, have a most marked Johannine colouring.

But the quotation from Tit. i 2-3 is still more significant:

ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ ἀψευδὴς Θεὸς πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων ἐφανερώσει δὲ καιροῖς ἰδίοις, τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, ἐν κηρύγματι ὃ ἐπιστεύθη ἐγώ.

'eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, promised before times eternal, but made manifest at his own (appointed) seasons,¹ even his Logos, by the proclamation with which I was entrusted.'

¹ Cf. Gal. vi 9; Heb. i 1; 1 Tim. ii 6 where there is a similar apposition, τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίοις.

This passage seems to require a personal sense for Logos. It is parallel to 'eternal life', just as the Logos of the Gospel corresponds to the Eternal Life of the Epistle of St John.

The same personal sense seems to be required in Tit. i 9 :

ἀντεχόμενον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν διδαχὴν πιστοῦ λόγου, ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾦ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν.

'cleaving to the Logos who is faithful according to the teaching, in order that he may be empowered both to exhort in doctrine which is sound, and to convict gainsayers.'

The passage then becomes parallel to 2 Tim. iv 17 :

ὁ δὲ Κύριός μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσέν με ἵνα δι' ἐμοῦ τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορηθῇ

'but the Lord stood by me and empowered me in order that the Gospel published through me might be fully believed.'

ἀντέχομαι is used with a personal object in all the other N. T. passages. Matt. vi 24, Lk. xvi 13, 1 Thes. v 14.

By itself this passage may be regarded as indeterminate, but the above interpretation is immensely strengthened when the well-known use in the Pastorals of πιστὸς ὁ λόγος is considered. A personal interpretation of the passages in which the sentence occurs is *a priori* extremely probable, because of the occurrence in the Pauline Epistles of the precisely parallel formula πιστὸς ὁ θεός (1 Cor. i 9, x 13, 2 Cor. i 18) and also πιστὸς ὁ καλὼν ἡμᾶς (1 Thes. v 24), πιστὸς δέ ἐστιν ὁ Κύριος (2 Thes. iii 3).

But the sense is improved in each case, and in some cases sense is made of nonsense by the above interpretation.

1 Tim. i 15 : 'I thank him that empowered me—even Christ Jesus our Lord, because he deemed me to be faithful, appointing me for service, who formerly was a blasphemer, and a persecutor and a scoffer ; but I obtained mercy, because I did it in unbelief when I was ignorant, but the grace of our Lord abounded exceedingly with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. Faithful is the Logos (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος) and worthy of all acceptance (καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος) because Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners ; of whom I am chief ; but I obtained mercy for this reason that in me as chief Jesus Christ might show all his long-suffering for an example of those who should believe on him unto eternal life.'

To give an impersonal sense to λόγος here entirely interrupts the argument. Although Paul was an egregious sinner, nevertheless the Logos counted him faithful, and used him because he acted in ignorance. Therefore the Logos proved himself to be faithful and worthy of all acceptance because it was for the express purpose of saving sinners that he came into the world.

This interpretation gives the whole passage a connected sense, which is otherwise interrupted by the sudden insertion of a 'saying'.

The personal sense may be said to be conclusively proved by the personal use of the expression *πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος* in other contexts outside the N. T.

Philo, speaking of Hope (ii 410 *De Praem. et Poen.* § 2), says that some men have destroyed the seeds of hope; others while seeming to have hope attribute everything to themselves. 'All these are open to accusation (*ὑπαίτιοι*); he alone is worthy of acceptance (*ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος*) who attributes his hope to God.'

An inscription at Ephesus is quoted in which the exact phrase occurs (Bernard, *Pastoral Epistles*, p. 32), 'Titus Aelius Priscus, a man most approved, and worthy of all honour and acceptance (*πάσης τιμῆς καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον*)'.

The meaning assigned to the phrase (e. g. Field Notes Trans. N. T.), 'worthy of all approbation or admiration', is certainly too patronizing for the passages in Philo. In the above inscription it is coupled with *δοκιμώτατος* = 'true and tried'. In the above passage from Philo it is contrasted with *ὑπαίτιος*—the man who attributes everything to himself is liable to be called to account; 'unreliable' is the nearest word. It is often coupled with *ἐπίληπτος* and contrasted with *ἐπαινετός* (*Leg. Alleg.* iii § 23, i 102; i 283 *Quod Deus Immut.*, § 15).

It means far more than 'worthy of admiration', which is rendered in Philo *ἀξία τοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι* (i 69 *Leg. Alleg.* ii § 5). It emphasizes *πιστός*—'worthy of universal credit and renown'. So in his comment on Num. xx 18 ff Philo says, 'Let us say to the wicked man, If we drink your water, if we touch anything of yours at the impulse of the moment, we shall afford you credit and renown (*τιμὴν καὶ ἀποδοχήν*) in place of discredit and disgrace (*δυσκλείας καὶ ἀτιμίας*)—for these are all you deserve' (*Quod Deus Immut.*, § 36 i 298).¹

The following passage helps not only to fix the connotation of *ἀποδοχή*, but also to connect Pauline and Johannine thought. 'God said to Abraham, Yea (*Ναί*), behold thy wife Sarah shall bring forth a Son. The symbolic answer "Yea" is striking. For what is more characteristic than that God should promise the good and should speedily grant it? But every foolish man has refused those to whom he promises the divine gift. At any rate the Scriptures introduce Leah as hated; wherefore also (*διὸ καί*) she obtained such an appellation. For being interpreted it means "being refused" and "being weary with toil", because of the fact that all of us turn away from virtue and think it

¹ The combination *τιμὴ καὶ ἀποδοχή* is also found; ii 186 *De Decalogo*, § 10; ii 137 *De Vita Moysis*, § 4; the single word also i 480 *Qui's rer. div.*, § 10; ii 366 *De Creat. Princ.*, § 6, and a second time in ii 137.

wearisome, as it often makes commands which are not pleasant. But she has been deemed worthy of so great credit and renown (τοσαύτης ἀποδοχῆς ἡξίωται) by the leader¹ (of the universe) that her womb was opened by him and received a seed of divine generation (σπορὰν θείου γονῆς) with a view to the origination (γένεσιν) of good pursuits and deeds.' (I 617, *De Mut. Nominum*, § 44.) The first part should be compared with 2 Cor. i 17-20, which applies the Philonian passage to Christ Jesus: 'For whatever promises of God there are, in Him is the Yea (τὸ Ναί); wherefore also (διὸ καὶ) through Him is the Amen to God for glory through us.' This passage is the exact Pauline equivalent of the Johannine refrain of the *Pastorals* πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος; and it goes back to πιστὸς ὁ Θεός (2 Cor. i 18).

The fontal passages for the application of πιστός to ὁ Θεός are i 181 *De Sacrif. Ab. et Caini*, § 28, and i 486, *Quis rer. div. her.*, § 18. Philo's position is that God alone is πιστός—creation, though good, is fallible—the uncreated and unbegotten is alone infallible. The writer of the *Pastorals*, following John, is at pains to assert that the Logos, though He became part of creation in Jesus Christ, nevertheless existed in the beginning, before creation, and He, with the gospel which he brought through Jesus Christ and published abroad by Paul, is absolutely reliable. The phrase is the equivalent of the Johannine ἀληθινός.

The only impersonal interpretation of πιστὸς ὁ λόγος that has ever been advanced is that it introduces a liturgic refrain. This it plainly does not do in all the passages. Surely πιστὸς ὁ λόγος is itself the refrain, parallel to the precisely similar ἄξιος τὸ ἄρνιον (Apoc. v 12), for τὸ ἄρνιον of the Apocalypse is the equivalent of ὁ λόγος in the Gospel.

The interpretation is made doubly sure by the fact that the expression 'came into the world' is used exclusively by John of the Logos (Jn. i 9, xii 46, xvi 28, xviii 37). In 1 Tim. iii 1 πιστὸς ὁ λόγος obviously belongs to the preceding chapter 'She shall be saved through child-bearing, if they abide in faith and love and sanctification with sobriety' for 'the Logos is faithful' and will reward the faith and love which is in Christ Jesus. The use of μένω ἐν is distinctly Johannine.

1 Tim. iv 9: 'Faithful is the Logos and worthy of all acceptance; for to this end we labour and strive, because we have set our hope on the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of the believing (πιστῶν).'

The connexion with 'hope' recalls the passage from Philo, with whom the *Pastorals* have any number of affinities. The promise which godliness carries both for this life and for the life to come (iv 8) will not be defeated, because the Logos is faithful.

2 Tim. ii 8-14: 'Remember Jesus Christ who has been raised from

¹ Reading τοῦ ἡγεμόνος.

the dead, of the seed of David according to my Gospel; in whom I suffer hardship unto bonds as a malefactor, but the Logos of God has not been bound. For this cause I endure all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory. Faithful is the Logos; for if we die with him, we shall also live with him; if we endure we shall also reign with him; if we shall deny him he also will deny us; if we are faithless, he abides faithful (πιστός), for he cannot deny himself.'

The connexion of thought seems almost to require a personal interpretation of πιστός ὁ λόγος. What can be the point of 'he abides faithful, for he cannot deny himself', unless this harks back to 'faithful is the Logos'?

Tit. iii 4: 'But when the goodness and kindness of God our Saviour shone forth, he saved us, not because of works that are in righteousness which we ourselves did, but according to his mercy, through the laver of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost which he poured upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour, in order that being justified by his grace we might become heirs of eternal life according to hope. Faithful is the Logos; and I wish you to affirm confidently concerning these things, that those who have put their faith in God may be careful to maintain good works.'

Not only does the context require the personal Logos, who is faithful and will not belie the hope of those who have put their faith in God; but the laver of regeneration (λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας) and renewing of the Holy Ghost (ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος Ἁγίου) are obviously the writer's interpretation of John's 'born of water and of the Spirit'.

The use of ζήτησις 'questioning or controversy', a common Philonian term, is limited to the Pastorals (1 Tim. i 4, vi 4, 2 Tim. ii 23, Tit. iii 9), one passage in the Gospel, and two in Acts.

In 1 Tim. vi 4 it is coupled with 'Logomachy'. Could this be more aptly illustrated than by the use in John iii 25 'There arose therefore a controversy (ζήτησις) on the part of the disciples of John with a Jew concerning purification'? This is the kind of logomachy, or seeking after words, deprecated by John, as contrasted with the real ζήτησις or seeking for the Logos Himself.

τηρῆσαι ἐντολήν (1 Tim. vi 14) is entirely Johannine; 'dwelling in light unapproachable, whom no one of men hath seen or can see' (ὃν εἶδεν οὐδείς ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν δύναται), 1 Tim. vi 16; a commonplace in Philo. is also reiterated in John.

'Before Christ Jesus who witnessed the good confession before Pontius Pilate', vi 13 (τοῦ ματυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν).

The use of μαρτυρέω to describe Jesus before Pilate, according to the Synoptic account, seems quite out of place. It might have been

suggested by the Synoptic account of the Trial before the Sanhedrin. But that is excluded here. On the other hand, in John's account of the Trial before Pilate, Jesus Himself uses the verb 'To this end have I come into being, and to this end have I come into the world that I may bear witness (*ἵνα μαρτυρήσω*) to the truth'. This was surely in the mind of the writer. There would seem some reason, therefore, to believe that the Pastorals are not only post-Pauline, but even post-Johannine.

ERNEST WALDER.

**'DESTROY THIS TEMPLE, AND IN THREE DAYS
I WILL RAISE IT UP.' (ST JOHN ii 19.)**

St Matt. xxvi 61 *προσελθόντες δύο εἶπον, Οὗτος ἔφη, Δύναμαι καταλύσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν οἰκοδομήσαι αὐτόν.*

St Matt. xxvii 39 *οἱ δὲ παραπορευόμενοι ἐβλασφήμουν . . . λέγοντες, 'Ο καταλύων τὸν ναὸν καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις οἰκοδομῶν, σῶσον σεαυτόν.*

St Mark xiv 58 *ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον, καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποιήτον οἰκοδομήσω.*

St Mark xv 29 *οἱ παραπορευόμενοι ἐβλασφήμουν . . . λέγοντες, Οὐά, ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναόν, καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, σῶσον σεαυτόν.*

St John ii 19 *ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν.*

Acts vi 13 [Accusation of St Stephen] *'Ο ἄνθρωπος οὗτος οὐ παύεται ῥήματα λαλῶν κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου . . . ἀκηκόαμεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος καταλύσει τὸν τόπον τοῦτον.*

These passages seem to make it clear that our Lord uttered some words about destroying the temple and raising it up in three days, which became the subject of misrepresentation by His enemies and, probably, misunderstanding by His friends. It is evident that the saying was well known, and played an important part in determining the popular attitude towards Jesus, and it would seem that it was bandied about in various forms, and was the subject of keen discussion among Christians themselves, and between them and their Jewish opponents.

The first problem is to ascertain the original form of the words. In an article in the *Expositor*, vol. xvii, p. 415 (June 1919), Dr H. J. White maintained that the saying is most accurately preserved in the Fourth Gospel, and this conclusion commends itself strongly to the present writer. The fact that the form given by the fourth evangelist is the

shortest and most striking, the addition in St Mark of the explanatory words χειροποιήτον and ἀχειροποιήτον, and the attribution of the words by the two synoptists to 'false witnesses', without any attempt to explain their real origin or meaning, all point in the same direction. But if what our Lord actually said was 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up', what were these words intended to imply? The Fourth Gospel gives an explanation: 'He was speaking of the temple of his body. When therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he said this, and believed the scripture and the word which he spake.' It is evidently the purpose of the writer to explain the confusion which had led to the use of the words by the false witnesses and the mockers at Calvary. The synoptists were unable to account for the tradition current among the Jews as to the saying, and therefore had to leave Christians open to attack in respect of it, but the fourth evangelist feels able to supply the deficiency.

But is his explanation of our Lord's intention correct? Dr White thinks it is, and suggests that when uttering the words He made a gesture indicating that by the Aramaic word translated ναόν He meant His own body. This is, of course, possible, but it is clear in that case that the Jews very stupidly misunderstood His words, for they answered 'Forty-and-six years was this temple in building' &c. Moreover, such a cryptic and allusive manner of utterance is foreign to the general style of our Lord's sayings, at least if we exclude the longer parabolic discourses which are peculiar to the Fourth Gospel. I venture, therefore, to suggest another explanation: namely, that our Lord's words were meant to be taken quite literally as applying to the Temple, and that He was actually offering to rebuild the Temple in three days if the Jews would first pull it down. Consider the circumstances. The scene is the Temple court itself, and our Lord has just driven out the money-changers and sellers of animals for the Temple sacrifices. The Jews demand a sign of His authority to do this. What answer could He give? Nothing short of a great miracle would satisfy them. But miracles were to be performed only for those who would first make a great act of faith in God. He therefore issues to them a challenge in answer to their own challenge. If they will destroy the Temple, He will manifest His authority over it by rebuilding it in three days. It may be said that there was no likelihood of such a challenge being accepted, and probably our Lord's purpose was to turn the edge of the Jewish criticism and to deprecate their demands for signs. But there may well be a touch of playfulness in the words, our Lord gently indicating that their continual demands for signs and wonders shew that they move in an atmosphere of unreality. For this method of countering an unreasonable demand by requiring a condition unlikely

to be fulfilled by the opponent, we may compare our Lord's reply to the question in St Mark xi 27 and parallels, 'By what authority doest thou these things? And who gave thee this authority?' He answers by putting another question, 'The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?', which they cannot answer. Both these cases are instances of 'answering a fool according to his folly'.

If this explanation of St John ii 19 is correct, it is easy to account for the other passages. The words, ambiguous when separated from the occasion of their utterance, were taken up by Jewish opponents and suffered corruption in transmission. It seemed to make little difference whether he had said 'Destroy' or 'I will destroy': it was the claim to be able to rebuild in three days which impressed the memory. Hence the false witnesses brought forward at the trial a distorted version of the saying, which helped to secure the condemnation of Jesus: and the popular account of the saying and the hatred which it aroused are represented by the words of the mockers at the Cross. But, after the Resurrection, those who remembered the original words felt that they had a key to their mystical meaning, and produced the explanation which is given in the Fourth Gospel. Meanwhile, others who knew only the corrupt version, 'I will destroy' &c., had come to connect the saying with the expectation of the Parousia, when the Lord would return to destroy the old Temple and build the new Temple in His kingdom. This may be the explanation of the charge brought against St Stephen in Acts vi 13.

F. P. CHEETHAM.

NOTE ON 2 TIM. ii 15.

A.V. and R.V. both have 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed' for ἐργάτην ἀνεπαίσχυντον. The only other instance of ἀνεπ. quoted in the Lexicons is Josephus *Ant.* xviii 7. 1, where Herodias says to Herod, 'Do not esteem it *a thing not to be ashamed of* to be inferior to one who the other day lived upon thy charity'. This suggests that the meaning in 2 Tim. is 'a workman not to be ashamed of', and there must surely be a reminiscence of St Mark viii 38 (= St Luke ix 26) ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυθήσεται αὐτόν. This meaning accords better with the ἐπί of ἀνεπ., and with the usually passive significance of verbal adjectives in -τος. The idea of Christ being ashamed of some of His workmen is parallel with that of His being proud of others, as in 2 Cor. viii 23 'they are the glory of Christ'. See also Heb. xi 16. The mistake (if it be one) seems to have arisen from the Vulgate *inconfusibilis*.

E. F. BROWN.

SOME HEBREW ROOTS AND THEIR MEANINGS: פָּרַץ.

To Mr Driver (*J. T. S.* xxiii p. 72) belongs the merit of the discovery that two separate roots are concealed under the form פָּרַץ, which is translated 'break through' in the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon* (p. 829 a). He rightly tells us that in 1 Chron. xiii 2 and 2 Chron. xxxi 5 'the sense required by the context for פָּרַץ is "to command", "issue an edict"':

In altering the Hebrew Lexicon, as Mr Driver proposes, '(ii) פָּרַץ issued an edict, commanded (= Ass. (iii) parâṣu)', I would urge that the following additions be made: 'Arabic فَرَضَ id.; Syr. ܦܪܥܐ to requite'.

In Arabic فرض is so commonly used of the commands of God or of the Prophet Muhammad which are binding upon men that examples need not be quoted here. In Syriac ܦܪܥܐ means to requite or to perform a duty incumbent upon one; e.g. to pay what is due, to pay a debt, to perform the duty of prayer. The transition from the meaning of the Arabic 'to make a thing obligatory' to the Syriac 'to do a thing that is obligatory' is a gentle one. And the correspondence Heb. פָּ = Arabic ض = Aram. ܦ = Ass. ṣ is, of course, according to rule (Brockelmann *Grundriss* Band I p. 128).

ALFRED GUILLAUME.

THE BIBLICAL TEXT OF FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

THE *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* of Firmicus Maternus, written *circa* 347, contains some interesting Biblical quotations. It is true that only a single MS of this work exists, so that tendencies of copyists to assimilate the Biblical text to a later form cannot be checked. It is also obvious that the greater part of the quotations are not taken directly from Scripture, but from Cyprian's *Testimonia* and *ad Fortunatum*. In the *de Errore* there are fifty-nine actual citations of the Bible, increased by Ziegler in the index of his edition to seventy by the inclusion of casual Biblical allusions. Of the fifty-nine, thirty-nine are taken from Cyprian with no material deviation, eight others vary

slightly from Cyprian's text, five vary considerably, one occurs in ps.-Cyprian *de duplici martyrio* but certainly is not borrowed from that source,¹ and only six are not found in Cyprian. The general accuracy of the MS of Firmicus Maternus is confirmed by its very exact correspondence with the MS of the *Testimonia* which Hartel calls L.

Two related problems are suggested by the Biblical text of Firmicus Maternus: (i) Was the text which he knew independently of Cyprian African in character? (ii) Where did Firmicus live? In regard to the second point it is widely accepted that he is identical with the pagan author of the astrological work *Matheseos libri VIII*, who lived in Sicily.² But that does not imply that Sicily was the scene of his Christian life. It may have been, or it may not.

The forty-seven citations taken from Cyprian with little or no variation can tell us nothing definite. Of the five quotations which present important divergences from Cyprian, three offer the most likely field of investigation; they are all from the Psalms, and it is an obvious explanation to see the influence of the version with which Firmicus was familiar in the worship of the church carrying him away from Cyprian's text. If Firmicus had any first-hand knowledge of a contemporary and local Latin version, it is in the Psalter as a liturgical book that it would naturally be sought. The passages are:

- (i) Ps. xlv 3-9. Firm. 23 (ed. Ziegler 58. 26)
 3-5 *a* Cypr. *Test.* ii 9 (ed. Hartel 97. 18)
 5 *b*-16 not in Cypr.
 7 and 8 Cypr. *Test.* ii 6 (69. 18)
 9 not in Cypr.
- (ii) Ps. xxiii 7-9. Firm. 24 (62. 10)
 Cypr. *Test.* ii 29 (97. 10).
- (iii) Ps. cix 1-4. Firm. 24 (64. 12)
 1 and 2 Cypr. *Test.* ii 26 (93. 3)
 3 *a* not in Cypr.
 3 *b* and 4 Cypr. *Test.* i 17 (50. 15).

The variations will be most easily seen in a Conspectus of the text as it appears (*a*) in Cyprian, (*b*) in Firmicus, (*c*) Vulg. noting other variations.

¹ The work is a sixteenth-century forgery.

² Cf. *de Erroribus* 7 for acquaintance with Henna.

(i) Ps. xlv 3-9.

(a) *Cyprian.*

Decorus specie super filios
hominum effusa est gratia
in labiis tuis. Propterea
benedixit Deus in saecula.
5 Accingere ensem tuum ad
femur potentissime. Decor et
speciei tuae intende et dirige
et regna propter lenitatem et
virtutem

10

Thronus

tuus Deus in saecula
15 saeculorum virga aequitatis
est virga regni tui. Dilexisti
iustitiam odio habuisti
iniustitiam propterea
unxit te dns deus tuus
20 oleum exultationis super
participes tuos.

25

(b) *Firminus Maternus*

Speciosus forma prae filiis
hominum diffusa est gratia
in labiis tuis. Propterea
benedixit in aeternum.
Accingere gladium tuum circa
femur potentissime. Specie et
pulchritudine tua intende prospere
procede et regna propter virtutem
et mansuetudinem et iustitiam
et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua.
Sagittae acutae potentissime

populi infra te decident in
corde inimicorum regis. Sedes
tua deus in saeculum

saeculi virga recta
est virga regni tui. Dilexisti
iustitiam odisti
iniquitatem propterea
unxit te deus tuus
oleum laetitiae a
consortibus tuis. Myrra et
gutta et cassia a
vestimentis tuis de
aedificiis eburneis ex
quibus te iocunditate
adfecerunt.

(c) *Vulg.*

Speciosus forma prae filiis
hominum diffusa est gratia
in labiis tuis. Propterea
benedixit te Deus in aeternum.
Accingere gladio tuo super
femur tuum potentissime. Specie tua
et pulchritudine tua intende prospere
procede et regna. Propter veritatem
et mansuetudinem et iustitiam
et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua.
Sagittae tuae acutae
populi sub te cadent in corda
inimicorum regis. Sedes tua
Deus in saeculum
saeculi virga directionis
virga regni tui. Dilexisti
iustitiam et odisti
iniquitatem propterea
unxit te Deus Deus tuus
oleo laetitiae prae
consortibus tuis. Myrra et
gutta et cassia a
vestimentis tuis a
domibus eburneis ex
quibus delectaverunt te.

5. gladio tuo] gladium tuum *Cypr. A. Irén.* super] circa *Cypr. A. Irén.* 13. sedes tua] thronus tuus *Ep. Hebr. (Vulg.)* 14-15. in
saeculum saeculi] in saecula saeculorum *Aug. (Enarr.)*; in aeternum *Hilary* 15. virga directionis] virga recta est *Cypr. A.*; virga acqui-
tatis *Ep. Hebr. (Vulg.) Aug. (Enarr.) Hilary* 20. oleo] oleum *Cypr. A. Hilary (vars.)* lactinae] exultationis *Aug. (Enarr.) Ep.*
Hebr. (Vulg.) Hilary 21. consortibus] participibus *Aug. (Enarr.) Ep. Hebr. (Vulg.)* consortes *Hilary (vars.)*

(a) *Cyprian*.

Auferte portas principes vestrum
et extollimini portae aeternae
et introibit rex claritatis.

Quis est iste rex claritatis?

5 Dominus fortis et potens,
dominus fortis in proelio.

Auferte portas principes
vestrum et extollimini portae
aeternae et introibit rex
10 claritatis.

(iii) Ps. cix 1-4.

(a) *Cyprian*.

Dicit dominus domino meo :

Sede ad dexteram meam

15 quoadusque ponam

inimicos tuos subpedaneum
pedum tuorum. Virgam

virtutis tuae mittet

20 dominus a Sion et

dominaberis in medio
inimicorum tuorum.

25 ante luciferum generavi
te. Iuravit dominus
et non poenitebitur eum.

1. Attollite] Tollite *Cypr. A. Hilary, Zeno of Verona.*

13. Dixit] dicit *Cypr. A. Tyconius, Hilary*

Iren. 16. scabellum] subpedaneum *Iren.* : scamillum *Hilary*

Mois. Ps. 25. genui] generavi *Aug (Enarr.) Ver. Ps.*

(b) *Firminus Maternus*.

Tollite portas principis vestri
et extollite [vos] portae aeternae
et introibit rex gloriae.

Quis est iste rex gloriae?

Dominus fortis et potens
dominus potens in proelio.

Tollite portas qui praestis illis
et extollite vos portae
aeternae et introibit rex
gloriae.

(b) *Firminus Maternus*.

Dicit dominus domino meo :

Sede a dextris meis

quoadusque ponam

inimicos tuos subpedaneum
pedum tuorum. Virgam

virtutis tuae mittet

dominus a Sion et

dominaberis in medio
inimicorum tuorum.

Tecum principium in die

virtutis tuae in claritate

sanctorum : ex utero

ante luciferam genui

te. Iuravit dominus

nec poenitebit eum.

princips Hilary (vars.),

vestras] vestri Cypr. A. Hilary (vars.)

Cypr. A. Iren. (vars.) : Aug. donec] quoadusque

Cypr. A. : dominaberis Cypr. A. : dominabitur Aug. (Enarr.) Ver. Ps.

(c) *Vulg.*

Attollite portas principes vestras
et elevamini portae aeternales :
et introibit rex gloriae.

Quis est iste rex gloriae?

Dominus fortis et potens
dominus potens in proelio.

Attollite portas principes
vestras et elevamini
portae aeternales et
introibit rex gloriae.

(c) *Vulg.*

Dixit dominus domino meo

sede a dextris meis donec

ponam inimicos

tuos scabellum

pedum tuorum. Virgam

virtutis tuae emittet

dominus ex Sion :

dominare in medio

inimicorum tuorum.

Tecum principium in die

virtutis tuae in splendoribus

sanctorum : ex utero

ante luciferum genui

te. Iuravit dominus

et non poenitebit eum.

princips Hilary (vars.),

vestras] vestri Cypr. A. Hilary (vars.)

Cypr. A. Iren. (vars.) : Aug. donec] quoadusque

Cypr. A. : dominaberis Cypr. A. : dominabitur Aug. (Enarr.) Ver. Ps.

In all these passages Firmicus deserts Cyprian's true text and corresponds largely with A (a bastard fourth-fifth century text not differing substantially from the Gallican Vulgate). There is no indication that Firmicus used this worthless text of Cyprian but the likeness of his version to A, to Irenaeus, the Vulg., and in a less degree perhaps to Hilary, suggests that all represent variations of the normal fourth-century (European) form. Unless Irenaeus is assimilated by copyists to the later form, this may indicate further that the Latin version of Irenaeus is not contemporary but belongs, as Hort believed, to the fourth century.

(i) Ps. xlv. Firmicus's *virtutem* is obviously a copying error for *veritatem*. The non-African character of Firmicus is seen in *speciosus forma, in aeternum, gladium, specie et pulchritudine, laetitiae, consortibus tuis*. The closer correspondence of Augustine (*Enarr.*) and the Verona Psalter with the African type in the phrases *in saecula saeculorum, virga aequitatis, exultationis, participibus*, emphasizes the non-African basis of Firmicus, which indeed is self-evident. On the other hand, Firmicus preserves two African expressions in (i) *oleum* in the acc., and (ii) *iocunditate adfecerunt*; (i) perhaps is doubtful, for though found in Lactantius as well as Cyprian, it also occurs in the Psalters of St German's and of Corbey, the Speculum, and the Psalter of Monte Cassino; (ii) is more definite. *Iocunditas* and *iocundare* regularly represent εὐφροσύνη and εὐφραίνειν in the African version. The later usage is *laetitia* and *laetari*. Cyprian has *iocundare* in Ps. xcvi 1, Ps. cxvii 24, and often, e. g.

Ps. lxxvii 4 (*Test.* ii 28) 'Et iusti iocundentur et delectentur in iocunditate'.

Vulg.: 'Et iusti epulentur . . . et delectentur in laetitia'.

LXX: καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι εὐφρανθήτωσαν . . . τερψθήτωσαν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ.

The Verona Ps. also commonly has *iocundare* for εὐφραίνειν, and Fulgentius of Ruspe (African early sixth-century) has a phrase in Ps. xv 10 very close to Firmicus, 'Adimplebis me iocunditate' (*ad Trasam.* i. 19). Here Vulg. has *laetitia*, as usually.

(ii) In Ps. xxiii Firmicus departs from the true African readings like *auferte, rex claritatis*. The phrase οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν was a difficulty to the Latin translators, no doubt chiefly because of the association of *princeps* with the Emperors. This is marked especially in Firmicus who had just addressed the Emperors as *sacrosancti principes* (c. 17), but it occurs as early as Tertullian who several times simply transliterates the Greek word as *archontes* (e. g. *de Res.* 20, *adv. Prax.* 28, *adv. Marc.* iv 42, v 4). The literal rendering *principes vestrum* added verbal difficulties to the moral difficulty. The genitive *principis* is a correction due to that difficulty. It was not seen that *vestrum* or *vestri* was the genitive of *vos*. The phrase *qui praeestis illis* seems to

occur in no other citation of this Psalm, and must be the gloss either of Firmicus or a scribe, probably of the former. *Praeesse* was commonly used of the technical occupation of any office. L. and S. quote *Dig. i 2. 2 praeesse aedibus*, i.e. *aedilis esse*, and *Cod. v 5. 7 praeesse mercimonio*. It is the kind of phrase an educated man might use.

(iii) Ps. cix provides a good test. It is, in Firmicus's version, of composite character. He begins by copying from Cyprian, he then continues from memory in a verse of which there is no version in Cyprian, and when he reaches the concluding verse which can be checked by Cyprian he has quite deserted the African text. *Generavi* is the important word. It is the reading of L (overlooked by Hartel) and is the usual Cyprianic rendering of ἐξεγέννησα. Cf. citation of this passage in Cypr. *Ep.* 63 (703. 7) and of Ps. ii 7 in *Test.* ii 8 (73. 5). In *claritate sanctorum* = ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν ἁγίων appears in Vulg. as *in splendoribus* (the plural being based on the reading of most of the MSS of LXX except the Vatican). *Claritas* in Cyprian's Psalter translates δόξα. Cf. also in Dan. vii 13 (*Test.* ii 26). *λαμπρότης* is rendered *splendor* by Aug. (*Enarr.*) and Ver. Ps. in the present passage and usually in the Latin versions, most of which have the plural. It is rendered *claritas* by Irenaeus and Speculum in Dan. xii 3. Firmicus's phrase may be regarded as definitely non-African. *Ad dexteram meam* is a phrase which proves nothing. It is found in the present passage in Cyprian, Lactantius, Tertullian, Augustine, and others. With Firmicus's *a dextris meis* agree Hilary, Vulg., and Mozarabic, but there appears to be no consistent principle.¹

The general significance of these features of Firmicus's version is that his text is definitely non-African with marked African survivals. The African element is also noticeable in some of his independent quotations. In Gen. iii 5 (Firm. 26 (67. 12)) he reads *quasi dii*. The usual later translation of LXX ὥς is *sicut*. *Sicut* is found e.g. in the same passage in Lucifer Cal. (ed. Hartel, p. 134). Tyconius, who preserves some older readings though he does not quote this passage and usually has *sicut*, has *quasi* six times. In Gen. xxvii 37 (Firm. 18 (44. 17)) Firmicus has 'tritico et vino confirmavi illum'. There appears to be no other early citation of this verse. The usual later translation of στήριξω is *stabilio*. *Confirmo* occurs in two passages of Ezekiel in Tyconius (Ez. xx 46 and xxi 2),² and also in *c* and *e* in Lk. ix 51, and as a translation of ὑποστηρίξω in Moz. of Ps. cxliv 14 (Vulg. *allevat*). Usually *confirmo* in later texts represents κραταίωω. Cf. Ps. civ 4 in Moz. and Vulg. and Ps. xxxvii 20 in Vulg. *Triticum* for σῖτος occurs in Ez. xxvi 29 in Tyconius,³ in Jer. xxiii 28 in Cyprian, and in several O.L. MSS of Matt. xiii 25

¹ Cf. C. H. Turner in *J. T. S.* ii pp. 607 sqq.

² Ed. Burkitt 40 and 41.

³ *ib.* 33.

(including *e* but not *k*). The more common rendering is *frumentum*. Firmicus's version of Ps. xliii 23-27 (Firm. 24 (61. 12)) corresponds largely with that in St German's Ps. and is quite un-African in character as may be seen from a comparison with part of it occurring in Rom. viii 36 given by Cyprian (*Test.* iii 18 (133. 10)).

Firmicus: 'Aestimati sumus sicut oves occisionis.'

Cyprian: 'Deputati sumus ut oves victimae.'

Firmicus agrees with what is presumably the Roman version as may be seen by comparison with the letter of Moyses and Maximus printed in Cyprian's works, *Ep.* 31. 4 (560. 14):

'Aestimati sumus ut oves occisionis' (HBgv *victimae*.¹)

But one possibly African element remains in Firmicus in *libera nos*. *Liberare* = λυτρούν (Vulg. *redimere*) occurs in Cyprian in Is. lxiii 9 (*Test.* ii 7 (72. 1)), where Tyconius has *redimere* (Tyc. 10). But no definite conclusion can be drawn from this for *redime nos* is read in Aug. (*Enarr.*), Verona Ps., and *Liber de Promissionibus*,² and Tertullian and Cyprian generally use *liberare* for ρύεσθαι, e.g. Pss. xxi 21 and xxxiii 20.

Against the African elements may be set both the general non-African character of Firmicus's text already seen and other particular examples. In Ps. xliii 23 Firmicus's *opem fer nobis* (Vulg. *adiuva nos*) may be noticed; the whole passage is distinctly non-African. *Liber de Prom.* preserves the true African reading *auxiliare nobis*, for *auxiliari* was Cyprian's word for βοηθεῖν. Cf. his citations of Pss. xxi 20 and cxvii 7. In Matt. xxviii 20 Firmicus (24 (64. 6)) has the usual *baptizantes*. But the original word in Tertullian and Cyprian was *tingentes*, though this word from Cyprian's own practice of restricting it to heretical baptism was doomed to an early disappearance from the Biblical text.³

Finally Firmicus has a lengthy series of independent quotations from the Ep. of Jeremy (Baruch 6), 5-10, 21-25, 28, 30 sqq., 50-57 (Firm. 28 (74. 14)). Only in a few words is comparison with a Cyprianic text possible. Verse 5 occurs in Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.* 5 (269. 22).

Firmicus reads: 'Dicite autem in cordibus vestris tibi oportet adorare domine.'

Cyprian: 'In sensu autem tibi debet adorari domine,' which is altered (probably on account of the unusual impersonal *debet*) by G to

'Tibi (te G 2) debemus adorare dne.'

¹ Cf. Iren. iv 27. 1 and Luc. Cal. p. 309.

² Wrongly attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine, but almost certainly the work of an African pupil of Augustine. It preserves many early readings of the African type.

³ E. W. Watson *Style and Lang. of St Cyprian* p. 264.

Vulg. reads: 'Dicite autem in cordibus vestris te oportet adorari domine,'

obviously Firmicus has nothing in common with Cyprian. The most noteworthy feature in Firmicus is the construction of *adorare* with dative in imitation of *προσκυνεῖν σοι*. Rönsch only quotes as parallels several passages in the Latin of Codex Bezae and one passage from Augustine.¹ Throughout the series of quotations Firmicus differs in many minor points from the common Vulg. text and keeps e.g. in tenses closer to the Vatican text of LXX. Dom Amelli has noticed the fact that Firmicus's text of the Ep. of Jeremy corresponds closely with that of Codex Cavensis.² Cod. Cavensis is a ninth-century MS of the Bible mainly Vulg. in character. Its Psalter is Mozarabic, and the whole text originates from Spain.

Can any definite conclusions be drawn from this examination? It seems perfectly clear that apart from his use of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, which had a wide circulation far beyond Africa, Firmicus uses a version of the O.L. (certainly of the Psalter and probably of other books) which has a basis fundamentally non-African. It is akin to but not derived from such texts as appear in the Gallican, Moz., and St German's Psalters. It shews also affinities with the text represented by Hartel's A of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, though it owes nothing directly to that artificial text. It is therefore an early example of this type. At the same time his version has a fairly definite and quite independent African element, apparently through survival and not through interpolation.

Where did the Christian Firmicus live? There are two possible places. One is Sicily, the home of his pagan self or his pagan double. If it could be shewn that a Biblical text bearing marks of African influence existed there, the matter could end. There appears to be no evidence pointing either way. On the other hand Spain fulfils the conditions. There are many traces of the African text in Spain. Pacian of Barcelona (360-390) has markedly African features, and they have come into the Mozarabic Psalter. The Spanish text with a minimum of the African element is probably seen in Cod. Cavensis of Baruch and in Cyprian A. May not Firmicus represent an early stage of the supersession of the African by the later European text with Spain as its scene?

E. J. MARTIN.

¹ *Italia u. Vulgata* p. 439.

² I am indebted to Prof. Burkitt for drawing my attention to this. I have as yet been unable to see a transcript of the Cod. Cav. version of the Ep. of Jeremy.

A SACRAMENTARY OF THE AMBROSIAN RITE.

MSS of the Ambrosian rite are naturally uncommon; their use did not extend over a wide area, and apparently most of those which survive are still to be found in or near Milan, the oldest being Ambros. A 24 *bis*, a Sacramentary of the ninth century. A new MS, written only a century later, has therefore some interest. London, Br. Mus., Harleian 2510 is thus described in the old catalogue:

1. M. Tul. Ciceronis de inventione rhetorica libri 2. X.
2. „ Rhetoricorum ad Herennium libri 4.
In huius codicis membrana alius de vita Mauritiū Liber olim erat exaratus et postea magna ex parte deletus ut hic inscriberetur.
3. De universo liber 'Mundus igitur constat . . .' XIV.
4. Tractatiunculus de Scientiis occultis cui initium:
'Quidam qui volunt hunc libellum esse Artem . . .'
5. An. Manl. Tor. Sev. Boethii Arithmeticae Liber.
Codex membranaceus diversis temporibus exaratus. XIII.

In this entry the first date 's. X' is not warranted by the script, which is of at least the twelfth century. The reference to St Maurice is derived from a rubric on fol. 87^v, which will be explained later. There is no life of St Maurice.

The volume consists of four parts:

1. Cicero de Inventione Rhetoricae libb. II, and ad Herennium libb. IV. Ff. 1-122^v.
2. A cosmological work. Ff. 124-131^v.
3. An astrological fragment in double columns. Ff. 132-135^v.
4. Boethii Ars metrica. Ff. 136-167^v.

The first three belonged to the Dominicans at Chartres in the fourteenth century and have their *ex libris*; the fourth possibly was also part of their library, but has no indication of that. The volume was bound by Harley and has on fol. 1 the inscription in the hand of Wanley: '13 die Mensis Augusti A. D. 1724'. The whole volume is written on vellum, but the sizes of the four parts vary.

The first part is entirely palimpsest on thick parchment, and consists of 123 leaves. Its size is cm. 24 × 16.5 and it has been cut down slightly, but none of the earlier text has been cut away. The rubrics

are generally very legible, and in good sunlight enough of the text can be read to make identification certain. The contents are an Ambrosian Sacramentary containing :

1. Propers for the liturgical year ; the first surviving would seem to be 30th Nov. Bapt. St Ambrosii, the last is SS. Simon and Jude. The proper consists of *super populum*, *super sindonem*, *super oblata* (sometimes *secreta*), *praefatio*, *ad complendum* (sometimes *post communionem*).
2. Special masses—*pro peccatis*, *pro tribulante*, etc.
3. A complete mass (*missa canonica*). Of this there survives :
The Epistle Gal. vi 7–10.
The Gospel St Luke xvii 2. The preface has not survived.
The *super sindonem* beginning 'Porrigite dexteram' followed without 'Dominus vobiscum' & 'Et cum spiritu tuo' by
The Creed as far as 'et sepul[tus est]' (the Creed is in very large script).
Part of the *Memento Domine famulorum* beginning 'Pro se quisque' as far as the end of the first list of saints.
Prayer of consecration from 'pateretur Accipiens panem' : the end of f. 105^v is very completely obliterated, but the rubricated letters 'Hoc est enim corpus meum' on f. 105^r and 'Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei' on f. 105^v and the crosses are clearly visible.

The script varies very much in size ; the normal page has thirteen lines, but some (especially those containing the special masses) are in a much smaller hand with as many as nineteen lines to a page. The script is Carolingian minuscule similar in appearance to the St Gall Psalter shewn in Steffens¹ 51 b (= S² 63 a) (St Gall, Stiftsbibl. 19) or the Reichenau Sacramentary in Chroust I 19. 2–3 (Vienna, Hofbibl. 1815), and it is not unlike the Ambrosian Sacramentary (Milan, Amb. A 24 bis) in Ratti and Magistretti *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* vol. iv, *Missale Ambrosianum*. These are of the ninth century. The rubrics are in rustic capitals now brownish red in colour perhaps originally silver, and the initial letters were brownish red (or silver) and black alternately. There is no trace of any further illumination. The present arrangement of the leaves is as follows :—

Ten fours, one six (with ff. ix and x cut out, making ten leaves), one three, two fours, one two (with f. iii cut out, making three leaves).

$$80 + 10 + 6 + 24 + 3 = 123.$$

The sacramentary seems to have been bound in fours. Only one complete four survives in the present volume.

The book seems to be of unmistakable Ambrosian origin :

1. One leaf contains part of the Canon with the peculiar list of saints only found in the Ambrosian Canon ending with the names 'Hilarii, Iulii, Benedicti, Sisinni, Martirii' (*ut vid.*). These words end fol. 57^v.
2. Special Milanese festivals appear prominently, e.g. SS. Gervase and Protase, Baptism and Ordination of St Ambrose, and unusual saints, e.g. St Babylas, SS. Carpophorus and Donatus.
3. The masses usually, but not apparently always, contain the prayer *super sindonem* not found in other rites.

There is a very long preface for March 21 St Benedict, and the calendar as it exists is as follows :—

44 ^r , v	Nov. 30	Bapt. of St Ambrose.
44 ^v , 84 ^r , v, 46 ^r , v	" 30	St Andrew.
46 ^v , 43 ^r , v	Dec. 7	Ordin. of St Ambrose (and vigil).
107 ^v	" 7	Octave of St Andrew.
109 ^r , v	" 21	St Thomas.
109 ^v , 108 ^r , v	" 26	St Stephen.
108 ^v , 110 ^r , v	" 27	St John Evang.
110 ^v	" 28	SS. Innocents.
36 ^r , v	" 29	St James.
36 ^v , 37 ^r , v	" 31	St Silvester.
36 ^v	Jan. 20	St Sebastian
33 ^r , v, 106 ^r , v	" 22	St Vincent.
106 ^v	" 24	St Babylas and three <i>parvuli</i> .
111 ^r , v	Feb. 5	St Agatha.
111 ^v , 40 ^r	" 16	SS. Faustus and Jovita (common of saints).
40 ^r , v	March 12	St Gregory.
81 ^r , v, 58 ^r , v, 59 ^r	" 21	St Benedict.
59 ^v	" 25	Annunciation.
62 ^r , v	April 5	Deposition of St Ambrose.
62 ^v , 63 ^r , v, 90 ^r , v	" 24	St George.
104 ^v	May 1	SS. Philip and James.
120 ^r	" 6	St John at the Latin Gate.
120 ^v	" 10	SS. Gordian and Epimachus.
113 ^r , v	" 12	SS. Nereus, Achilleus and Pancras.
113 ^v	" 13	S. Maria ad Martyres.
50 ^r , v	" 25	Deposition of St Denis.
50 ^v , 49 ^r , v, 34 ^r	June 17	St Vitus.
34 ^r , v, 39 ^r , v, 56 ^r , v, 55 ^r	" 19	SS. Gervase and Protase (and vigil).
55 ^v	" 24	Nativ. of St John Baptist (and vigil).

11 ^v	June 26	SS. John and Paul.
14 ^{r, v}	July 7 (?)	Octave of St Paul.
48 ^{r, v}	Aug. 1	SS. Maccabees and Deposition of St Eusebius.
52 ^{r, v} , 53 ^{r, v}	„ 6	St Sixtus.
53 ^v	„ 7	SS. Donatus and Carpophorus.
41 ^{r, v} , 94 ^{r, v}	„ 10	St Laurence (and vigil).
94 ^v	„ 13	SS. Hippolitus and Cassianus.
42 ^{r, v} , 47 ^{r, v}	„ 15	Deposition of St Simplicianus and translation of SS. Sisinnus, Martirius, and Alexander.
47 ^v , 93 ^r	„ 15	Assumption.
93 ^r	„ 29	Beheading of St John Baptist.
85 ^{r, v}	Sept. 8	Nativity of B. V. M.
85 ^v , 54 ^r	„ 14	Exaltation of Holy Cross.
54 ^{r, v}	„ 14	SS. Cornelius and Cyprian.
87 ^{r, v}	„ 21	St Matthew.
87 ^v	„ 22	St Maurice and his companions.
86 ^{r, v}	„ 28	Dedic. eccl. St Michaelis.
86 ^v	Oct. 7	St Mark, Pope.
86 ^v , 51 ^{r, v}	„ 18	St Luke.
51 ^v , 88 ^{r, v}	„ 22	SS. Cosmas and Damian.
88 ^v , 61 ^r	„ 28	SS. Simon and Jude.

The volume may have begun with the feast of St Martin (Nov. 11), and in that case the whole of the original first quire has disappeared. In the middle of the bottom margin of f. 22^v is an old quiremark, probably VI; and on 24^v is another, probably VII; and on 90^v is one that is more doubtful, but is perhaps XVIII; and another occurs on 102^v. Parts of at least thirty quires survive. Four leaves, i.e. two pairs of conjugate leaves, have so far not yielded sufficient consecutive words to make their identification possible. All the others can be put provisionally into their original quires.

The method of dating the feasts varies: the scribe sometimes employs the old Roman calendar and sometimes simply gives the date of the month. The feast of St George is dated 24th May, evidently through a confusion of the two systems; for the feast occupies its normal place in the liturgical year. The dating is as follows:—

Old Roman Style.

St Thomas
St Silvester
St Sebastian
SS. Philip and James

Day of Month.

St Stephen
St John Evang.
SS. Innocents
St Babylas, &c.

Old Roman Style.	Day of Month.
St John before the Latin Gate	SS. Faustinus, Jovita
SS. Gordian and Epimachus	St Gregory
SS. Nereus, Achilleus, Pancras	St Benedict
St Maria ad Martyres	Annunciation
SS. Protase and Gervase (vigil)	St George
SS. John and Paul	SS. Protase and Gervase
Beheading of St John Baptist	Nativ. of St John Bapt.
Exaltation of Holy Cross	SS. Carpophorus, Donatus
St Matthew	SS. Hippolitus, Cassian
St Maurice	Deposition of St Simplician
St Luke	

The rubrics of the remaining saints in the calendar either are illegible or do not exist. The rubricator has made some mistakes: besides the misdating of St George he writes *Beatismum* instead of *Baptismum* and *Crisononum* instead of *Chrisogonum*, and on more than one occasion he has marked a preface *post communio*: the concluding prayer is sometimes *post communio* and sometimes *ad complendum*.

A great part of the propers for Lent survive. These all have the stations assigned. They are not named in the Bergamo Sacramentary printed in the *Auctarium Solemense*. The *Benedictio Olivæ* on Palm Sunday survives. A considerable part of the Good Friday prayers occupy ff. 28 and 29, which alone survive from the original quire, but the prayer for the Pope is not extant, and the Emperor's name has not been glossed. The next quire is mainly occupied with a very long *Benedictio Caerei* and the prayers for the lessons. The Easter service is entirely lost. Immediately after the Octave of Easter there comes 'Missa in Pascha ad annotina', and then there appear to follow the Sundays after the Octave of Easter. The Pentecost services are very fragmentary, and of the Sundays after Pentecost only parts of the Octave and of the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 17th survive. Nothing of Advent or Christmas or of the Sundays after Epiphany survives.

The special masses which seem to have been appended shew no special peculiarity. There are fragments of at least ten surviving.

The printed text in *Auctarium Solemense* is the most readily accessible standard of comparison. Agreement is not very close. The prefaces are of the same type, often enumerating details of the saint's life; but the prayers often correspond to those of the Gregorian Sacramentary as printed by Wilson.

A. and W. J. ANDERSON.

REVIEWS

Psalmenstudien II, von SIGMUND MOWINCKEL. (Jacob Dybwad, Kristiania, 1922.)

THE first part of Dr Mowinckel's work (which dealt with *die individuellen Klagepsalmen*) was reviewed in the *J. T. S.* for October 1922. The present instalment, a large book of 340 pages, bears the title *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*. It is an important piece of work, whether we agree with the main conclusions of the author or not. The Psalms commonly called Accession (*Thronbesteigung*) Psalms are Pss. xlvii, xciii, and xcv-xcix. (Dr Mowinckel would add Ps. c.) These are distinguished by three or four characteristic phrases of which the first to be mentioned is מֶלֶךְ יְהוָה, 'JEHOVAH hath become king', not as E. V. renders it, 'JEHOVAH reigneth'. Dr Mowinckel's view is that one of the yearly feasts which the Hebrews kept was treated as JEHOVAH's Accession Day on which he was wont to be acclaimed in the words, 'JEHOVAH hath become king'. But beside this decisive phrase the author finds others which are characteristic of this group of Psalms. So he takes the words, 'Sing unto JEHOVAH a new song', as the invitatory used at an Accession Festival: *Dem neuen Könige gebührt ein neues Lied*. So, too, he takes the celebration of JEHOVAH as Creator to be another mark of an Accession Psalm. A fourth and specially significant characteristic is the announcement that JEHOVAH is coming to execute a world-judgement.

But Mowinckel does not demand the presence of all four of these marks in a Psalm which he reckons as a *Thronbesteigungs-Psalm*. Psalm cxlix falls into his net, although it does not contain the phrase, 'JEHOVAH hath become king', but only bids the children of Zion to 'be joyful in their king'. On the other hand the call to sing a new song is there, and judgement is promised on the nations and on their kings. Ps. xxxiii is added to Dr Mowinckel's list for similar reasons, and Pss. viii, xv, xxiv, xxix, xlvi, xlviii, l, lxvi, lxxv, lxxvi, lxxxi, lxxxii, lxxxiv, lxxxvii, cxiv, cxviii, cxxxii, together with Exod. xv, are also claimed. The Songs of Ascents (Pss. cxx-cxxxiv) are reckoned a group of kindred nature; the Ascent being the procession with the ark into the Sanctuary.

In the Psalter, says Mowinckel, the Accession of JEHOVAH is naturally described after the analogy of the accession of an Israelite king. 'It appears as if the king's accession was kept as a yearly festival and in

the autumn, so that it coincided in time with the harvest festival. The analogy of Babylonian custom favours this view. Each New Year's Day the Babylonian king "took the hands of Bel" (Marduk). Did he?

Dr Mowinckel complains that commentators have not hitherto realized that Pss. xlvii, xciii, and xcv-c are meant for a certain 'kultisch-liturgische Situation'. Olshausen (1853) found the occasion for the composition of these Psalms in the proofs of the active rule of JEHOVAH, which the success of the Maccabean revolt supplied. But Dr Mowinckel does not feel the need of any historical occasion: he agrees with Duhm that these Psalms are *rein liturgische Composition*.

The earliest religion of Israel was a 'Kult'. But a Kult was not in ancient times a thing of everyday such as it became in the Second Temple. The later thing which we call Judaism was purely priestcraft: each detail of the Temple Service was treated as due to a positive command without any connexion with the inner life of the Congregation. But a Kult of the ancient kind was different: it was a bit of experience, in which the worshippers realized that God was in their midst, and that they were deriving life and power from him. So when in Ps. xlvii Israel sang that JEHOVAH was a great king over all the earth, and that he had subdued nations under their feet, they meant just what they said. They sang under a lively sense that JEHOVAH's mighty protection was over them. This Psalm and others like it are not eschatological: they express the worshipper's enjoyment of God in the present: they might be called 'mystic' by people who like the word.

Cult in this proper sense, Dr Mowinckel tells us, has been greatly obscured in the Pentateuch, though even in the Priestly Code some traces of it are to be found. But in any case the books of Moses are not the only chief authority for the nature of the Israel's early Kult. The Psalter must be added, though this fact has not been sufficiently recognized hitherto. Two ceremonies of the Kult not found in the Law are the Water-pouring and the Altar-encompassing practised on the seventh day of the Feast of Booths (Mishnah, Sukkah), but the former of these is found in Isa. xii 3 (a Psalm-passage), and the latter in Ps. cxviii 27. The Psalms whether late or early testify to an early form of Israelite religion.

Dr Mowinckel has thought out the consequences of his theories and in particular he is not afraid to challenge the late dates which are assigned by so many critics to particular Psalms. This is to the good: if earlier critics were too confident in assigning Psalms to David, Duhm and others are equally at fault in the confidence with which they fix short colourless poems in the Maccabean and Hasmonean eras. Ps. cxxxii contemplates, says Mowinckel, a procession with the Ark. But, say the critics, the Ark had ceased to be after the Exile. Then, retorts our

author, this Psalm and others like it must be pre-exilic. It is as safe to follow Mowinckel as Duhm.

I have been able to touch on only a small part of this interesting work, but enough has been said, I hope, to shew that it is an important book. The time has not yet come for pronouncing a final judgement upon it, so many are the issues which it raises, but in any case our thanks are due to Dr Mowinckel for a stimulating and valuable piece of work.

Les 'Pauvres' d'Israël (Prophètes, Psalmistes, Messianistes), par A. CAUSSE. (Librairie Istra, Strasbourg [et] Paris, 1922.)

THIS is a concise study (172 pages) of a very important subject. It is written with the charm of style which we expect from a French author. It is divided into three parts, which are respectively entitled, *Les prophètes contre la civilisation royale*; *Le Psautier, le livre des Pauvres d'Israël*; and *Ceux qui attendaient la délivrance d'Israël*.

The first part gives an excellent sketch of the developement of Hebrew civilization and religion from the Conquest of Canaan to the Great Protest of the Prophets of the eighth century. It is only a sketch, but it is full of suggestion, and it is illuminated by terse happy phrases and unobtrusive learning.

Civilization in Israel took the inevitable form of the adoption of the Canaanite scheme of life; it meant the practice of agriculture and in particular of viniculture, and, in many cases, the rebuilding of Canaanite cities which had been destroyed at the Conquest. In Solomon's days it included an oversea trade. All this meant wealth—silver and gold and dyed garments and horses, and, as a result of wealth, feasting and the drinking of wine. All this was abominable to prophets like Elijah and Elisha and to their allies the Rechabites (2 Kings x, 15 ff), for it agreed very well with the worship of the Baalim, but not with the austere simplicity of the religion of JEHOVAH. As M. Causse well says:—

Le vin est le symbole de la civilisation cananéenne. Yahve est comme le dieu de Palmyre 'qui ne boit pas de vin' [דִּי לֹא שָׁתָא חֲמֶר].¹ On n'avait pas le droit d'en faire un simple Baal des champs. Il devait toujours demeurer l'esprit de la montagne et le Dieu du désert.

Rightly were those who held these sentiments called the 'Poor' (*ānāvim*), for they were opposed to the civilization which was making their country wealthy.

The second part of M. Causse's study is not less interesting than the

¹ Lagrange, *Religions sémitiques*, p. 506.

first. He holds clear views as to the nature of the Psalter: he does not like it to be called 'le livre des cantiques de la synagogue'. He writes (p. 81):

En tous cas le Psautier n'a pas été écrit par des prêtres ni pour des prêtres. Rien de clérical dans cette piété-là, et rien de rituel non plus. Le Psautier est l'œuvre du peuple, il a été écrit par 'les pauvres' et pour 'les pauvres'. . . Les Psaumes et l'Évangile, les deux livres populaires par excellence . . .

These 'poor', says M. Causse, though they did not form any organized community (like that of the Essenes), were yet conscious of a spiritual unity among themselves. Such consciousness finds expression, e.g. in Ps. cxxxiii:

'Qu'il est bon, qu'il est doux pour des frères
De demeurer ensemble.'

On this M. Causse adds the comment:

Tous les anavim se sentent unis, ils sont vraiment frères par l'esprit. Les pauvres s'aiment entre eux. Que cette communauté ne soit pas encore organisée, peu importe, le fondement est posé: C'est déjà l'esprit qui inspirera les groupements des premiers chrétiens et plus tard les ordres monastiques.

The third part of the book treats of the disillusionment of the 'Pauvres' through the establishment of the Hasmonean kingdom, and later on through the usurpation of the Herods. The author draws upon Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Assumption of Moses, for illustrations of his theme. He comments on the extraordinary character of Enoch, 'livre obscur et passionné', a literature rather than a book; 'Et pourtant', he adds, 'il y a une pensée décisive, qui . . . donne au livre son unité, c'est la grande espérance des anavim' . . . The Coming of the Son of Man will put an end to a civilization founded upon the force of arms and the power of wealth:

En ces jours on ne sera sauvé ni par l'or ni par l'argent, et on ne pourra pas fuir. Il n'y aura ni fer pour la guerre, ni étoffe pour la cuirasse de la poitrine: le bronze sera inutile, l'étain ne servira de rien, le plomb ne sera plus recherché.

Here we take leave of a delightful book. Well written, well thought out, and inspired by restrained emotion, it is worthy of its subject. Need anything more be said?

Les Psaumes traduits et commentés, par l'ABBÉ HENRI PÉRENNÈS, avec préface du R. PÈRE CONDAMIN. (Administration du Feiz Ha Breiz, Saint-Pol-de-Léon, Finistère, 1922.)

HERE we have, first, an interesting preface by Père Condamin, then a short Introduction, then a translation of the Psalms into French, to

which brief notes are attached. In the Introduction is included a copy of the decision of the Biblical Commission of 1910 on the authorship and dating of the Psalms. The book is published under an *Imprimatur*. It is a scholarly and useful work. Pérennès protests with justice against the *critique chirurgicale* of Duhm (1899) and Briggs (1907), and offers his own book as a constructive answer to their violent proposals. Yet he is far from blindly adhering to the Masoretic text. Thus he omits the last clause of Ps. i 3, 'tout ce qu'il fait lui réussit', as superfluous for the metre. Again he finds the text corrupt in Ps. ii 11, 12, and omits *gilu* in v. 11 and *bar* in v. 12 in his translation. He is willing to correct the Hebrew text on occasion from the LXX and the Peshitta.

The arrangement of the Psalms in their French dress is ingenious. Thus Psalm vi is followed by Ps. xiii owing to the likeness between them. Similarly Ps. liii is made immediately to follow Ps. xiv. Ps. xv follows Ps. xxiv, and the two are treated as one composition.

The text is set out in strophes, and not merely in parallel lines, for thus the sense of many passages is more clearly shewn, and an answer is made to some at least of the destructive proposals of the school of Duhm. 'Il suffira', writes M. Pérennès, 'pour avoir raison de ces abus, de présenter nos poèmes dans leur antique beauté, de les faire apparaître comme autant de hierarchies vivantes, dont le bel ordre défie tout assaut.'

It is a pleasure to read the brief and pointed comments given in this book, when so many commentators are saying too much. This notice may be concluded with M. Pérennès' judgement on St Jerome's *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*: 'Cette version faite directement sur l'*hebraica veritas* n'a pas été introduite dans la Vulgate pour des raisons de prudence ecclésiastique. Elle reste très autorisée, et est éminemment utile pour la critique du texte.'

Sir Isaac Newton's *Daniel and the Apocalypse* (first published in 1733), with an introductory study by Sir WILLIAM WHITLA, M.P., M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., Meritus Professor, Queen's University, Belfast. (John Murray, London, 1922.)

A QUOTATION of a critical passage from Newton's work (pp. 188 f) will enable the modern reader to see the standpoint of the great astronomer and to judge whether he be a safe guide to follow to-day in Biblical interpretation. After citing from Dan. vii 8, 20, 21, 24, 25, he proceeds as follows:

'Kings are put for kingdoms as above; and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth Beast, and rooted up

three of his first horns; and therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the LATIN Empire after the rise of the ten horns. But it was a kingdom of a different kind from the other ten kingdoms, having a life or soul peculiar to itself, with eyes and a mouth. By its eyes it was a Seer, and by its mouth speaking great things and changing times and laws, it was a Prophet as well as a King. And such a Seer, a Prophet and a King, is the Church of Rome.

A Seer, Ἐπίσκοπος, is a Bishop in the literal sense of the word; and this Church claims the universal Bishoprick.

With his mouth he gives laws to kings and nations as an Oracle; and pretends to Infallibility, and that his dictates are binding to the whole world; which is to be a Prophet in the highest degree.'

On p. 265 ff Newton discusses the very important passage, Dan. xi 21-37. The last verse he strangely paraphrases as follows: 'Neither shall he regard the God of his Fathers, nor the (lawful) desire of women (in matrimony).' This, Newton tells us, relates to 'the over-spreading of the GREEK Empire with monks and nuns, who placed holiness in abstinence from marriage'.

Newton's interpretation of vii 8 (cf. 25) and of xi 37 may serve to shew how far scholarship has moved since his day. We see now how well both passages suit Antiochus Epiphanes *as the Jews saw him*. In 1 Macc. i 21-24 we are told that the king 'entered presumptuously into the sanctuary . . . And when he had taken all, he went away . . . and spake very presumptuously'. In 2 Macc. i 13f Antiochus enters the temple of the goddess Nanaea (perhaps 'Venus') in order to seize the treasures deposited there. The Syrian king (in the words of Dan. vii 37) did not regard (paid no reverence to) that which was 'the desire of women', the temple which was their delight. When we reflect further how well the language of Dan. xi 21-37 (as a whole) suits the story of the reign of Antiochus, it is difficult to look further for the person meant by 'the little horn', by 'the contemptible person' of xi 21, and by 'the king' of xi 36. No doubt the strong intellect of Newton is to be felt even through his (now) antiquated interpretation, but the Reviewer is compelled to regret that a modern man of science should have revived a book which has ceased to be scientific.

W. EMERY BARNES.

St Luke, with Introduction and Notes. By LONSDALE RAGG, B.D.
(Methuen & Co., London, 1922.)

THE object of the Westminster Commentaries, of which this book forms part, is stated by the General Editor to be 'to interpret the mean-

ing of each Book of the Bible in the light of modern knowledge to English readers'. He expresses the hope that the series may be of use to theological students, the clergy, and the growing number of educated laymen and laywomen who wish to read the Bible intelligently and reverently. The author adds in his preface that the present volume is designed to 'keep the average reader in touch with the main results of modern scholarship'.

The book will certainly be useful to those who are emerging from older methods of reading, and even of studying, the Bible. They will learn many other points of view which must now be taken into consideration, and may gain assurance that modern scholarship is not subversive of all that hitherto they have held dear. But for many who have really learned to think for themselves, and are trying to face the questions raised by modern criticism of the Gospels the Commentary will often prove disappointing. Though it is clearly the outcome of sound learning and good scholarship, there is a marked tendency throughout the book to offer once more the explanations which have ceased to satisfy. Those who are seriously trying to think out, so far as they may, the conditions of the Incarnation, will not find much help in the following note on the words 'He was subject to them' (His parents), 'Conscious of His divine origin, He is content to be a model of human dutifulness'. Is the reference to the 'things heard done at Capernaum' in our Lord's discourse in the synagogue of Nazareth, recorded before any visit to Capernaum, really explained most satisfactorily as a reference to the visit described in Jn. iv 45-54, after the second visit to Cana, so that the visit to Nazareth described in Matt. xiii 54 ff (= Mk. vi 1 ff) will be later than St Luke's? And while Mr Ragg is quite right to call attention to the points of contact between St Luke and St John, and their possible indication of at least *some* historical value in parts of the Fourth Gospel, the attempt to fit in the Lucan narrative to the Johannine scheme is not generally convincing, especially when it duplicates the rejection at Nazareth.

When we are told that 'St Luke, unlike the other Synoptists (notice the plural), carefully distinguishes between the Call (vi 12 ff) and the Mission (ix 1 ff) of the Twelve', we begin to wonder which of the passages, Mk. iii 13 ff (Call) or vi 6 ff (Mission), was absent from Mr Ragg's copy of St Mark. The clear resemblance of the reference in words spoken, according to St Luke, at the Last Supper to the contents of the address to the Seventy is, I suppose, generally accepted as an indication that the address to the Seventy has some close relation to the 'Q' record of the address to the Twelve, or, at least, 'on Missionary work'. The suggestion that 'the difficulty is at once removed if, as Latham suggests, the Twelve may have been included in the

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Seventy' will, I fear, hardly convince serious students. Once more, if xiv 31 is 'thought to have been suggested by the ill fortune of the Arabian King Aretas who declared war on Herod Antipas' it would surely have been better to mention the date of that war.

Details like these are indications that the writer is better equipped to help us on the artistic and devotional side than in dealing with the critical questions that the student of any Synoptic Gospel must now face. But it is easy to exaggerate their importance in a Commentary in which many readers will find what they want. Perhaps the most noticeable feature of this Commentary as compared with others is the fullness of reference to the representations of the scenes described in Christian Art. Many readers will be grateful for the lists of pictures of the various incidents which are now to be found in English and Continental galleries and churches. Some of us would, perhaps, have been still more grateful if Mr Ragg had gone a step further and used his knowledge of Christian Art, especially in Italy, to shew us how painters have helped us to interpret the scenes which they depict. But a good beginning has been made, and the references to the literature of the subject will prove useful to many. The book is a real contribution to the interpretation of the Third Gospel. The writer has done much, in his Introduction and in his Notes, to help us to see the truth of Renan's description of the Gospel as 'the most beautiful book ever written'.

The Variants in the Gospel Reports, by T. H. WEIR, B.D., M.R.A.S.
(Alexander Gardner, Paisley, 1920.)

THERE is a significant difference between the author's description of the purport of his book and the more accurate statement of Dr Milligan in his prefatory note. Mr Weir tells us his aim is 'to shew that the first three Gospels at any rate go back, as was declared by Papias and Irenaeus, to an original Hebrew Gospel'. We are not surprised that he does not quote the passages in which Papias and Irenaeus make these statements! Dr Milligan says 'Mr Weir's main theme is that the first three Gospels, at any rate, go back to an original Hebrew Gospel and that the variations in their reports are largely due to their being different translations of this Hebrew or Aramaic text'.

It would have been well if Mr Weir had asked himself before printing this book what he meant by 'go back to'. No one would deny that there is a Semitic background to our Gospels, especially, some would say, the first three. But that the variations in their reports are largely due to an original Hebrew (or Aramaic) Gospel of which they are in any intelligible sense different translations, is a different proposition, of which

the book offers no vestige of proof. Some verbal differences in records of individual sayings can of course be so explained, though the newer specimens which Mr Weir offers us do not command our confidence. Any one who happened to open p. 140 first, and read that St Luke's 'spies, who should feign themselves just men' (xx 20) as compared with the Pharisees and Herodians of Matt. xxii 16 = Mk. xii 13, are to be explained by confusion between *tsdukim* and *tsdikim*, for 'The only party who could, with any hope of being taken seriously, have put this question about the legitimacy of the census-money was that of the Sadducees', 'The Pharisees and Herodians give out that they are Sadducees', would probably have closed the book without reading further. I can only say that having read all 150 pages of the book, I have not discovered anything that seems to him to throw fresh light on the problem of the origin of the Gospels in Mr Weir's diffuse and disconnected discussions of the 'Variants in the Gospel Reports'.

Schallanalyse und Textkritik, von HANS LIETZMANN. (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1922.)

STUDENTS who are sceptical about the possibility of determining the integrity of documents by the science of acoustics, or analysis by sound, will be interested in Herr Lietzmann's account of the experiment to which he persuaded the analysts to submit their methods. Schanze's dismemberment of the Epistle to the Galatians produced remarkable results. A system which finds in Gal. i 10-20 only two genuine fragments of St Paul (*vv.* 13, 14, and 17-19) surrounded by three interpolations seemed to upset all the principles on which critical work has been attempted during the last century. Lietzmann offered them a portion of Greek based on part of the *Life of St Dalmatius* from a Paris MS (Gr. 1453) hitherto unpublished. The extract contained a passage from Gregory Nazianzen, which was retained, though the words *φησὶν ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος* which indicated its source were suppressed. Sentences, which more or less corresponded in meaning, were inserted from other authors, or substituted for passages from the 'Life'. The insertions included an extract from another part of the 'Life', so that want of connexion indicated an insertion, which the methods of analysis might be expected to detect as being the work of the main author, and also a sentence written by the proposer of the text, to test whether the 'voice' of the twentieth century might be able to make itself heard.

The results of the analysis, which was carried out first independently and then in conjunction by Herren Schanze and Sievers, did not correspond at all closely to the actual facts of authorship. In reply they complain that the alterations introduced to conceal the sutures were

so different from anything that actually occurs in ancient writings that the 'probe-text' was not a fair test of the correctness and validity of their method. Lietzmann answers that the instances which he now gives from the interpolated text of the false Ignatian Recension, and from writings in which earlier works of Hippolytus have been used and expanded go much further in the way of accommodation than his own manipulations in the 'probe-text'. It is difficult for any one who has not really mastered the analytical methods in question to determine the justice of the analysts' complaints, or the validity of Lietzmann's answer. But the net results of the controversy certainly do not inspire confidence in the validity of the new method of detecting interpolation in ancient writings.

A. E. BROOKE.

La Théologie de Saint Cyprien. By A. D'ALÈS. (G. Beauchesne, Paris, 1922.)

M. D'ALÈS, whose earlier work, *L'édit de Calliste*, was reviewed in the JOURNAL for July 1914, and who has also written on the theology of Tertullian, has given us in the present volume a valuable study of the theology of Cyprian. The ground has been well covered in modern times by a succession of scholars, with whose work M. d'Alès shews himself fully acquainted. But he has also made a careful analysis of the documents, and given to us the results of his own first-hand study. Quotations from the sources are freely given, and whether the reader agrees or not with the conclusions arrived at, he is put in possession of the materials on which a judgement has to be formed. The book covers a good deal of ground, and is in fact practically a biography of Cyprian. As such it invites comparison with the work of our own countryman, Archbishop Benson, to whose scholarship and research M. d'Alès renders a tribute, even though he finds him 'épiscopalien avec rigueur et anglican avec férocité'. M. d'Alès reviews Cyprian's teaching under four heads: (1) the foundations of doctrine, (2) the Church, (3) the Sacraments, (4) the Christian life. The reader will find under each heading very full and complete summaries, and there is much that is of interest and value in each section of the book for the student of third-century Christian life and thought. The terminology of Cyprian is carefully noted, and there are three valuable appendices, on the interpretation of the famous words in Pope Stephen's letter *nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est*, on the treatise *de Rebaptismate*, and on Cyprian's use of *principalis ecclesia*. The question whether in the

baptismal controversy there was a confusion between the imposition of hands in Confirmation and the similar rite used in the reconciliation of penitents is convincingly dealt with, and the whole history of penitential discipline in the days of Cyprian is carefully set forth. In the chapters on the Eucharist and Orders we should have welcomed a fuller recognition of the work of modern scholars, whose efforts to place Cyprian's teaching in its true historical setting M. d'Alès either ignores or dismisses too peremptorily. He points out, however, that Cyprian's theory of Orders shews that he did not hold the view that ordination conveyed an indelible 'character', in that clergymen who lapsed in the persecution are regarded as having forfeited their orders, and he notes the bearing of this conclusion upon Cyprian's error in the baptismal controversy. The central part of the book deals with Cyprian's teaching on the Church, and it is to this that readers will turn as the most important of the questions with which M. d'Alès has dealt. In a subject bristling with controversy M. d'Alès, while disclaiming the pretension to approach the enquiry with a mind entirely free from preconceptions, constantly shews a sincere desire to extract from his documents no more than they can legitimately be made to yield. One instance is his discussion of the phrase *matrix et radix ecclesiae catholicae*, which, contrary to the conclusions of many scholars of his own communion and of Dr Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, E. tr. ii 89 n.), he interprets of the universal Church, though he adds that Cyprian 'does not forget that this Church has its centre at Rome'. Similarly he explains with strict reference to their context the words of Cyprian to Cornelius (*Ep.* 48. 3), *ut te . . . et communicationem tuam, id est catholicae ecclesiae unitatem . . . tenerent*, as meaning simply that those who come to Rome will find communion with the universal Church by holding communion with Cornelius, the awful bishop, instead of with his rival, Novatian. He recognizes to be full the elements in Cyprian's teaching which may be claimed for 'pur épiscopalisme'. Again, his judgement on Dom Chapman's theory, that the so-called 'interpolations' in *de Unitate* c. 4 are a second recension made by Cyprian himself, is cautious and sober. While not regarding the theory as 'incontestable', he sees in these interpolations nothing inconsistent with their attribution to Cyprian (p. 112 n.) On the other hand, he makes the most of the passages which speak of the foundation on Peter and the famous words (*Ep.* 59. 14) *ecclesia principalis, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*. Of the three interpretations which have been given to *principalis*, according to which it denotes (1) pre-eminence, (2) priority in time, (3) priority of nature, or 'source', with the resultant idea of 'effective influence', M. d'Alès chooses the third, and criticizes the arguments urged by M. Batiffol in favour of (2). He also adduces the similes of the sun and its rays, the branch and the

tree, the stream and its source, used by Cyprian in *de Unitate* 4-5, in support of the contention that Cyprian saw in the Roman see a central principle of unity for the whole Church, and a permanent factor of unity, though elsewhere (p. 136) he recognizes that, just because they are similes, 'prudence forbids us to submit them to too close an analysis'. M. d'Alès is alive to the objections which may be urged against his interpretation of these and other passages, and he does not always grapple with them successfully. He is particularly unfortunate in his treatment of the phrase *unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est* in *Ep.* 59. 14 (quoted above). While noting that the use of *exorta est* rather than *exoritur* has been urged in favour of 'une primauté toute de souvenir et de symbole' (p. 125, n. 1), he dismisses the objection somewhat airily, and proceeds to argue as though Cyprian had said that 'le sacerdoce chrétien tout entier procède de Rome'. But this is just what Cyprian does not say. It is the *unity* of the priesthood which *had* its origin in the see of Peter, of which Cyprian speaks, and for the sense in which these words are used we may legitimately appeal to other passages, adduced elsewhere by M. d'Alès himself, in which Cyprian argues that the unity of the Church was emphasized by conferring first of all on one man (Peter) the authority which he afterwards gave in an equal degree (*pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis*; see *de Unitate* 4) to all the Apostles. Nor is M. d'Alès convincing, when he argues that the similes adduced in the *de Unitate* do not favour the idea of a 'diffused unity', while at the same time he admits that in themselves, and apart from the earlier insistence on the unique position of Peter, the words might have suggested that the undivided episcopate was the centre of unity, and he quotes *Ep.* 55. 24 *episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordī numerositate diffusus*, though he explains *episcopatus unus* to mean 'l'unité du pouvoir épiscopal, non celle du corps épiscopal'.

For the *de facto* primacy of the Roman Church in the West in the time of Cyprian it is easy to make out a good case. M. d'Alès is justified in calling attention to the appeal of the Gallican bishops with regard to the see of Arles. But he overstates his case when he comes to deal with the affair of the Spanish bishops (pp. 173 ff). While noting that it is a matter of surprise that the Spanish bishops turned to Carthage rather than to Rome, he calls attention to the fact that from Cyprian and his colleagues they ask 'consolation and help', while from the Bishop of Rome Basilides had appealed for 'an effective sentence which would replace him in his see. The words used of Basilides are (*Ep.* 67. 5) *ut exambiret reponi se iniuste in episcopatum de quo fuerat iure depositus*. M. d'Alès dismisses as a piece of sophistry the contention of M. Koch that *reponere* like the corresponding *deponere* can only refer to the action of the Spanish bishops themselves, and that Stephen

by holding communion with the deposed bishops could set a precedent which might lead to their restoration. But surely the words of Cyprian do not necessarily suggest much more than this, and M. d'Alès overshoots the mark when he suggests that 'à Étienne on avait recouru comme à un supérieur hiérarchique', and again 'de Rome on avait répondu par un acte d'autorité'. Cyprian had already stated in this very letter the procedure to be employed in the case of the election of a bishop. The neighbouring bishops of the province are to assemble, in the presence of the people over whom the new bishop is to preside, and choose the new bishop and lay their hands upon him (*Ep.* 67. 5). This, says Cyprian, was the universal rule, which had been observed in the case of Sabinus, who replaced one of the deposed bishops. This Epistle (67) has been unfortunate in its interpreters. Its reticence and restraint have led to a good deal of arbitrary conjecture in filling up the gaps in our knowledge. What exactly Stephen did is not clear. We are not told whether he ordered the bishops to be replaced (as Dr Bigg *Origins of Christianity* p. 374, positively asserts), or whether he announced his intention to continue to recognize them as the lawful occupants of their sees, as Archbishop Benson declares (*Cyprian* p. 233 ; but see also pp. 311 f). Neither statement of the case can claim the authority of Cyprian's own words. Nor is M. d'Alès justified in his further remark (p. 178) that 'far from contesting in principle the disciplinary value of decisions proceeding from Rome, this reply of Cyprian affirms them'. The question was not actually raised in this form. Cyprian takes the line that Pope Stephen is acting under a misapprehension, and he goes on to state the principles universally recognized in dealing with such cases. He makes no reference to the general authority of the Roman see in such cases, but he does say that the fact that Basilides appealed to Stephen, and misled him as to the facts, and claimed to be restored, cannot annul the consecration of his successor which has been carried out in proper form.

M. d'Alès finds in Cyprian's teaching on the Church two unreconciled elements. Emphasis on one side of his teaching in the *de Unitate* would reduce that treatise to a mere 'thèse épiscopaliennne'. On the other side are the 'Petrine' passages and the primacy which Cyprian recognizes in the successor of Peter, a primacy which Cyprian's words, as interpreted by M. d'Alès, represent as more than a primacy of honour. 'Peter', so he would sum up Cyprian's theory of the Church, 'supports the edifice, directs it, gives to it unity' (p. 220). In practice Cyprian acted upon this theory to a certain extent. He constantly turned to Rome to receive approval, and he invited the intervention of Rome in the matter of the see of Arles. But Cyprian failed to carry to its logical conclusion the principle which he laid down. 'He seems to have put

the sword in the hand of the successor of Peter only to condemn it to remain in its sheath' (p. 220). The two principles of the Roman primacy and the independence of the bishops came into conflict in the baptismal controversy, and the crisis which was thus brought about revealed the incoherence and weakness of Cyprian's theology (p. 222, n. 1). Whether this incoherence takes exactly the form which M. d'Alès gives to it may be questioned, but he has stated clearly the problems involved, and whatever be the difficulties which we find in subscribing to all his conclusions, his discussion of this and other aspects of Cyprian's teaching will be of real service to all future students.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

La justice primitive et le péché originel d'après S. Thomas : les sources—la doctrine, by J.-B. KORS, O.P. (Le Saulchoir, Kain, Belgique, 1922.)

THIS is a volume of a *Bibliothèque Thomiste* to be published by the *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* under the direction of M. P. Mandonnet, O.P. It is about equally divided between an exposition of the doctrine of St Thomas and an examination of the previous development of ideas and teaching in the Church on the subject from the time of Augustine. Careful studies are given of the teaching of Augustine, Anselm, Abélard, Honorius of Autun, Hugh of St Victor, the *Summa Sententiarum*, Bernard, Peter Lombard and his commentators of the thirteenth century.

Throughout the book the key passages that form the basis of the exposition are given in full at the foot of each page, and the volume provides a useful supplement to Dr Tennant's *The Fall and Original Sin* which examines the sources and the history of the doctrine to the time of Augustine.

M. Kors is not concerned about the earlier sources but about the later developments, and these particularly as regards the idea of original righteousness and its relation to the idea of grace. The phrase itself (*iustitia originalis*) seems to have been first used by Anselm, but Augustine's idea of a gift of God bestowed in addition to man's powers of reason and will provided the starting-point for the scholastic discussions as to what really constituted the nature of Man and how this gift of righteousness (? supernatural) should be defined in relation to it. The main lines of the discussion are sufficiently described for most students in the various histories of Doctrine (e.g. concisely in Dr G. P. Fisher's). M. Kors gives us the means of following them up in their various ramifications till we rest in the final decisions of

Aquinas, who, as M. Kors puts it, brought order into the previous confusion 'eliminating the useless elements, organizing the others in a coherent doctrine which had regard at once to the *data* of Scripture and the requirements of a philosophy that had attained full consciousness of itself'.

Essai sur l'originalité et la probité de Tertullien dans son traité contre Marcion, by ERNEST BOSSHARDT. (Florence, G. Ramella et Cie., 1921.)

It must always have seemed obvious to any careful student that much of Tertullian's argument against Marcion was special pleading, and worthless to those who did not accept (as Marcion certainly would not have accepted) all his premises. It must also have been clear that the Marcionism portrayed by Tertullian could never have had the attraction which Marcionism as it was actually had. M. de Faye in his *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme* thinks that Tertullian was incapable of appreciating Marcion's doctrine, and intentionally kept silence about all that did not lend itself to his attack. As this is only what controversialists always have done, it was perhaps hardly worth while for M. Bosshardt to engage in his enquiry as to Tertullian's honesty. Of course Tertullian was not scrupulously fair to any of his opponents. M. Bosshardt exonerates him from misrepresentation on some of the main points and rightly insists on the sincerity of his convictions, and the originality with which he made his own all that he borrowed from others before him in the way of ideas and method, and the fresh vigour with which he presented it. M. Bosshardt's book was written before Dr von Harnack's fresh study of Marcion was published, and he does not attempt to enter as fully into Marcion's beliefs and aims, or to give of either man the sympathetic study and appreciation that Dr von Harnack gives us of Marcion. M. Bosshardt's concern is with Tertullian and his *adversus Marcionem* and particularly with the analysis of Tertullian's method. In this respect his book is of high value, not to be neglected by any student of the great work in which Tertullian's controversial powers are seen in their full exercise. He deals in turn with the doctrine of Marcion as Tertullian describes it and the value of his testimony; the personal attacks; the logical arguments; the correctness of the Biblical quotations and the interpretations of the texts. The examination is not exhaustive, but enough illustrations are collected to afford the *data* for the just judgement that is sought, and all the material is ably and fairly handled. On the whole question the balance is left at the end in Tertullian's favour, but all that tells against him is noted and duly weighed, and in the course of the discussion

there is much of interest and value on the beliefs and the logical and rhetorical processes of the time.

The book was apparently written as a thesis for the doctorate in Literature of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. It is excellently produced. *Pietatis causa* I wish that Dr Swete's full name had been given correctly.

J. F. B-B.

Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche (suite). Homélie LXXVII. texte grec édité et traduit en français, versions syriaques publiées pour la première fois, par M. A. KUGENER et EDG. TRIFFAUX. *Patrologia Orientalis*, tome xvi, fasc. 5. (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1922.)

The homilies of Severus, almost lost in Greek, exist in two Syriac versions, one probably made by Paul of Callinicus about 530 and preserved in a British Museum and a Vatican MS, and another made by James of Edessa in 701, which is also preserved in a MS in the British Museum and one in the Vatican, but were almost unknown till the editors of the *Patrologia Orientalis*, who have done so much to increase our knowledge of the literature of the Christian East, undertook to publish the version of James. For some unexplained reason the edition began with the 52nd homily, and the first portion, containing hom. 52-57, was published by the late M. Rubens Duval in tom. 4 (1908), and the second and third, containing hom. 58-76, by M. Brière in tom. 8 (1912) and tom. 12 (1919). The present fascicule contains hom. 77 only, which deals with the discrepancies in the narratives of the Resurrection, and was delivered between 21 July and 6 Sept., 515, and is the only homily of Severus which exists in Greek. As it was useful for exegetical purposes and contained no Monophysite theology, the Greek text was preserved in spite of its heretical origin; but the author's name was deleted, and copyists inserted in its place the names of Hesychius of Jerusalem or Gregory of Nyssa. Under one or other of these the homily has been published by previous editors; and in Migne's *Patrology* it appears among the works of Gregory. Extracts under the name of Severus, one of which was published by Montfaucon in 1715, exist however in Paris MSS, and in 1883 the Abbé Martin in vol. iv of Pitra's *Analecta Sacra* noted that a comparison with the Syriac versions of the homilies of Severus shewed that the homily was really his, and in 1898 M. Kugener, without previous knowledge of Martin's statement, demonstrated the same fact at considerable length in vol. iii of the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*.

In the present edition, begun by M. Kugener in 1898, the Greek text has been edited by M. Triffaux, who has consulted twenty-one more or less complete MSS besides fragments and noted the variants of nine, and the Syriac versions (Paul's is here given as well as that of James) by the two editors in collaboration, while M. Kugener has translated the Greek text into French. Of the merits of this translation I can hardly speak too highly. It is easy to read, and at the same time reproduces the original so faithfully that the only point that I can find to criticize is that in the last line of p. 42 the name 'Matthieu' is inserted, which is not in the Greek. But, though a translation is convenient for reference, yet, since every one who wishes to read a publication of this kind can read Greek, I feel some doubt if the inclusion of a translation (adopted probably in imitation of Migne) is not wasted labour.

A comparison between the two Syriac versions with the original before us makes it clear, as M. Kugener points out, that the version of James is only a revision of that of Paul. As he corrected Paul of Edessa's version of the hymns, so he corrected our Paul's version of the homilies, i. e. he simply copied the earlier version except where it did not seem to him to represent the original with sufficient accuracy. Therefore, where the later version exists, the earlier and less accurate one may appear to be almost worthless, and there is some justification for the decision of the editors of the *Patrology* to save expense by not including it in the previous fascicules; but on the other hand James, through his extreme literalness, sometimes defeats his own object by producing un-Syriac sentences, which with nothing by which to control them are very difficult to understand. It should be stated that MM. Kugener and Triffaux have in the Syriac given the text as it is in the MSS, and in James's version that of the Roman MS only, placing emendations and variants in the notes. This method has something to recommend it, but a critical text is more scientific and more convenient.

The subject-matter of the homily bears out what we might have gathered from the exegetical letters, that Severus was no original commentator, but derived his biblical explanations from earlier writers, sometimes mentioning them by name and sometimes not. In this case his source is the *Quaestiones ad Marinum* of Eusebius (in a homily he naturally would not mention his source), and the text is of some importance, since the *Quaestiones* were known only from an epitome and some extracts and the use made of them in some of the letters of Jerome.

I conclude with one small correction. M. Kugener begins his Introduction by the statement that Severus was consecrated on 6 Nov.,

512. This is indeed the date given by John Malala, but Elijah of Nisibis gives 16 Nov.; and, as in 512 6 Nov. fell on a Tuesday and 16 Nov. on a Friday, both must be wrong. Now in the 35th homily, delivered at the beginning of the second year of his episcopate in honour of the martyr Romanus, Severus states that it was the anniversary of his consecration, and the 1st homily, preached on the occasion of his consecration, is stated to have been delivered in the Martyr's Chapel of Romanus. It is therefore hardly open to doubt that he was consecrated on Romanus's day; and that is 18 Nov., which in 512 fell on a Sunday. The date 16 Nov. is then probably that of his election, which may have been preserved rather than that of his consecration, because of the unusual circumstances in which it took place. The other date, 6 Nov., is merely a copyist's error. These homilies are unpublished, but the information is given in Wright's Catalogue (pp. 534, 536), and that the consecration was on Romanus's day was pointed out in 1897 by Dr Baumstark in the *Römische Quartalschrift* xi p. 40, an article to which M. Kugener refers for another purpose. It should be noted that the references to this article are, perhaps through the fault of the printer, incorrect, '1895' being given instead of '1897', and '314' and '319' instead of '34' and '39' (p. 10, n. 3; p. 11, n. 2).

E. W. BROOKS.

Über die Geheimlehren von Jamblichus, aus dem Griechischen übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von TH. HOPFNER. (Theosophisches Verlagshaus, Leipzig, 1922. Mk. 1,000.)

THIS volume is the first of a series of *Quellenschriften der griechischen Mystik*, which is to be followed by translations of Apollonius of Tyana, Hermes Trismegistus, Plotinus, and others. The name of the publishers may raise a natural query concerning its scientific value, but there is no doubt that it has been undertaken by competent scholars, and that this first part is a thoroughly sound piece of work.

The reply to Porphyry's Letter to Anebo, known as *De Mysteriis*, professes to be by the prophet Abammon, but the author indicates fairly clearly that he is not writing under his own name. He tells Porphyry that if he likes, he may suppose the same person to be replying to whom he had written, or that he may consider his respondent to be a prophet of the Egyptians, but that it makes no difference, and he had better confine his attention to considering whether the reply is true or false. It was written in any case during the life of

Porphry, and a note in one of the MSS tells us that Proclus in his notes on the *Enneads* ascribed it to Iamblichus. It has been shewn by K. Rasche that there is no essential difference in doctrines from those in the other works of Iamblichus, and that there is a remarkable resemblance in language. The traditional authorship is accepted by the translator. On the other hand, Professor A. E. Taylor says it is impossible that Iamblichus wrote it. The question appears to need rediscussion, but it is not important for the history of Neoplatonism. The work certainly came from the school of Iamblichus, and its acceptance by Proclus shews that it was Neoplatonic for him.

The author does not ignore fundamental principles, but he is chiefly concerned about the questions raised by Porphyry, and starts off with a hierarchy of gods, daemons, heroes, and souls. Then further divisions appear, archangels, angels, and archons (these latter of two classes), and each intelligible god is the first of a whole descending series of divinities. He defends spirit-raising, possession by a god, animal sacrifices, divination, the use of prayers, magic formulae, and divine names. This is what Neoplatonism had become within twenty years after the death of Plotinus. It was its very success as a rival of Christianity under the patronage of the apostate Julian that emphasized these elements. But the danger from its opponent was recognized. Iamblichus reproves Porphyry for mentioning those people who explained the phenomena as all due to 'the evil daemon'. There can be no doubt that he refers here to the Christians, whom he declares to be not worthy of notice, and stigmatizes as *ἄθεοι*.

The translation has been very ably done. The style of Iamblichus, though clearer than that of Plotinus, is full of technical allusions that need elucidation, and the necessary commentary has been made by the addition of explanations in the text within parentheses. The extensive notes in addition give much biographical and archeological information, and parallels from the Hermetic literature and magic papyri, on which subjects especially the translator is known as an authority.

De philosophorum Graecorum silentio mystico. Scripsit ODO CASEL.
(Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann in Giessen, 1919. Mk. 30.)

DR CASEL in this thesis has undertaken to trace the conception of a mystic silence in the doctrines and methods of the Greek philosophers. It originated, as he shews, in religion, and particularly in the mysteries. All through—apart from the rationalistic Ionians and Aristotle—it is determined by the varying relations in which philosophy stood to the

current religion, down to the time when Neoplatonism took sides with the popular cults in opposition to the religion which in one sense triumphed. In one sense it triumphed, but as the author says, Greek philosophy ceased, it did not perish; and he announces his intention to carry on his investigation of the principle as it survived in Christianity.

In tracing the various expressions and significance of the doctrine from the Eleusinian mysteries, the Orphics, the Pythagoreans, Neopythagoreans, and Neoplatonists, the author throws a vivid light on the history of Greek religion. The ancestral cults did not develop: they were so crude that they were expelled by oriental invasions, and in these philosophy became entangled. It was all along both aided and hampered by religious presuppositions. The author modestly calls his work only the beginning of an investigation, but it has been thoroughly done with the presentation of the original texts, and with due consideration of the views of other scholars.

E. J. THOMAS.

Creeds or no Creeds? A critical examination of the basis of Modernism,
by CHARLES HARRIS, D.D. (John Murray, 1922.)

THIS volume, which appears with commendatory forewords by the Warden of Wadham and the Bishop of Lichfield, consists of a lively and systematic attack on recent developments in theology and in New Testament criticism. Dr Harris himself rejects an attitude of 'mere traditionalism'. Protestant orthodoxy is ignored and Roman Catholic orthodoxy is repudiated. 'I should be the last', he writes, 'to advocate the policy (popular in some quarters) of attaching Christianity irrevocably to a single philosophical system, even that of the Angelical Doctor, good in general as I believe it to be. Philosophy is a progressive science, and to put the clock back to the thirteenth century, as if nothing important had been discovered since, seems to me a mistaken—even a fatal—policy' (Pref. p. xxii). He claims to represent a position of Progressive Orthodoxy (p. 5), which in point of fact proves in essentials to be the theological standpoint of the authors of *Lux Mundi* in 1889; that is to say, the method and the chief results of Old Testament criticism are admitted—Moses has even degenerated into the founder of an 'ethnic religion' (p. 185); the historical position of the Church of England which makes Scripture the standard of doctrine is tacitly abandoned, and modern methods of criticism and exegesis in the study of the Bible, Fathers, and Church History are admitted 'provided always (1) that the meaning of the

Church's message is faithfully preserved and not altered in the process of translation, and (2) that the Creeds and other definitions of the Ecumenical Councils are still regarded as authoritative'.

Philosophically Dr Harris writes as a Realist. For him as for Cardinal Mercier, Kant is the villain of the piece. Dr Harris traces back to Kant all the many tendencies in contemporary theology which he groups together as 'Modernist'—not only the philosophical heresies of Pragmatism and Relativity, but also the historical and critical aberrations of Biblical scholarship. In the spheres of philosophy and of historical enquiry alike he believes that the influence of Kant is on the wane. Philosophy, after the Idealist episode inaugurated by Kant, is returning to the classical tradition. Oxford, 'the chief centre of English philosophy', has deserted the doctrine and tradition of T. H. Green, and, under the influence of Mr T. Case and Prof. Cook Wilson, has gone over to Realism 'which, if not precisely the Realism of Aristotle, is at least the kind of doctrine which he would probably have taught, had he been alive to-day' (Pref. p. xv). There has been an equally decisive change of front in the field of scholarship. During the nineteenth century, under the influence of Kant and Hegel, it became the fashion to deny the authenticity of all ancient works, the evidence for the authenticity of which was not demonstrative. This bad habit has been 'out of fashion among classical scholars for nearly two generations', though it is still retained 'with a conservatism almost pathetic' by the exponents of Modernism.

Kant, then, is the fountain-head of Modernism. Accordingly, after three introductory chapters in which Dr Harris sketches the philosophical and critical antecedents of Modernism, and discusses the ideas of Development and Evolution in relation to Dogma, in chapter four, on 'The Nature of Truth', he proceeds to the main thesis of his book, which is that the doctrine of Immanence or the Relativity of human knowledge whether in its original Kantian form, or as modified by Hegel, is untenable, and must be abandoned in favour of the Aristotelian logic. 'The Catholic dogmas can only be strictly true if the leading principles of the Aristotelian logic are strictly true', and 'considering that the logic of Hegel is the only serious competitor to that of Aristotle, the disproof of the former amounts in practice to a proof of the latter' (p. 92). It is a little surprising to find that Dr Harris is able, in three and a half pages of criticism, to 'reduce to wastepaper' a book which has so much to answer for as *The Critique of Pure Reason*. He thinks more kindly of the Critiques of *Practical Reason* and of *Judgment*: they 'would be valuable works, if Kant had never written the *Critique of Pure Reason*, or had withdrawn it from circulation, but since both of them contain continual references to the principle of Relativity as

still authoritative, there is scarcely a page in them which does not contain confusions and contradictions' (p. 70).

According to Dr Harris, the annihilation of Kant involves the demolition not only of 'modernist' philosophy but also of 'modernist' criticism and exegesis; for 'it is as plain a fact of history that the Metaphysics of Kant and Hegel lie at the root of Liberal Protestant (and therefore of Modernist) Biblical criticism, as that Napoleon was defeated by Wellington at Waterloo' (p. 13). Dr Harris, however, tries to avoid a collision with scientific criticism by drawing a distinction between 'objective' criticism which is based upon differences of style and phraseology, and is employed by all critics whether orthodox or liberal, and is, therefore, presumably independent of the baneful influence of Kant, and the 'subjective', liberal, or 'modernist' criticism which he rejects. Dr Harris accepts in principle the critical analysis of the Pentateuch and the critical treatment of the synoptic problem. 'In these cases, of course, the methods used are really "objective", and for this reason are employed equally by all critics, orthodox and unorthodox.' Dr Harris's argument is extremely unsatisfactory at this point. An uninformed reader would never guess from what Dr Harris says that 'orthodoxy' during the greater part of last century rejected the very methods which he so readily accepts. In the Roman Catholic Church the most certain conclusions of Biblical criticism are explicitly rejected. In England Tractarians and Evangelicals were united in their opposition to the critical study of the Bible. And this attitude was natural enough; for historical criticism has led to conclusions which are incompatible with the traditional views of the Church. Dr Harris glazes over this patent fact. However, it is all to the good that Dr Harris himself *does* in principle accept these methods. It remains to be seen whether he succeeds in doing justice both to the views he desires to defend and to the methods he claims to accept.

The historical criticism of the New Testament has been less sensational in its results than that of the Old Testament. The Old Testament deals with the history of a people, and critics have taught us that documents which were previously regarded as the starting-point of the history are in reality among its latest products. We measure time by centuries. With the New Testament it is different. All the documents are concerned with a single movement, and less than a century separates the earliest from the very latest book. Yet the transformation in our outlook which historical criticism has introduced has not been less profound. Dr Harris is disposed to question this. He is rightly critical of the extravagant theories of the first half of the nineteenth century. Most critics of all schools will agree with him. But if Dr Harris believes that the present healthy reaction against the extreme

scepticism of an earlier period is leading us back to the outlook of pre-critical days, he is unlikely to be supported by responsible scholars. It should be added that the N. T. studies of classical scholars such as Wendland, Schwartz, and Norden in Germany, and Prof. Percy Gardner in England lend no support to Dr Harris's belief that a trained classical scholar would scrap the obsolete criticism of Liberal theologians and return to the ancient ways. Dr Harris's own confident and sweeping assertions on particular points in N. T. criticism need to be taken with extreme caution, and his whole outlook on early Christianity appears to me to be vitiated by untenable presuppositions.

On p. 229 f Dr Harris discusses the Lucan version of the Institution of the Eucharist, and he supports the longer text with the double reference to the cup. On p. 230 n. 1 he allows himself to speak somewhat contemptuously of Hort's textual criticism, and he actually makes the astounding statement that Dr Hort usually acted on the principle that 'any evidence, however bad, suffices for an omission'. But Dr Harris never even states, still less refutes, the main argument which influenced Hort in his conclusion that there is 'no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the original text of Luke notwithstanding the purely Western ancestry of the documents which omit them' (see *Notes on select readings* p. 63, App. to *New Testament in Greek* vol. ii). Dr Harris's treatment of the Johannine Problem and his discussion of the historical value of the first two chapters of St Luke lie open to similar objections.

Not only does Dr Harris fail to give a fair statement of particular problems in New Testament scholarship, but he adopts a general method which is open to grave objection. He takes for his starting-point the Christianity of the fourth century and proceeds to interpret the New Testament as a whole in the light of the later creeds and definitions. 'The truth is', he says, 'that the doctrine of the Creeds and the Ecumenical Councils is so absolutely and rigorously scriptural that it is difficult to find in it any development at all except in phraseology and scientific arrangement' (pp. 40, 41). Again, he concludes an appendix on Mr Major's three Christologies with these words: 'Thus there are not really three distinct and incompatible Christologies in the New Testament, as alleged by Mr Major, but only one, viz. the doctrine that the pre-existent Logos, or Son of God, or Son of Man, the Father's vice-gerent and agent, and as such Creator and sustainer of the universe became man as Jesus of Nazareth' (p. 368). Now we may grant that the later Creeds are highly valuable in focussing the primitive Christian conviction that in Jesus Christ God has 'visited and redeemed his people'; we may also grant that in analysing the different strands of early Christian thought, some critics have tended to

obscure features which are common to early Christian thought as a whole ; but it is not the less necessary to be on our guard against the dangers of a method which interprets the documents of the first century by creeds and definitions which sprang from controversies which lay beyond the experience of the first preachers of the Gospel. These dangers Dr Harris does not avoid. 'The God of Monotheism', he writes, 'is a jealous God, and the worship that He claims is exclusive and unique. To give it to a creature is to be guilty of the deadliest sin in the monotheistic code of Ethics—the sin of idolatry. If the Apostolic Christians really did worship Jesus (and M. le Roy admits that they did) then it is *absolutely certain* (even though we had no other evidence to confirm it) that they believed in the Incarnation.

'It follows from this—

(1) that they believed in the *consubstantial* Sonship of Jesus (though the technical term to express it was not yet in use).

(2) that they believed that He had *always* been God even from eternity, because to suppose otherwise would have resulted in a contradiction—a contradiction of the divine attribute of eternity' (p. 128).

Dr Harris's whole argument depends on the assumption that the first Christians tested their new-found faith by the laws of logic. But this assumption is not sufficiently probable to justify us in ignoring the evidence which we *do* possess, and this evidence goes to shew that the Apostolic Christians naturally made use of other terms than that of 'God' in which to speak of Jesus Christ, and that to ascribe to them the idea of the consubstantial Sonship (in the Athanasian sense) is a glaring anachronism.

Dr Harris has given us a very lively work : the interest is sustained throughout and the arguments are often uncommonly well put. It is the more to be regretted that he has chosen to write not as a scholar and not as a philosopher, but as an advocate.

J. M. CREED.

Bethada Náem n-Éirenn: Lives of Irish Saints, edited from the original MSS. with Introduction, Translations, Notes, Glossary and Indexes. By CHARLES PLUMMER, M.A., Hon. D.D. (Durham), Fellow and Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Two volumes. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1922.)

TWELVE years ago Dr Plummer published a most important work in two volumes, with the title *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, in which thirty-five of the hagiological homilies that profess to be Lives of certain of the

Irish Saints were edited and annotated. The texts of those documents were all in easy mediaeval Latin, so that a translation was not necessary. In a long introduction, extending over nearly 200 pages, the editor analysed the contents of those singular compilations exhaustively; and with great learning and acuteness pointed out their manifold importance as sources of information upon mythology and folklore, and upon early monastic life.

Dr Plummer has now supplemented this work by publishing two companion volumes, containing the texts of similar documents that have survived in the Irish language. As it is essential in this case to supply a translation, which naturally occupies as much room as the text, the quantity of material contained in the second work is only about half of that in the first: to be exact, the second work contains seventeen pieces. What it lacks in bulk, however, it makes up in interest, both linguistic and historico-mythological.

The editor has evidently discovered that in the introduction to his first collection he skimmed most of the cream of the subject. The introduction in the present work is much shorter, and is almost confined to a statement of the critical apparatus available, and a synopsis of the contents of each document. The Irish text, which occupies the first volume, is edited in a careful and scholarly manner, and seems to be printed, so far as can be judged without a collation of the MSS., with accuracy: the only misprints that I noticed in perusing it have already been detected by the editor himself, and are duly recorded in the corrigenda at the end of vol. ii. A glossary of all the words not contained in the three standard vocabularies of Middle Irish, at present available, completes the first volume, while the translations in the second volume are followed by some forty pages of exegetical notes. These, though short, contain much valuable material supplementary to the first compilation (references to which are scattered over every page).

So interesting and valuable is the book that a reviewer's chief complaint is that there is not more of it. I should have liked for instance, to see the curious MacCreiche life included: it is contained in the Brussels MS. on which the author has drawn extensively. But indeed, it would be possible to compile a scheme for two more volumes out of the material still unpublished: perhaps the author will some day yield to the Celtic and the hagiological *Oliver Twists*, and give us more. Of especial value are the Brendan documents: for a study of that saint's singular legend it is important to get every fragment relating to him into print. Deeply interesting also is the second Maedoc life, as illustrating the processes by which these documents assumed their literary form.

R. A. S. MACALISTER

St Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St Malachy of Armagh, by H. J. LAWLOR, D.D., Litt.D.

St Patrick, his writings and life, by NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, D.D.

The Latin and Irish Lives of Ciaran, by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, Litt.D.

(Translations of Christian literature: Series V, Lives of the Celtic Saints. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.)

EACH of these three books is, in itself, a valuable addition to our knowledge of early Irish Ecclesiastical History, and it is no exaggeration to say that in the work here noticed Dr Lawlor has made the most important contribution of recent years to such knowledge. In this lengthy introduction to his translation of St Bernard's life of St Malachy he has thrown a flood of light on a period hitherto obscure. He traces in detail the developement of that movement, that Reformation in matters ecclesiastical, which took place in the Irish Church in the twelfth century, thereby radically changing its constitution, and bringing it into line with the other churches of Western Christendom, to the advancement of which St Malachy devoted his life and energies. He discusses with ripe scholarship such questions as the existence of diocesan episcopacy in Ireland before the Synod of Rathbreasail, and the important part taken in the new movement by Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick.

Much nonsense has been written in modern times with respect to the national apostle of Ireland, but Dr White makes us see him as he really was, 'a man of apostolic quality and Pauline temperament'. He gives translations of the Confession, the letter to Coroticus, the Breastplate, and the earliest of the Saint's lives, viz. that by Muirchu, and in a learned introduction discusses such points as the Latin text used by St Patrick, his life before he commenced his mission in 432, and his connexion with the see of Rome.

We move in a slightly different atmosphere when we turn to Professor Macalister's lives of Ciaran of Clonmacnois, who was born in 515, and died in 548, or perhaps rather in 556. At first sight such 'lives' are repellent, as they seem to consist of little else than a series of miraculous incidents, which are told with little variation of one saint after another, and afford no biographical information of any value. But on closer examination it will be found that they throw valuable light on manners and customs, ecclesiastical usages, pre-Christian beliefs, and the like. The Editor has shewn, too, that the life of St Ciaran contains what may be accepted as authentic biographical details of the saint, notably the beautiful account of his dying moments.

He has printed the translation of three Latin lives and an Irish life of Ciaran, with the text of one of the former. He has also made out a strong case for the pre-Celtic ancestry of the saint, and his discussion of this point is not the least valuable item in a very interesting book.

ST JOHN D. SEYMOUR.

St Andrew's University Publications, xiv : 'Palaeographia Latina', Part I, edited by PROFESSOR W. M. LINDSAY. (Milford, 1922.)

[Two parts of this Journal are to come out yearly ; subscription, 10s. Articles in any Western language are invited : they may deal with Latin Palaeography down to the middle of the eleventh century.]

It is most welcome that Professor Lindsay has been enabled to start an independent Journal of Palaeography : the matter of it lies on the borderland of Theology, Classics, and History, and none of the periodicals devoted to these subjects can bring it before all possible readers. Professor Lindsay's own articles are scattered in half a dozen places ; now we shall know where to look for them. Let every one interested do his best to support the venture.

Both the articles in Part I are by Prof. Lindsay himself. The second, which should be taken first, is dedicated to the memory of Fr Liebaert, and contains the substance of what he told Prof. Lindsay about three types of book-hand practised at Corbie in the eighth century : the EN-type, still very full of ligatures, early in the century ; the type rather like a half-uncial, used under the abbacy of Leutchar about the middle ; and the type favoured under Maurdramnus (772-780), on the whole more advanced than the well-known AB-type that followed it under Charlemagne's contemporary Adelhard. The mutual relations of these various scripts afford a good example of the struggles which went to the shaping of a satisfactory minuscule book-hand such as the eventually triumphant Carolingian. They also throw light on the general history of learning, especially theological learning (for the revival of the Classics was not yet), in eighth-century France.

The four facsimiles appended to the second article are a valuable illustration of the first, a detailed examination of the forms of 'The Letters in Early Latin Minuscule' both continental and insular. The study gives the same sort of survey of letters as the author's 'Early Contractions', later expanded into the authoritative 'Notae Latinae', gave of abbreviations. It is very stiff reading : references to Maunde Thompson's 'Introduction' make it just intelligible, but full profit cannot be gained from it unless one gathers together other collections

of facsimiles and from them notes in the margin the letter-forms of which the writer is speaking: such treatment would have been made easier if, when Dr Lindsay first mentions a particular MS he had indicated where a facsimile of it can be found: he does not even give references to his Corbie plates at the end of the book, and e.g. such a reference as 'Cologne 91' does not at once call up the codex Andegavensis of Canons or send one to *New Pal. Soc.* 57. He gives on one plate pen-drawn facsimiles of letters and ligatures, but these are not quite convincing and one wants to see a photograph before accepting his analyses of pen movements. To save expense the printing has been done in Italy, hence many misprints that merely offer easy exercises in conjecture. Still I can recommend the correcting and illustrating of this treatise as an admirable exercise for any one who wishes to lay a secure base for a knowledge of the various forms of minuscule letters up to the ninth century, and the process will bring home to him, as nothing else would, how much labour and observation went to the making of a sixty-page article.

E. H. MINNS.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1923 (Vol. xcv, No. 190 : S.P.C.K.). C. F. ROGERS The natural voice—T. A. LACEY Minimum conditions of intercommunion—V. BARTLET Minimum conditions of intercommunion: some comments on Canon Lacey's article—N. E. EGERTON SWANN Some morals of Eschatology—T. H. ROBINSON Modern criticism and the prophetic literature of the Old Testament—L. W. GRENTED The New Psychology and its significance—A. B. BROWNE Some early Gospel sources—H. ALLEN A thirteenth-century coronation rubric—A. W. REED Thomas Hardy and the poetic mind—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1923 (Vol. xxi, No. 3 : Williams & Norgate). J. S. MACKENZIE The idea of Creation—E. G. A. HOLMES The idea of Evolution and the idea of God—A. N. WHITEHEAD The place of Classics in Education—E. T. CAMPAGNAC Continuity and change in the theory and practice of Education—C. W. STANLEY Spiritual conditions in Canada—G. C. FIELD The influence of race in history and politics—J. W. BUCKHAM Modernism: an American view—J. W. HARPER A true Universalism—R. T. HERFORD The fundamentals of Religion, as interpreted by Christianity and Rabbinical Judaism—C. J. CADOUX Should we all be perfect?—B. W. BACON Two parables of lost opportunity—G. MACDONALD The spirit of play—S. OLIVIER Vision of the antechamber—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 145 : Hodder & Stoughton). D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The Messiah—D. PLOOIJ The Apostolic Decree and its problems—H. G. WOOD Liberal Protestantism and Modernist Criticism—J. P. NAISH Fresh light on the Book of Esther—C. R. WINTERBOTHAM The Sign of Jonah—E. H. ASKWITH The hope of Immortality in the Psalter.

February 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 146). D. PLOOIJ The Apostolic Decree and its problems—S. CAVE The paradox of Religion: a study of Otto's 'The Holy'—H. T. ANDREWS The conception of the Gospel in the Synoptics—G. A. J. ROSS The Epistle of the torn heart—E. A. and J. A. ROBERTSON Jesus seeking the lost—W. R. WHATELY The feeding of the four thousand—W. J. FERRAR The record of a development—A. T. S. JAMES The reticence of Jesus.

March 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 147). G. H. C. MACGREGOR How far is the Fourth Gospel a unity?—F. EAKIN Mark's 'straightway

—A. DUFF The rise of the title 'Messiah'—T. J. MEEK Was Jeremiah a 'priest'?—D. PLOOIJ The Apostolic Decree and its problems—A. D. MOZLEY Jewish expectations as to the date of Christ's coming.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1923 (Vol. xxi, No. 1: Princeton University Press). S. G. CRAIG Genuine and counterfeit Christianity—R. C. PITZER The mystic paths—W. M. CLOW The charge against Capitalism—O. T. ALLIS The conflict over the Old Testament—Notes and Notices—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, January 1923 (Vol. xxxv, No. 1: Abbaye de Maredsous). A. WILMART Une homélie de Sedatius, évêque de Nîmes, pour la Nativité de Notre-Seigneur—G. MORIN Traité 'de virtutibus S. Augustini' composé par un bénédictin du xi^e-xii^e siècle: Les distiques de Pomponio Leto sur les stations liturgiques du carême—B. CAPELLE Optat et Maximin—Comptes rendus.

Revue Biblique, January 1923 (Vol. xxxii, No. 1: V. Lecoffre, Paris). P. DHORME Ecclésiaste ou Job?—M. E. PODECHARD Notes sur les Psaumes: Psaume xlv—A. ROYET Un manuscrit palimpseste de la Vulgate hiéronymienne des évangiles—J. TOUZZARD L'âme juive au temps des Perses—F. M. ABEL Trois inscriptions arabes, inédites, du haram d'Hébron—M. J. LANGRANGE Le logos d'Héraclite—Chronique—Recensions.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, January 1923 (40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). P. GUILLoux L'évolution religieuse de Tertullien—H. J. CHAPMAN Pélagé et le texte de S. Paul—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, January 1923 (Vol. xxi, No. 4: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). F. SCHULTHESS Zur Sprache der Evangelien II—M. ALBERTZ Zur Formengeschichte der Auferstehungsberichte—F. C. CONYBEARE The Armenian Acts of Cyprian—K. L. SCHMIDT Eschatologie und Mystik im Urchristentum—H. A. SANDERS Buchanans Publikationen altlateinischer Texte: eine Warnung—W. MUNDLE Die Geschichtlichkeit des messianischen Bewusstseins Jesu—Notizen.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

STYLE AND AUTHORSHIP IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

IN the work on the Acts of the Apostles entitled *The Beginnings of Christianity* (vol. ii)¹—though it appears to be the intention of the Editors to allow for the expression of a diversity of views on various problems connected with the subject, and to leave readers to form their own opinion—a definite attitude is taken up in regard to one important question, namely, the value of *the evidence of style in respect to authorship* supplied by a comparison of the ‘we’ sections (Acts xvi 9–18; xx 4–16; xxi 1–18; xxvii 1–xxviii 16) with the remainder of the work and with our Third Gospel, to which in recent years so much attention has been drawn by Harnack’s *Lucas der Arzt* and subsequent works from his pen. On the historical and psychological problem whether, when the conception to be formed of St Paul’s character and teaching from the Acts is considered in relation to that furnished by his own Epistles, it seems possible that the former could have been given us by a personal disciple of the Apostle, we have in *Beginnings* two essays, one by Dr Emmet arguing ‘the case for’, another by Dr Windisch ‘the case against’, the traditional view. But we have no statement of the argument based on the ‘we’ sections by any one who is convinced that account must be taken of it along with other considerations in determining the question of authorship. The view of the two writers, to whom it is left to deal with the matter, is simply that the stylistic argument may be set aside as incapable of helping us to a conclusion. In certain paragraphs in *Beginnings* by Dr H. J. Cadbury (pp. 161–166) which the Editors have included in an Introduction largely by themselves, he calls it ‘a plausible but fallacious argument’ (p. 161), and maintains that ‘closely criticized, this argument appears fallacious, but in its method and principles rather than in the details’ (p. 162). And the Editors, though they offer no reasoned opinion of their own upon the evidence, clearly in the immediate sequel (p. 166 f) adopt his

¹ All the references in the present article are to vol. ii.

conclusion, and imply that henceforth that argument may be dismissed from consideration, and that for a decision as to whether the author of Acts was a personal disciple of Paul we must look virtually alone to a discussion of the general historical and psychological problem presented by a comparison of the Acts with the Epistles of St Paul. In accordance with this view Dr Emmet refrains from any reference to the stylistic argument in his 'case for the tradition'. Dr Windisch, on the other hand, does not shew complete confidence in Dr Cadbury's arguments, for he dwells on one stylistic question, viz. the 'abruptness' with which the first person plural is introduced in the passages of Acts named.¹ Moreover, his position is not that the stylistic argument is in itself a mistaken one, but that it is quite overpowered by arguments of another kind. He declares near the close of his essay (p. 344) 'that the so-called "lower criticism" is never able to solve such complicated problems or even to maintain itself against "higher criticism"'.

As I had myself long studied the subject of the authorship of Acts, and in particular after the appearance of *Lucas der Arzt* examined it with the greatest care, and had come to and published² a different conclusion from that of the writers in *Beginnings* whose opinions have been quoted, I have naturally desired to go over the ground again in order to see whether I was prepared to stand by what I had written. I confess that I approached it anew with some anxiety, realizing how hard it is to exclude any influence proceeding from what one may desire should be the result reached, and how consequently with the best will in the world one may have been prevented from judging with genuine independence, and I felt it necessary, therefore, to weigh again many considerations much pondered before. The fact, too, that Dr Cadbury and Dr Windisch have on their side a large body, and perhaps the majority, of critics still is enough to make one pause in adhering to the contrary view. Nevertheless, after examining what they have urged, I find it unconvincing, and it seems to me, and indeed I think it can hardly be denied, that it may be worth while that both the actual points at issue, and the questions of method involved in their decision, should be further discussed.

Dr Cadbury in one expression that he employs betrays some waver-

¹ pp. 329 ff.

² Perhaps as so much has been written on the subject, and as Professor Harnack is naturally now taken as the representative of the side favourable to the traditional view, I had no right to expect that any notice should be taken of, or even reference given to, my own work upon it in *Beginnings*. But it was not by any means a mere reproduction of Harnack. Though not nominally upon Acts, a discussion of problems connected with the Third Gospel necessarily involved that of Acts. See *Gospels as Historical Documents* pt. ii; *The Synoptic Gospels* pp. 240-322. It will be necessary for me to refer to this in the sequel.

ing. 'The comparative abundance of Lucan terms', he writes, 'in the "we" sections is not final proof that no source was being used' (p. 164). The word 'final' slipped in here, taken with his dismissal of the argument, suggests to one to ask whether he has sufficiently considered the nature of a vast amount of historical evidence. Probabilities not separately 'final' may, and often do, in combination produce conviction. The same query may be put to the Editors. I am not prepared to offer a 'final proof' on the subject of authorship, either by means of the 'stylistic' or the 'historical and psychological' argument, and I am convinced that it is not possible soundly to simplify the enquiry by eliminating either kind of evidence from the ultimate review of both in which our judgements should engage. From my own point of view it will be most convenient to consider first whether the arguments which the 'higher' criticism can produce render unsuitable any appeal to 'lower' criticism. I shall therefore turn now to Dr Windisch's article. I shall, however, defer the consideration of the remarks in that article on the 'abruptness' with which the 'we' sections are introduced in order that they may be taken along with Dr Cadbury's observations on the argument from style.

No student could suppose that the 'lower' criticism possesses so much interest as the 'higher', or that it can solve complicated problems 'of men's beliefs and actions in the past'. That is not its province. But it would be difficult, or rather impossible, to prove as a general proposition that 'lower criticism' must always give way to 'higher criticism'. Each may have a strength of its own in any particular instance. The probabilities as to the conclusions to be drawn from the one may support the other; or one may be indeterminate and leave the decision to the other; or they may be opposed, and in this case it may be the duty of the student to examine each, and endeavour to estimate the strength of each, afresh; or it may already appear clear that some alternative view can much more easily be accepted on one side than the other, so as to bring the two kinds of evidence into agreement. But we may dismiss the broad pronouncement in the words just now cited. As to the particular question of the authorship of the Acts, Dr Windisch's position virtually is that while the first person plural of the 'we' sections might be a fiction on the part of the author of the work, or (which he holds to be more probable) these sections can be regarded as extracts from a diary by a companion of St Paul, which the author of the whole has revised, as he has many other passages, on the other hand reasons may be given, founded on the purport of the Acts and a comparison of it with St Paul's Epistles, which are decisive against the view that the Acts could have been composed by a companion of the Apostle.

In order that room might be held to remain still for a careful enquiry into and appreciation of the results of the 'lower' criticism, it would be necessary only to be convinced that 'the case against the tradition' in respect to the authorship of the Acts cannot be established with the clearness that Dr Windisch plainly thinks it can, on grounds of 'higher criticism'. In proof of this it might well seem sufficient for me to refer to the arguments of Harnack, and finally to Dr Emmet's article in *Beginnings*, in 'the case for the tradition' in which he evidently endeavours to feel the full force of the objections that have been brought against it, and to meet them adequately. But it is too soon to judge whether, or how far, critics in general have been affected by what Prof. Harnack has written on the subject. Dr Windisch may be taken as still a representative of the position reached on the authorship of the Acts by the majority, or at least by many critics, if by that term we are to understand those who cannot be suspected of being influenced at all by conservative opinions. In common with others he has receded far from the position of the original Tübingen School as to the dates of the New Testament books, many of which they placed in the middle of the second century, and the large number of Epistles bearing the name of St Paul which are to be included among his genuine writings. But he adheres substantially to the Tübingen view of the relation of the representation given in the Acts of St Paul's course of action and teaching to the conception of them which is to be derived from St Paul's Epistles, and infers that the Acts cannot be the work of a personal disciple of his. There is no more interesting and important question at the present time connected with the history of the Rise of Christianity, and it needs to be kept persistently before the minds of New Testament students in general in order that as sound and well established a judgement as possible may be formed thereon. That is my chief justification for recurring to the subject, though so much has been written upon it. Further Dr Windisch's essay on 'the case against the tradition' does not seem to have been submitted to Dr Emmet before he wrote; I have had the advantage of reading it with care, and so of being able to examine directly the arguments employed by him which satisfy himself and which he thinks should satisfy others. Moreover it seems to me that any one who attaches value to an argument for the authenticity of the Acts founded on the style and contents of the 'we' sections ought to shew that he is aware that he should not lean on this alone, or to an excessive extent, and that he has not neglected to take account of broader historical evidence. At the same time my treatment must be brief.

I. It must always be hard to place oneself at the right point of view in the study of the history of the distant past, and rightly to understand

the lines of action chosen by different men, not least by great men, especially in times of transition when there were many cross-currents and conflicting views. Probably there was never a time more difficult to understand in these respects than the Apostolic Age and the decades immediately succeeding it. Doubtless this is generally acknowledged, and yet it appears to some of us who recognize that on many subjects we have learnt much from Criticism, that it has gone seriously wrong on this one, largely from a lack of appreciation of the difficulties which it must have for modern minds. The object of Criticism from the first, and in a special manner that of the Tübingen School, was to form truer ideas of past history, but this school failed from seeking to impose upon the past a theory of history derived from contemporary philosophy. It would hardly have been possible to light upon a more wrong-headed method. Much has been learnt since then in regard to right method in the study of history, and New Testament criticism has not been uninfluenced by it, but there are still those, especially in this instance on the anti-traditional side, whose minds are not fully emancipated from a particular theory, with the result that they are diverted from attention to important pieces of evidence, and read interpretations into the documents, and draw inferences from them, which are really baseless, and argue about this or that characteristic in a way that assumes men to be always logical in their actions. A proper sense of the differences between those times and our own, and, indeed, also a truer knowledge of men in our own times, would be shewn in a more fresh and open-minded noting and following out of indications in the documents, which would lead to the attainment of truer insight and more of a right kind of historical imagination.

I turn to special points :

(1) *The position assigned in Acts to Peter at the Conference in Jerusalem.*

In *Beginnings* at p. 323, with reference to Peter's speech, xv 7-11, it is asked, 'Could a man who had known Paul have allowed Peter to claim that God had long before made him the *Apostle of the Gentiles*?' And again at p. 342, we read, 'He considered it important to shew that it was not Paul, but Peter, who was the first to receive the call to convert the Gentiles and that it was not Paul, but Peter, who was the first pioneer in the work. *It is difficult to attribute such a depreciation of Paul's position to a personal pupil*'. The italics are mine. Here, indeed, the voice of Tübingen is to be heard ! But is it possible that, not merely a personal pupil, but any writer of the Acts could have intended to convey in his work this notion of Peter's position relatively to Paul? Between the visit to Cornelius and the Conference no instance is given of Peter's exercising his ministry to the Gentiles, while

after it he is never named. Is it not possible—is it not much more in accord with the tenor of the narrative as a whole—to suppose that the writer without any idea in his mind of rivalry between Peter and Paul, such as no truly Christian mind could entertain, desired to exhibit the strength of the foundation of that mission to the Gentiles in which Paul was engaged, in that within the Jewish-Christian body itself, through the mouth of the most eminent of the twelve, it had been acknowledged that in the sight of God there is no such distinction between ‘clean’ and ‘unclean’ as the Jews made, and that this disciple himself, on an occasion when opportunity offered, had been called to deliver the Gospel of salvation through Jesus Christ to a gathering of uncircumcised proselytes, though his own work had been among Jews as it plainly continued to be. This is all that is related. And if a personal disciple of Paul told it, he would have shewn that he had imbibed some of the spirit of his master who had exclaimed with regard to some who sought to pit himself and Cephas against one another, ‘Has Christ been divided?’

The question of the historical character of the Cornelius incident has not quite the same bearing on the authorship of the Acts as that of the intention with which it and the references to it are recorded, because it would seem to have been part of the material which the author of Acts collected for the history of the Church some little while before Paul came upon the scene. But it is held by Dr Windisch to have been unhistorical,¹ and the more unlikely on that ground to have been introduced by one who had been in contact with Paul.

One argument that is used for its want of historical character, and the only one upon which I will touch, is that Peter’s change of mind as to eating with Gentiles, of which Paul speaks Gal. ii 11 ff, was flatly contrary to the teaching of the Divine Revelation which Peter had received. Nevertheless, it is to be feared that it was an inconsistency not impossible for human nature, and in particular for men specially liable to feel the pressure of their surroundings. Peter had failed (we know) once before grievously in an ordeal of the kind; and we can imagine how, on the occasion at Antioch, he might have sought to justify himself to himself, as (for example) by the plea that the ministry to the Gentiles was not his own special work, and that for him for the most part it was more important not to cause scandal to the Jews.

(2) *The Paul of his own Epistles, and the Paul of the Acts.*

An examination of the practical line of conduct adopted by him in his relations with Jews and Gentiles cannot be wholly separated from his more formal teaching, but in the main for the purpose of discussion

¹ p. 341 f.

it may be so. We will, then, now compare the evidence of the Epistles and the Acts in regard to these two subjects.

(a) *Line of conduct.*

To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to them that are under the law as under the law, not being myself under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law as without law, not being without law to God, but under law to Christ, that I might gain them that are without law. 1 Cor. ix 20, 21. See also the whole context, *vv.* 19-24, and *cp.* x 32—xi 1.

Among a few concessions which Dr Windisch makes early in his essay of arguments which he promises not to press, he includes (though he doubts whether he ought to do so) that which might be founded on the account in Acts of the circumcision of Timothy; and again, on that of Paul's conforming on his last visit to Jerusalem to a ceremonial observance, and in the latter connexion, he cites the first of the sentences above quoted and also 1 Cor. x 23, viii 1 ff; Rom. xiv (p. 320 f). He does not discuss them more generally; and yet assuredly the words quoted, and others like them, are not to be considered only in their bearing upon one or two incidents. There were many other occasions in which a natural application would be found for them. Indeed, they plainly lay down a rule of action which the Apostle intended should be that of his life generally.

One important example of his being guided by it was that, while he insisted in the strongest manner on Gentile Christians remaining uncircumcised, he did not call upon Jewish Christians to give up circumcision. Dr Windisch does not deny this, but it is important that the significance of this fact should be grasped. Unquestionably of Jewish Christians he did require an entirely altered view of the place of circumcision in their religious life. The remission of sins for them as well as for Gentiles could only be through Christ. But it would have been impossible for St Paul to declare that to the Jews he had become a Jew, and that he strove to avoid giving offence—to be *ἀπρόσκοπος*—to the Jews, if he had urged them to discontinue the practice itself. In that case such words could have had no meaning. Moreover in another passage he expressly says, 'Was any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised' (1 Cor. vii 18). One other consideration may well be added. When he wrote the Epistle to the Romans he was looking forward to a visit to Jerusalem which he intended to pay; he must have known enough of feeling in the holy city to be aware that such a visit would have been madness if he had been actually attacking the observance of circumcision by Jews themselves, and with it of the obedience to the law into which it was the initiation (Gal. v 3). In the Epistles belonging to the period

covered by the Acts he seems clearly to have thought of Jewish and Gentile believers as forming two bodies which, while allowed to differ from one another in some matters of practice, were yet to be united in the closest manner in feeling as sharing the same hope of salvation. This unity and the avoidance of everything that could hinder it were objects of his own deepest desire. This appears especially in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, but is not confined to this one.

If he even then had visions of a time—as we shall see appears to have been the case later—when circumcision would be abrogated even for the Jewish believer, and Jew and Gentile could be completely bound together in one Church of Christ, he trusted for their realization to the gradual effects upon all hearts of the preaching of Christ crucified and risen. From both Epistles and Acts it is evident that the one vital question in connexion with securing Gentile freedom and the whole validity of Christ's work was that of resistance to the circumcision of Gentile converts to Christianity as a religious ceremony.

I pass now to a small matter in comparison, but one about which in modern times there has been a great deal more controversy, the requirement made of Gentile converts at the conclusion of the Conference at Jerusalem as related in Acts xv. This 'decree' seems often to be thought of as part of a kind of bargain made between Paul and Barnabas on the one hand and the apostles and elders at Jerusalem on the other. If it was this, certainly that view of it is inconsistent with St Paul's statement in the Epistle to the Galatians (ii 10) that he and Barnabas were only required to 'remember the poor'. In Acts, however, not a word is said about any conditions which Paul had to accept, so that we may imagine what we please on that head. It is noticeable also that certain representatives of the Church at Jerusalem were sent with Paul and Barnabas on their mission, and naturally it would be specially their duty to deliver the 'decrees'. No doubt, however, Paul must, according to Acts, at least have acquiesced in their distribution by men in his company, and at Acts xvi 4 no distinction is made in regard to this between himself and others. I have no wish that the Western text of 'the decrees' should be substituted for the one to which we are more accustomed. I believe the latter to be the original one, and moreover the main difference between them consists in an addition in the Western, while one at least of the requirements which it is held that Paul could have had nothing to do with remains in this form. We are told that 'the decrees' were 'a food-law' and as such 'legalistic' and 'Jewish in tone' and therefore contrary to Paul's belief and teaching. But were they so in their object? There is nothing to shew that the apostles and elders at Jerusalem saw any value in them besides and beyond

their promoting charity, and they could not have secured that Gentile converts should observe them for any other reason. Would not that have satisfied Paul? About one of them he has occasion to write to the Corinthians (1 Cor. x 14 ff), viz. that of abstinence from food that has been offered to idols. He himself would have been shocked if there was any actual, conscious association with an idol and idol-worship; but to quiet the anxieties of the over-scrupulous he lays down the rule that they need not make particular enquiries about all that was sold in the market, or set before them on the tables of heathen hosts who had invited them. He does not refer to 'things strangled and to blood'. Whether these were, or were not, cases of any practical importance in Corinth we do not know. But he enunciates a principle which would have served for guidance in regard to them also. Matters of eating and drinking were, he declares, indifferent. That might be taken in two ways; but here, from the context in which he bids these Gentile Christians avoid all offence, it is evident that what he means by it is that such a matter is not one which it is right and wise to choose for fighting the battle of freedom upon. Would it be strange that one who held this view, and who said that 'to the Jews he became a Jew', and made it his aim to give no offence to Jews, should make the concession in regard to 'the decrees' that the Acts attributes to him? And if it is unthinkable, may we be told of some other ways in which he would shape his conduct in a manner consistent with such words? It is true that in 1 Corinthians he does not mention 'the decrees' or refer to the act of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. But it would be natural that as time went on and as the Gospel was carried farther from Jerusalem, into lands where there were fewer Jews than in districts of Asia Minor, the formal promulgation of 'the decrees' should be dropped; and in any case Paul would undoubtedly prefer to appeal to a principle rather than to authority, except the highest.

It must still be noticed that according to Dr Windisch, if there had been those Jerusalem 'decrees' Paul must have mentioned them, because it would have been such an effective answer to his opponents (p. 325 f). To me it seems very unlikely that he should have mentioned them, chiefly because it might have been interpreted as a recognition of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, and he was above all determined, as the tenor of the Epistle shews, to maintain that he exercised his ministry by Divine commission. It was enough that there had been an agreement as to provinces of work.

(b) *St Paul's teaching.*

It may well be difficult to perceive what is most distinctive and important in a great man's thought and teaching and character while he is still alive or shortly afterwards, and it is doubtful whether even

those who stand nearest necessarily grasp it. It is likely to be the more so, the newer and more original and more profound it is. St Paul connected some of his most characteristic conceptions with insistence upon the freedom from the yoke of the Jewish law of Gentile converts to the Christian Faith. Strange to say fifteen hundred years later circumstances spiritually and morally in some ways analogous, and the presence of minds that may have been in a measure akin to his and therefore peculiarly receptive, led to certain of his great thoughts becoming one of the great forces at work in the whole Reformation movement of the sixteenth century, in a degree that they never had been before. And this has had an effect upon the estimate of Paul's teaching even in modern times which has been partly distorting. Paul has been looked at often too much through Lutheran spectacles. Features which attracted special attention in the sixteenth century have too exclusively attracted attention; his own view of the significance of Judaism and its continuing influence upon him, his primary conviction of the power of a risen and living Christ, and the relations to one another in him of different elements, have not been sufficiently regarded.

In Paul's own day and the decades immediately following the obvious practical result of his teaching in securing the admission of Gentiles to the Christian Church without passing through the gate of Judaism must have been thankfully remembered: but when once this victory had been won, or was in prospect, the need for reproducing his teaching about the true view to be taken of the Jewish law would rapidly come to be less felt, while the task of disconnecting from it the inculcation of those principles of permanent importance which he had bound up with it would not be an easy one. That influences of this kind did operate upon the minds of Apostolic Fathers and early Christian Apologists to bring about a change from St Paul's point of view would now be admitted. It is not clear to me that they might not have told even upon personal disciples of his in the last twenty years of the first century to which I should attribute the composition of the Acts.¹

But we ought also to ask what place Paul himself gave to that distinctive teaching. He could eagerly contend for his own position about the relations of the Law and the Gospel, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, when roused to it. Again in 2 Cor. iii 3—iv 6 and v 17, he sets forth most nobly the superiority of the New Covenant to the Old, and points out what the effect of it must be as regards the ministers of the New, while at xi 22 ff he is driven to assert himself against Judaizing, or Jewish, opponents. He also thought well, when after prolonged

¹ See *Gospels as Historical Documents* p. 275, where date of Third Gospel is given; Acts of course followed.

labours in Northern Syria and Asia Minor and Greece he was looking forward to paying a visit to Jerusalem, to address to the Church at the great seat of Empire a comprehensive, reasoned exposition of the whole subject. Once more, in a still later Epistle, that to the Philippians, he warns the Church at Philippi against 'the Concision'. And yet, when we recall a very familiar passage in 1 Cor. xv 1-11—one of which Dr Windisch takes no account—it must appear that relatively to his ministry as a whole there was something exceptional in those other cases. In that passage he gives a statement of the contents of the Gospel which he 'delivered', which his converts 'received' from him and in which 'they stood'. In this there is not a word about the Law, and he declares it to have had for its subject Jesus Christ crucified and risen 'according to the Scriptures', and to be the same as that which was preached by 'the twelve'.

I must remark, too, that Dr Windisch shews a disposition to obliterate, to a far greater degree than can be justified, the line of distinction in St Paul's mind between those Judaizers who were his special antagonists and the elder apostles and their disciples on the one hand, and that on the other between those antagonists and the mass of Jews.¹ Not only the passage from 1 Cor. xv but not a few others might be cited to shew the love which he cherished for all true Jewish-Christian believers; and if his special antagonists professed on occasion to represent the Church at Jerusalem, as at Antioch when Peter failed (Gal. ii 11), there is nothing at least to shew that they had a right to do so. At the same time it is evident that the Judaizers in Galatia were not mere Jews. They pretended in some sort to be Christians, and herein lay the danger of their gaining influence over Paul's Gentile converts. It is natural to compare those denounced at Philippi with the mischief-makers in Galatia, and in the Philippian Church, too, they seem plainly to have been men who had worked their way into the Christian body.

To turn now to the Acts: the statement in 1 Cor. xv is in perfect agreement with what the author of that work represents Paul as telling Agrippa that the substance and character of his preaching had been (xxvi 22 f). In the account, however, given us in Acts of the early discourse by Paul in the Synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia the relation of the Gospel to the Law is presented in a manner which is said not to be Pauline. Dr Windisch, in common with many adherents of the Tübingen point of view in the matter before him, interprets the declaration that through Jesus 'is proclaimed unto you' (the Jews whom

¹ See pp. 307 n. 1, 333, 339. The first of these runs: 'By limiting themselves to the Four Epistles the Tübingen School gave up a very important piece of evidence, and one which is still important—the great anti-Jewish or anti-Judaistic polemic of Paul in Phil. iii.' I refer especially to the use of the two terms 'anti-Jewish' and 'anti-Judaistic' as alternatives.

St Paul was addressing) 'remission of sins, and by him every one that believeth is justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses',¹ as meaning that 'Faith seems to be a supplement of strict observance of the Law' (p. 337). That is to say, it is taken to be implied in 'all things' that 'some things' were and continued to be otherwise provided for. But to say the least, the words seized upon may equally well signify that the method of justification now made known was complete in itself, while that which for the Jew had preceded was incomplete, which is an altogether different idea, and this will appear to be the only natural meaning when the words 'by him *every one that believeth*' are allowed their proper value. These could only mean that one and the same way of salvation was being opened to every true believer, whether from among Jews (lax or strict), or proselytes of the gate, or Gentiles. And no writer of Acts, whoever he might be, could have imagined that a message delivered in such terms was to be differently understood as to its scope by different classes of persons, as according to Dr Windisch and those whom he follows must be supposed to have been intended. The immediate sequel (*vv.* 40-49) is entirely inconsistent with any such view. Nor is a single remark of his from any other context quoted to that effect. It should be noted also that at the conclusion of the address to the Jews they are warned that if they do not embrace the offer made them they will be rejecting a gift that is incalculably precious; and that just afterwards it is described as 'eternal life'. The rebellion against the Will of God which this involves, and consequent retribution, are again insisted upon at the close of the Acts. And the appearance of this view of the action of the Jewish people first near the opening of the account of the Apostle's ministry, and then so far as this book is concerned, at its close, may fairly be taken as indicative of what were the ruling ideas in the mind of the author. In it there is not a little that resembles the thought in certain portions of the Epistle to the Romans. The compensating consideration that finally 'all Israel should be saved', which appears in the latter, is not, it is true, introduced in Acts, but this difference does not at least make Acts a more 'neutral' document, one less unfavourable to the Jew.

I have still to observe that one incident related in the Acts will appear in a somewhat different light from that in which Dr Windisch regards it when the character of the opponents referred to in St Paul's Epistles is more justly viewed. As we have seen, the party of 'the Concision' ought not to be identified with the Pharisees. Not only is there no ground for thinking that the Pharisees as a body organized the opposition to St Paul, but they could not have done so, because his

¹ Acts xiii 39.

chief opponents were Jews and something more ; they pretended to be Christians. The inconsistency, if there is one, of the claim to be 'a Pharisee the son of a Pharisee' attributed to Paul in Acts is with the denunciations of 'Scribes and Pharisees' by Jesus Himself recorded by the author of Acts in the Third Gospel, and not with any use of the term by Paul himself in his Epistles. But the probability is that in the second half of the first century the very designation 'Pharisee' for one belonging to a certain sect had not become synonymous with externalism in religion and hypocrisy, as it has commonly for us through the reading of the Gospels. There would, therefore, not be any such violent contrast, as Dr Windisch supposes, between Paul's use of it in this passage of Acts and (so far as we know) at other times. To say that he is represented as doing it 'to save his life' is of course obvious exaggeration, or rather misrepresentation. Dr Windisch forgets that the ruling body among the Jews were the chief priests who were of the Sadducean party, and, moreover, that the Roman Government alone had the power of life and death. By creating a commotion he in fact endangered his life (cf. Acts xxiv 21). It does not seem to me that it would have been altogether 'out of character' for St Paul, or that it would have been dishonourable, that he should have used his old connexion with the Pharisaic party and the measure of sympathy that he had with them still, in order to win a hearing for his great doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Our comparison so far has (with one exception, that of a passage in the Epistle to the Philippians) only been between the Acts and Epistles written before Paul's Roman captivity. But there was a developement in his teaching, to which a reference has been made, and which is specially illustrated by the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians ; and in the former of these Luke was with the Apostle, and may very likely have been his amanuensis. There are in the Address to the Ephesian elders (Acts xx 28, 32) slight indications of the same vein of thought as that more fully followed out in those Epistles. Must there have been a fuller presentation of it in the Acts if the writer had been closely associated with St Paul, even at the time when those Epistles were composed ? It seems conceivable that such an one may have felt himself unequal to it, when many years afterwards he set himself to write the Acts. He had great literary gifts of his own, but men of divers mental characteristics may well have been drawn to become even intimate disciples of St Paul.

There is yet another possibility. The point in the history at which the Acts terminates is a strange one to have been chosen for the end of the whole work. The author may have intended to add yet a third part and have been prevented, e. g. by death. It would be altogether unwise to

build upon this hypothesis, but it is equally so to build upon its not having been his intention. If we had had a third *logos* it might clearly have made a good deal of difference in judging of general features represented in the narrative as we have it in the Acts as they stand. I am not greatly impressed with Dr Windisch's charges of 'omissions' of what a companion of the Apostle must have told about him and about himself. He was writing an account of the appearance and spread of the Christian Faith in the world, and in the latter half of this St Paul was the principal human actor; but he was not writing a biography of St Paul, or a study of his teaching. He was, also, as was the habit in antiquity, and one for which there was good reason, writing a short book. It would have been a bulky one if it had included all that Dr Windisch says it ought to have included. Lastly, it was designed for those who were outside at least of the inner circle of Christians. But apart from these considerations, the objections as to omissions might have been largely met by comprehensive references, after the writer's manner, put into St Paul's mouth, or otherwise, in a third part.

I maintain then that the question whether the position, theologically and in knowledge of facts, of the writer of the Acts is or is not consistent with his having been a personal disciple of St Paul, is an obscure and difficult one, and that the 'higher' criticism cannot be held to have decided it in the negative. For all that has been thus advanced it remains, to say the least, open, and we must therefore be all the more anxious to hear and to consider with care what the 'lower' criticism may have to say in order that we may ascertain whether it too leaves it open, or has any weighty deliverance to make in favour of authorship.

As one class of arguments with regard to the authorship has been brought before us by examining Dr Windisch's article, so the other will be by examining Dr Cadbury's paragraphs, which have been above referred to, and afterwards by one more glance at Dr Windisch's article.

II. Let me for the sake of any readers who are not familiar with the subject state broadly the proposition held by those students of it, who, in common with Harnack, take the sections of Acts where the first person plural appears in the meaning which, I think I may fairly say, is that which on the surface they bear. It is that the man who here employs the first person was the same who put together the Third Gospel and then the Acts and combined them; in other words, the author of this whole as a whole, who also revised in greater or less degrees what he quoted from documents, or it may be in some cases from information orally supplied to him. Supposing him to have been influenced in his style by information orally received, i. e. in a measure to have allowed reporters to speak through his own mouth, the difference from his own

proper style would probably still not be so marked, as where he had such a document as Mark or the Logia lying before him. There would generally be at least somewhat more scope and need for the writer in the former case than in the latter. But the oral informants must have been of different types. In the Gospel, where he had not Mark or the Logia, or possibly some other document, the authority on which the author-editor would have been dependent would have been early Palestinian Christians. So for the history of the early days of the Church in Jerusalem, Palestine, and adjacent parts. Subsequently, even before he had joined St Paul's company, or when not a member of it, the informants, or many of them, would be men who had received an education at least somewhat more similar to his own, while the account to be given of the facts would also more freely shape itself in his own mind. A division may perhaps best be made at Acts xi 19, though it cannot be an altogether strict one. Lastly, the author-editor was present in Paul's company for a considerable time himself; the so-called 'we' sections belong to those portions of the Third Gospel and the Acts, in which his specialities of style are most apparent, so much so as to afford strong ground for believing that the 'we' is no fiction, and also that it has not slipped in with extracts in which it occurred.

I find three arguments urged against this view in Dr Cadbury's paragraphs. Two of them appear to me to have no force, and I will notice them first, and, roughly speaking, I shall be following the order in which he brings them forward. 1. He argues that Harnack reasons inconsistently and erroneously in regard to the origin of Luke, chapters i and ii, and he infers that the method of counting peculiarities of style is not adapted for determining whether a particular portion is derived from a source or not. But the evidence may be wrongly judged in one case and yet rightly in others. The portion of the Gospel, Harnack's view of which is here criticized by Dr Cadbury, is one in respect to which the origin is peculiarly difficult to determine, and on which there would be a good deal of difference of opinion even among those who would be in full agreement as to the general proposition which I have stated above. The question at issue between them and other students relates to certain sections of which this is not one. An inference from it to the method employed in general can have no force. At most it is an argument *ad hominem*, never a satisfactory sort of argument.

I am sure that critics generally will not agree with Dr Cadbury that the 'Lucan' writings are 'throughout homogeneous'. That would mean that everywhere the author-editor is revising and that to approximately the same degree. It would have been practically impossible that he should have given us the well-compacted work he has if he had attempted to fit sources to one another everywhere without supplying

anything himself; and critics, whether they satisfy themselves that the 'we' sections were extracts or not, will not give up the endeavour to distinguish between parts of the Lucan writings in which a source was employed and others, or the employment to a large extent of the method here condemned by Dr Cadbury in doing so. Dr McGiffert informs us (p. 388) that in another volume of *Beginnings* there is to be a chapter on the sources. Whoever is chosen to write this chapter will certainly be much embarrassed if he is required wholly to discard this method.

2. On Harnack's remarking that, in spite of all revision of Mark by Luke, the vocabulary of Mark is still apparent through the Lucan editing, Dr Cadbury observes that 'an actual count of the occurrence in Lucan writings of words impartially chosen as characteristic of Mark shews that these occur as often or oftener in the parts of Luke and Acts not derived from Mark' as in those parallel to Mark (p. 163 bottom). It is implied of course again that the linguistic test is useless. From a note it appears that the list of words here referred to as 'impartially chosen as characteristic of Mark' is framed from Hawkins's *Horae Synopticae* pp. 9 ff and Swete *St Mark* p. xliii. Of the lists by these two writers Swete's is the shorter and yet contains some words not in Hawkins's. It may be presumed that Dr Cadbury has in his own list combined with Swete's those not in his but in Hawkins's. The lists of Swete and Hawkins have been framed on different plans. The latter has told us quite definitely how he proceeded. He took as 'characteristic' 'the words and phrases which occur at least three times in Mark, and which either (a) are not found at all in Matthew or Luke, or (b) occur in Mark more often than in Matthew and Luke together'. It should be observed that the one characteristic feature in Mark's use, to which attention is thus certain to be directed, is frequency of occurrence, and that (so far as it goes) is a genuine point, because it brings out the fact that Mark's vocabulary, as that of an unpractised writer, was a limited one. On the other hand, there is a clear tendency to efface this particular feature in Lucan parallels to Mark, the editor having been one who disliked so many repetitions, while on the other hand, if the words or phrases were in themselves common and classical ones, there was no reason why they should not appear in good numbers in other parts of the Third Gospel and in Acts. Several of the words occurring in Hawkins's list belong to this category. They are not such as would ever be employed on their own account (i.e. unless possibly from frequency of repetition) to detect a source. This is enough to dispose of the phenomenon on which Dr Cadbury lays stress.

Swete does not give his list as complete, but as illustrative of a two-fold feature in Mark, '(1) the relatively frequent use of certain charac-

teristic words ; (2) the use of certain ordinary words in an uncommon and sometimes enigmatic sense'. It is evident that Swete did not determine what was to be regarded as 'characteristic' merely by frequency of use, but that he has had in view something special which is more or less common in Mark's application or grammatical use of the words, and such on examination we find to be the case. Such clearly must be the words and phrases which Harnack has in view when he speaks of 'the vocabulary of Mark' as 'apparent through the Lucan editing'. And it would always be mainly in such peculiar uses that traces of the use of a source would be discovered or suspected. It is not to the purpose that other uses too are found scattered through other parts of the Lucan writings, all of which have been thrown together by Dr Cadbury in raising an objection. Let me take as an example the word *ἐξουσία*, which occurs in Swete's list but not in Hawkins's. Dr Swete was evidently struck with the fact that in Mark it is used seven times of our Lord's authority felt in His preaching and shewn in His healing the sick, &c., and three times for a similar authority bestowed on His disciples, and not in any other application. This was a term and an application of it that 'Luke' liked, and he uses it in seven parallels to Mark. In other parts of his Gospel there is no strict parallel, the nearest is the power of treading upon serpents, and there are besides three other uses of a spiritual kind, viz. of the power of Satan offered to Jesus in the Temptation, the power that can cast into hell, the power of darkness. It occurs, besides in the Gospel, five times in ordinary civil senses. In the Acts, the closest parallel to the Marcan use is the request of Simon Magus for a communication to him of Peter's authority, and we have also the power of God and of Satan. There are besides five instances of its denoting civil or ecclesiastical authority or human right. In order to illustrate the study of sources aright it would be necessary to make distinctions, in the case of the other words in Swete's list between applications, &c., made of them, and also in the case of some in Hawkins's ; while several of the latter (as has been pointed out) could hardly, if at all, be suitable in that connexion.

It is an interesting and important point that, of the non-classical words or meanings to be found in these lists of Swete and Hawkins of Marcan characteristics, all that occur in Acts [*ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, ἑκθαμβος, κράβατος, συνζητεῖν* (in sense of 'disputing')] are to be found in the first nine chapters. We have *πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον* also at Lk. xi 24, which is parallel to Mt. xii 43, and may therefore be derived from the Logia.

That a certain similarity in form of speech between Luke's informants in respect to the early Church at Jerusalem and Mark should be discernible, even though the use of a written source could not be traced, is what one might expect, and it is to be noticed not only in the use of

words mentioned above, but in a special manner in the accounts of miracles and the impression made by them, Acts v 12-16; ix 32-35. This is in full accord with the view of Luke's work stated.

I have discussed this question of vocabulary, as Dr Cadbury does, in regard to the detection of sources. But before passing on from the present heading I would observe that, though this is a subject akin to and involved in that before us, it is not the same, but might rather be said to be the obverse of it. For we have to determine whether one who has revised a source in certain parts is in certain other parts writing fully in his own person, being the man who has put together the whole, and to judge of this a different massing of evidence and a wider review of it are required. There would be a distinct claim to this effect if the first person plural in certain sections belongs to this editor of the whole. That is now the question to be directly considered.

3. It is admitted that 'Lucan' characteristics are very abundant in the 'we' sections; but are they so clearly more abundant here than in some passages of the Third Gospel where he was plainly the reviser of Mark, as to shew that he was something more than a reviser here, and so to help to prove that the first person plural does include the editor of the work as a whole? Or might the latter have been, for all that the style shews, here too simply a reviser, and the passages be extracts from some other work, say a diary of travel? The latter view was maintained by Schürer in reply to his colleague Harnack when *Lucas der Arzt* appeared¹; and it is maintained also by Dr Cadbury, and not a few others. Here we come to the real point at issue, and it is not one easy of decision. It is a question of degree, upon which it is a difficult matter to form an opinion. But I cannot regard Dr Cadbury's treatment of it as shewing that he had in reality tested Harnack's conclusions by the facts, or as helping us to do so. He writes: 'Sometimes at least, even in copying Mark, the Lucan characteristics are almost as abundant as in the "we" passages. One illustration may here be sufficient'. He then recalls Harnack's remarks on the account of the shipwreck in Acts xxvii, and his invitation to his readers 'to consider only the first three verses'. Dr Cadbury thereupon compares the account of a storm on the Lake of Galilee (Lk. viii 22-24) in which Luke's source (Mk. iv 35-39) is also 'recast' to the extent of containing one more Lucan peculiarity than the three verses in Acts on which Harnack comments. But these verses in Acts are an *example* of what is approximately true—somewhat more it may be, or somewhat less in different verses—*of the whole of the 'we' sections*. Herein lies the point of the argument. In order that we might be able to infer anything safely from Luke's parallels with Mark as to his notion of the revision

¹ See *Theol. Lit.-Zeit.* 1906, no. 14.

he thought well to carry out, it would be necessary to ascertain the relation in which the account of the storm in Lk. viii stands to the remainder of his revision of Mark, and of this Dr Cadbury tells us nothing. In point of fact this brief account of the storm is the solitary instance of a Marcan narrative being revised by Luke to anything approximating the extent that this one is,¹ and it does not appear strange that one who had been such a traveller by sea as the diarist of the 'we' sections had been, should, when he came to the storm on the lake, have described it in his own manner. We have besides, indeed, instances of the prominence of Lucan style in portions of verses, or for a verse or two, at the *transitions* from one narrative to another, or in a general description of the situation, or in a favourite reflexion of Luke's at the conclusion of the narration of an incident taken from Mark (e. g. Lk. v 12, 15, 16, 17; ix 6, 10, 11; xviii 35, 36; xix 47, 48; xxii 1, 2). Occasionally, though much more rarely, such a verse occurs in the course of a narrative, especially when an explanation seems to be required. In such cases he naturally felt more free to express himself in his own manner. Not infrequently, it would seem, his motive at these points was that he regarded Mark's form as crude and inartistic. We also meet fairly often with instances not to be clearly so classed of a couple of verses standing together, in which there are two or three Lucan peculiarities apiece, while yet in the contexts they are much more scarce.

The narrative among the Lucan parallels to Mark, comparable in length to the three shorter 'we' sections, in which the hand of the reviser is most continuously apparent—closest after that of the storm though very considerably less so—is its sequel, Lk. viii 26–39, concerning Jesus in the land of the Gerasenes. Let us compare this in respect to Lucan characteristics with those sections (Acts xvi 9–18; xx 4–16; xxi 1–18). I confine myself to these three because I have myself minutely studied them and commented upon them²; but I have good ground for thinking that the evidence of peculiar style is not any weaker in the fourth and longest 'we' section.

Before, however, I state my results in numerical form, which is the only way in which they can be concisely stated, let me make one or two remarks on such enumerations. It may seem that these observations are unnecessary. Perhaps they should be, and yet I think it may be well to define the conditions on which trustworthy results may be expected from the kind of criticism here implied, and to encourage the hope that if these are respected trustworthy results may be obtained. At the best, numbers can only furnish rough notions here. Each item

¹ For the justification of this and the following statements see *Gospels as Historical Documents* pp. 278–290.

² See *ib.* pp. 255–259 and pp. 312–322.

in a number needs special study in order that one may convince oneself that it is a peculiarity and so deserves a place; and each item has a value in illustrating style, which is by no means the same as that of other items. Moreover, though in endeavouring to estimate the significance of an individual item the number of times that it occurs in a particular writer has to be noted, other considerations in regard to its form and use may be more important than mere frequency of occurrence. At the same time, in any considerable number of items mistakes and legitimate differences of impression on opposite sides are likely to counterbalance one another; while if the preponderance of peculiarities in one of two passages over the other is a decided one, though the impressions of various students might lead to different estimates, the difference would probably not be so great as to alter the broad character of the result. I would add that I ask only that the facts may be carefully examined and impartially judged, and the considerations that have influenced me in my comments on different passages and my conclusions tested thereby.

I find then that in the narrative parallel to Mark which, with one exception of three verses, is most revised, there is on an average a little over one Lucan peculiarity to each verse. On the other hand in the 'we' section, of the three named above, in which there are fewest peculiarities, namely, Acts xxi 1-18, there are on an average twice as many; in xx 4-16, four times, and in xvi 9-18 nearly five times as many. They are spread through the passages and are far from being all of one kind. It appears, then, that examination of 'Luke's' procedure in his treatment of the Gospel of Mark does not justify the opinion that the 'we' sections are extracts which have been revised by him. On the contrary, a study of his parallels with Mark serves to shew that he did not make it part of his plan when using a source, so to introduce into it characteristics of style and to communicate to it his own manner as would have been necessary in order to make the 'we' sections stylistically what they are in relation to the Lucan writings as a whole. Schürer has, indeed, suggested that a diarist used here may have belonged to the same literary circle as the editor, so that what we have in point of style is the combined effect of two such writers, and Dr Cadbury has followed him in this. But this is of course a mere hypothesis, and not free from improbability. It would be remarkable that the editor should find extracts which, as regards their whole purport and character, fit in so well with the whole plan of his work. Moreover, if such extracts resembled in style his own manner of writing, the editor would be all the less likely to feel that any alterations were necessary, and small discrepancies would probably remain.

We are struck, indeed, with a certain abruptness in the appearances of

the first person plural, and this at first sight seems in favour of the theory of extracts. Dr Windisch argues that it is a sign of such an origin,¹ and Dr Cadbury suggests that the first person may have been left in by the editor owing to his sense of its effectiveness. Harnack, on the other hand, thinks that to the writer it would seem less abrupt than it does to us, if he was the person who used 'I' at the beginning of his roll, and if he was, or assumed himself to be, known to 'Theophilus' and regarded himself all through as addressing him. I am disposed to agree in this with Harnack. Here, too, a study of 'Luke's' revision of Mark has something to teach us.² He bestowed special pains upon his introductions to narratives taken from Mark, and was the last man to bring in extracts in a haphazard fashion.

On purely stylistic grounds it would be easier on the whole to suppose that while the editor-reviser was himself in these passages, and in a large part at least of the latter portion of Acts, the author, he had, if he was not a companion of the Apostle, here resorted to fiction. It would still be strange that, if he considered this legitimate, he should not have made more than he does in his work of such fiction, by drawing attention to his representations as to the persons present. I must add that, though historical writers in the ancient world had in some respects a different standard from our own as to what historical truth required, as in the matter of putting speeches into the mouths of prominent actors in a scene where no reports existed, I am not aware that it has been shewn by the Editors of *Beginnings* (pp. 7 ff) or any one else that it was considered to be proper technique to adopt a device such as it is thought that 'Luke' may have done in these passages of Acts.³ It would also have to be considered, and that even on grounds of true scientific criticism, whether the effect of the Christian religion in quickening his sense of truth would not have stood in the way. These, however, are distinct questions.

My object in this paper has been to insist that there is substantial evidence in the style of the 'we' sections, that they are not extracts from another source which have been revised and inserted, and to urge that if for clear reasons (the clearness of which I have, however, disputed) it should appear to any one that the stylistic evidence of the sections indicated must be discarded, he should at least seek to realize adequately the difficulties involved in doing so.

V. H. STANTON.

¹ pp. 329 ff.

² See above, p. 379.

³ This subject is admirably treated in an article in the *JOURNAL* for April 1923, by F. H. Colson, pp. 300 ff, 'Notes on St Luke's Preface'.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 'CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE'.

HAVE we an agreed estimate of the scope and importance of the 'Cleansing of the Temple'? There are two possibilities. It may have been of minor importance, an incident almost negligible as to any effect upon the development of events. Or it may have been in reality of more importance than appears on the surface; its influence upon the events of the last week may have been great, and it may offer the only explanation of certain features of the history.

In January 1921 the *Quest*—the principal journal in English devoted to the study of Mysticism—a very learned Christian Jew, Dr Robert Eisler, makes out a strong case for assigning a very high importance to this event. His position is indicated in the title of his article, *Jesus and the Blood-sacrifices*. It is just here, he urges, that the Christian separation from the sacrificial system of Judaism finds its justification in the action of Jesus: a justification which is hereby made positive and not merely negative; direct, and not by implication or inference.

I would submit the question raised to the judgement of New Testament scholars. Dr Eisler is a man of encyclopaedic learning, but I have not noticed any endeavour to deal with the case he puts forward. This must be my excuse for offering some restatement of it as it appears to me, as one whose studies have lain in other areas of Theology.

At the outset, in favour of assigning a greater importance to the Cleansing than is traditional, one thinks of the marked way in which the Sadducean officials of the Temple almost rush to the front in the closing stage of the opposition to our Lord. This is generally allowed, of course: but is it adequately accounted for?

Then there is the rapidity with which the officials were able to draw over to their side the multitude assembled at Jerusalem for the Passover festival, and to excite them to indignation and even fury. The prominent jibe is not against a supposed heretical opponent of Moses and the Law: it is not 'Ah, thou that breakest the Sabbath!' but 'Ah, (thou) that destroyest the Temple!' It suggests a situation parallel to that later one at Ephesus: a Temple and its system imperilled.

To have accomplished such a result something very momentous must have occurred. But a protest against so mild an offence as the desecration of sacred precincts by the introduction of business transactions connected with provision of the animals required for sacrifice, or of the

special coinage needed for payment of Temple dues is scarcely an adequate cause for the hostility evoked, passionate as this evidently was. Nor does the addition of a correction of malpractices in connexion with these transactions raise the protest to sufficient degree of importance. Further, Dr Eisler declares that some of the leading terms used have been misread: especially that the word for 'thieves' should be translated 'slaughterers', and so our attention should be transferred to a quite different category of unfitness for the sacred courts: the unseemliness of a house of prayer being turned into a scene of butchery. On this, I would suggest that too much must not be made of a repugnance of an aesthetic kind such as we ourselves feel if we endeavour to set out the scene: the temple area occupied with cattle and sheep awaiting slaughter; the dying animals; the streams of blood; 'the shambles of the Temple' (Nairne). To call it 'the greatest sacred abattoir the world has ever seen' as Mr Mead, the learned Editor of the *Quest* has done, goes too far. We have only to read our *Odyssey* and its recurring gloatings over the slaughter of animals in presence of the guests as a prelude to great banquets to learn how far from repugnant mere slaughter was in those days. And Dr Eisler corrects Mr Mead's phrase by referring to the contemporary hecatombs at Heliopolis, Baalbec, Pergamon, and other religious centres. But if the intrusion of business, plus the introduction of malpractices, plus any aesthetic repugnance are the sufficient cause we are looking for, the ground seems to be clear for bringing into account a much greater possible event, viz. an attack upon the sacrificial system itself.

There is another ground of protest of a minor kind: the action may have been a reproach against the intrusion by the Temple officials upon the area of the Temple intended for the use of worshippers. It would seem that in the Court of the Gentiles the sacrifices took place: here the worshippers met for prayer and instruction. The use of it for the cattle was an intrusive interference with the quiet and solemnity of the people's court. If so, the protest would be rather concerned with an abuse than directed against anything that was radically wrong.

What had been the attitude of Jesus to the Blood-sacrifices previously to the last week? In the daily life of Himself and His followers it had not been necessary to take action in the regions at a distance from the scene to which all the sacrifices were confined. But on the visits to Jerusalem, more prolonged than they have usually been thought to be (as is now, I understand, being inferred from the Johannine Gospel), He must either have acquiesced by respectful attendance or have avoided them; which was it? I cannot find any certain evidence. Regular resort to the Temple does not prove participation, or even acquiescence. The Jewish people at that time contained religious parties who had passed

adverse judgement on the sacrifices : notably the Essenes who had withdrawn from participation in them, though they had not carried their rejection so far as to offer opposition to others continuing the observance or to refrain themselves from presenting gifts to the Temple. Jesus and His followers would not have been singular in resorting to the Temple for Prayer and Preaching apart from the sacrifices.

The injunctions to the lepers who had been healed are not in point. These healings, both of the solitary and of the ten, took place far away from the Temple. The priests to be visited would seem to have been local priests empowered to discharge various ritual functions ; what was to be offered to them was a δῶρον (Matthew), and the εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς seems, as Dr Eisler suggests, to signify that the purpose was to make it his first business ('See thou tell no man') to procure an official certificate which would re-admit to ordinary social intercourse.

On the other hand we have the commendation of the disparagement of sacrifices uttered by Hosea centuries before, twice recorded by Matthew. But there is a very notable absence of records of discussions of the subject either with the priesthood or raised by questionings on the part of disciples, if we contrast this with the keenness of the interest in the observance of the Sabbath ; of Fasting ; in the comparative value of Commandments ; in Divorce ; in the Resurrection. Dr Nairne's phrase 'Little interest is shewn in the Temple sacrifices' (*Epistle of Priesthood*, 139 n.) is too weak : there seems to have been no interest at all.

And yet the disappearance of regard for the sacrificial system from the mind of the Church in the Apostolic period was so nearly complete¹ as to lead us to expect that at some time or other our Lord must have declared Himself upon it in relation to the Kingdom of God. If we look farther afield, as Mr Mead does (*Quest*, July 1920), we find clear and emphatic repudiation of this element in Religion by Pythagoras and by Gautama in Buddhism. In the absence of recorded spoken rejections in either the Synoptics or John, there does seem to be a lacuna which could well be filled up if we can take this action in the Temple at its maximum of significance : a vehement protest against the continuance of the sacrifices themselves. If the attitude to them had been scarcely expressed whilst there was but little contact with them, it might well have been that on this visit to Jerusalem our Lord, filled with the sense of approaching catastrophe, decided that open conflict was required, and that drastic treatment could no longer be avoided : the final crisis had arrived : the hour had come.

Referring to some details, something can be learned by comparison

¹ The necessity for the Epistle to the Hebrews is a sign that it was not quite complete : there were still groups to which the abolition presented a difficulty.

of the variations in the records of the 'Cleansing'. Luke reduces it to a protest against business in the sacred precincts, and that on its least objectionable side, the changing of money. Matthew and Mark add reference to the selling of doves. John is the most comprehensive: besides the money-changers and the doves, there are the sheep and the oxen. Luke's reduction is on a par with his frequent elimination of features which had no interest for non-Jewish Christians; Matthew and Mark's inclusion of the doves introduces reference to animal-sacrifice in its least offensive features, but how these should remain in memory while the more conspicuous sheep and oxen are unnoticed is to me inexplicable. Surely we have in John the complete scene.

But besides the objection to business in the sacred enclosure—which is all that John takes note of (οἶκος ἐμπορίου)—there is the reference to 'robbers' in the Synoptists: malpractices and dishonesty in the business transactions. Upon this Dr Eisler puts forward a remarkable correction, which I must give in his own words:—

'Jesus did not speak the language of the Greek heathen in the precincts of the Sanctuary. What he said is a literal quotation, not from the Septuagint, but from the Hebrew of the prophets Isaiah (lvi 7) and Jeremiah (vii 11). And there the words "den of thieves" or "den of robbers", as the A.V. says in Jeremiah, read *me'arat parišim*. Now the stem PRŠ does not in the least apply to any offence against property, as "stealing" is "robbing" (stealing by violence); it means "to break, dismember, lacerate" something, and is said of human criminals as well as of carnivorous animals and birds of prey. What the prophet means to say is "a cave of murderers" (the *Mördergrube* of the Luther bible), or even a den of slaughterers. Accordingly, if Jesus contrasts the whole world's "prayer-house" of Isaiah with Jeremiah's "den of slaughterers", this blood-smeared word alone suffices to show that Jesus *does* contrast the "pure offering" of prayers throughout the whole world (Mal. i 11), the bloodless spiritual cult of the already world-embracing Synagogue (*beth thepilah*) with the dire Deuteronomic monopoly-slaughter-house of the blood-deluged Mount Zion.'

On the difficulty arising from John's assigning the event to an earlier visit to Jerusalem which would quite prevent the higher valuation of its importance and influence I am persuaded of the correctness of the opinion that there were two somewhat similar 'cleansings'. But they were similar only superficially. The first was a minor protest, and it attracted only slight attention; it neither astounded His followers nor excited the priesthood. It attacked only minor abuses, and has therefore been correctly designated a 'cleansing', and it might very well have been regarded as a defence of the system, and have met with a wide approval. It did not, however, seem sufficiently important for the Synoptics to record. Whereas the second, radical and momentous, John found already recorded in its place. But to him the earlier one

was of service as an example of a quite early claim to a measure of authority for action as well as for teaching, and in this way akin to our Lord's action in His miracles. There is a difficulty, however, in the vehement character with which John invests the action, which does not accord with ascribing a minor importance to it. I do not see how we can avoid acknowledging that there is some confusion of the events, and I must fall back upon Dr Brooke's opinion (Peake's *Commentary : in loco*) that the Johannine writer misplaced what was 'the real cause of the final conflict' and having 'used it up' in relation to the early claim for authority omitted it in his account of the last week, although it lay before him in the Synoptic tradition.

The points in Dr Eisler's article which I would submit to the judgement of scholars are :—

The meaning of the Hebrew term : robbers or butchers ?

The extent to which the Temple provided a banking system, regarded as quite legitimate, and providing the revenue for the enormous cost of the Temple and its officials ;

The assertion that there could have been no actual market in the Temple Court : but only that animals would be necessarily led through on the way to the places of slaughter near the altars.

In conclusion. The readiness of the Jewish mind to dispense completely with the Blood-sacrifices after the destruction of the Temple is a psychological change which it is hard to believe had not been in incubation for a long time. That the writer of *Hebrews* had to face a strong conservative attitude in favour of the system is a fact of small dimensions in comparison with the conservative attitudes to Circumcision and to consorting with Gentiles which had to be faced by St Peter and St Paul. The higher estimate of the event we are here considering would enable us to see that the abandonment of the sacrificial system, apparently without reserve or regret, had its clear authority in a conspicuous and definite action of our Lord.

A. CALDECOTT.

NOTE ON MARK IX 49, 50: A NEW MEANING FOR ἀλας.

THE difficulty of this passage consists in its relation to the context, in the meaning and application of the imagery, and in the impossibility of the hypothesis ἐὰν τὸ ἀλας ἀναλον γένηται.

To take this last point first, since the apodosis is an unanswered rhetorical question it is tempting to regard verse 50a as a common proverbial saying. There are two sayings in the Talmud which suggest this: 'Shake the salt off meat, and you may throw the latter to dogs' (Niddah 31a) and 'Salt when it becomes corrupt, with what is it salted?' The latter is so close to Mk. ix 50a that it will be well to give the original (Bekhor 8b lines 14 and 13 from bottom)

מִלְחָא כִּי סְרִי מַמְאִי מִלְחִי לָהּ.

It would be instructive to learn when the proverb first took this form and who was responsible for it. It is quite possible that the phrase has come into the Talmud from common parlance derived from the Gospel.

The *domestic* and *medicinal* use of salt both as a condiment and preservative was universal in the ancient world as it is to-day; cf. Job vi 6, Sir. xxxix 31 (26), Isa. xxx 24, 2 Kings ii 19, Mishnah Berakoth vi 7 (see also A. Cohen *Bab. Talm. Tractate Berākōt* pp. 284-285), Sopherim xv 8, Middoth v 3, Shabbath vi 5, Pliny *H.N.* xxxi 102.

The practice of 'salting' newly born children (Ezek. xvi 4) is a close parallel to Mk. ix 49, especially in view of the previous context Mk. ix 33 ff, but does not help with ix 50.

The *commercial* value of salt is demonstrated by the numerous references to its taxation; cf. 1 Macc. x 29, xi 35, Jos. *Ant.* XIII iv 9, and ἡ ἀλική at Socnopaei Nesus and elsewhere (Wessely *Aus der Welt der Papyri* p. 20; Wilcken *Griechische Ostraca* l. 141 ff).

A *metaphorical* use to denote wit or 'saving grace' was also common to the classical and Semitic languages; cf. Col. iv 6 (with Lightfoot's references), Kethuboth 66b, Kiddushin 29b. Barrenness is also typified by salt (Deut. xxix 23 (22), Job xxxix 6, Jer. xvii 6, Ps. cvii 34, cf. Judges ix 45), but this use throws little or no light upon our passage.

Its symbolism to denote hospitality, friendliness, peace (Ezra iv 14, Mk. ix 50b) must have given it a *religious* significance at an early

period; cf. *קָלַח* *בְּרִית* Numb. xviii 19, 2 Chron. xiii 5. This sacrificial use (Lev. ii 13, Ezek. xliii 24, Ezra vi 9-10; cf. Exod. xxx 35, Mk. ix 49 T. R., *Iliad* i 449, *Aeneid* ii 133, Jos. *Ant.* III ix 1, XII iii 3) was no doubt in origin due to the primitive conception of sacrifice as the meal of God (Lev. xxi 22). The interesting *συναλιζόμενος* of Acts i 4 has sometimes been connected with the Eucharist—Torrey suggests *קִתְסָקָה*.

Among the illustrations of Mk. ix 50 given by Wetstein are extracts from an altogether remarkable passage dwelling upon the 'divinity' of salt in Plutarch *Mor. Sympos.* v 684 F and 685. E. A. Abbott makes use of it in an illuminating discussion of the Marcan text. The passage as a whole should be read in its context, and it will be seen that it has at least three parallels to Mk. ix 49, 50, viz. the connexion of salt and fire, the efficacy of salt in preservation and the idea of concord. Philo ii 255 (*De Sacrificantiis* vi) also mentions salt in connexion with fire and dwells upon its symbolism of immortality.

But the relation of these passages to our Gospels is a chance one. Such ideas had grown from Homeric germs, and they seem to be only parallel to Hebrew sacrificial lore concerning salt.

The object of this note is to connect Mk. ix 49, 50 with the industry carried on at Taricheae (see G. A. Smith *Hist. Geog.* 451-455). The connexion appears to the present writer to be unmistakeable. All the evidence we have points to the paramount importance of the fisheries which provided the main occupation of the large population settled round the Lake of Galilee at the beginning of our era. 'Dass zur Zeit Jesu der Fischfang am See Genesareth sehr lebhaft betrieben wurde, wissen wir aus dem N. T., vgl. Mrc. i 16, Luc. v 2 ff: die Fischer giengen in leichter Kleidung, die auch bisweilen ganz abgelegt wurde Joh. xxi 7, und meistens Nachts auf den Fang aus Luc. v 5, Joh. xxi 3. Uebrigens sprechen auch Namen wie Bethsaida und Taricheae genug für den einst sehr lebhaft betriebenen Fischfang, der letztere weist darauf, dass man die Fische auch einzusalzen pflegte' (Nowack *Hebr. Archäologie* ii 223).

The commercial value of the abundant supply of fish still to be procured from the Lake was realized then.¹ The large supplies caught by the disciples could only be dealt with by being pickled—treated with salt—at Taricheae and thence exported, possibly even to Rome if the Egyptian supply was inadequate (cf. Herodotus ii 92, ix 120). Certainly such food was necessary in the desert, and is referred to in the Gospel accounts of the feeding of the multitudes. The caravan routes through Damascus to Palmyra and across the Jaulân to the Arabian desert suggest themselves as a likely market for this commodity. We little realize the extent to which the people of the ancient world

¹ For the present-day industry v. E. W. G. Masterman *Studies in Galilee*.

depended upon pickled fish—Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 676) mentions an earthen vessel (ἡ ὕρχα) specially used for this kind of food. The jars mentioned in the papyri are called κυτίνια or κεράμια. Various names are found for fish baskets besides those furnished by the N. T., e.g. Ox. Pap. iii 520²⁰ refers to κύρτων πλεκτῶν. The frequency in the papyri of ταρίχιον, ταριχεύω, ταριχευτής is noteworthy, and the following is typical:

ἐὰν ταρείχια σεαυτῷ ποιῇς κάμοι κεράμιον πέμψον.

(Ox. Pap. vi 928¹¹.)

The balance of evidence points to Kerak as the locality of Taricheae. The assertion was made by a local Syrian Christian to the present writer that there was once a small island, now submerged, at the point where the Jordan leaves the Lake. This would provide a low-lying piece of land on which the fish could be laid out and dried in the sun. Even now the ruins of Kerak stand upon a small peninsula. If we could build upon the name Mellaha¹ (salt) heard by Seetzen, Frei, Kasteren, and Guérin near Kerak, we might suppose that it was derived from an Aramaic equivalent of Taricheae. Others think that the language of Josephus demands a site north of Tiberias, perhaps Mejdél. Whatever its site, in the time of Christ Taricheae was a considerable place with a population of quite forty thousand if we can trust the figures of Josephus (*War* II xx 2-4). It boasted a large hippodrome and a shipbuilding trade, but was rather deficient in fortifications. It even rivalled Tiberias inasmuch as the Lake sometimes took its name from Taricheae (Pliny *H.N.* v 15).

The Gospels ignore the southern part of the Lake with the exception of references to the region of Decapolis (Mk. v 20, vii 31, Mt. iv 35) which lay east and south-east of the Lake. To this region belonged the country of the Gerasenes (Mk. v 1, Lk. viii 26) or Gadarenes (Mt. viii 28) if Mark's χώρα is to be located in the district of Gadara. It has been urged that the name, whether Γερασσηνῶν or Γαδαρηνῶν, denotes only the source of that anecdote, but Mk. v 1-2 requires a visit by Christ εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης. Perhaps the demoniac came from distant Gerasa. Strabo *Geog.* XVI ii 45 tells us ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Γαδαρίδι ὕδωρ μοχθηρὸν λιμναῖον, οὗ τὰ γευσάμενα κτήνη τρίχας καὶ ὄπλας καὶ κέρατα ἀποβάλλει. ἐν δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις Ταριχεαῖς ἡ λίμνη μὲν ταριχείας ἰχθύων ἀστείας παρέχει.

Although Gadara was nine miles from the Lake of Galilee yet it gave its name to a district which included a sea border on the Lake. Mt.'s Γαδαρηνῶν may very well supply a rough indication that the event happened somewhere to the south of the Lake, and if so, Christ may have visited Taricheae; at any rate, the name, implying as it did the

¹ Masterman speaks of *Ain el Mellāhah* as a common name.

industry, would be well known to Him, and Mk. ix 49, 50 may be a tacit reference to the pickling of fish. In this case His allusion to salt belongs to the language of everyday life. The originality of Christ especially in regard to the illustrations which He used would suggest that He was not bound by O. T. or Rabbinic usage or prompted by Greek philosophic speculations.

In view of the obscurity of the reference in Mk. ix 49 and the impossibility of *ἐὰν τὸ ἅλας ἀναλον γένηται* (50a) which has never been satisfactorily explained, it occurred to me that an explanation should be sought in the transition of the saying from Aramaic to Greek.

The *ἀλισθήσεται* of 49, read in the light of the staple industry of the Lake, makes it feasible that Christ should have referred in 50a not to *the salt* but to *the salted-thing—the salted-food*. The two words would easily be confused in Hebrew or Aramaic.

Salt in Hebrew is מֶלַח while salted is מְלִיחַ or מְלִיחָה (Exod. xxx 35).

Salt in Aramaic is מְלַח or מְלִיחָה or מְלִיחָא and salted is מְלִיחַ (or מְלִיחָה) or מְלִיחָא.

Bischoff (see McNeile on Mt. v 13) suggests תְּבִלָּה (spice, season, mixture) for τὸ ἅλας in Matthew because of a supposed word-play with תִּבְלָה (world) preceded by the connective וְ. The Matthaean passage must not however determine the Marcan.

מְרִית is found in the Talmud for *pickle, preserve*—chiefly to denote salted fish (τάριχος), but the word is Greek, and Taricheae means *pickling places*. The word most commonly found for salted food is מְלִיחַ while תְּבִילָה is the equivalent of ἀναλος (Mk. ix 50—Mt. v 13, Lk. xiv 34 have μωραίνω); cf. Mishnah Berakoth vi 7 הַבְּיָא לְפָנֶי מְלִיחָה וְפֻטֵּר אֶת הַשֵּׁת שֶׁהִשֵּׁת מְלִיחָה לוֹ בְּתַחֲלָה וְפֻטֵּר עַד מְבָרָה עַל הַמְּלִיחָה וְפֻטֵּר אֶת הַשֵּׁת שֶׁהִשֵּׁת מְלִיחָה לוֹ

מֶלַח is the form found for salt in an inscription of the second century A.D.—see Cooke *N. Semitic Inscr.* p. 327. And the phrase אִשׁ בַּמְּלַחָה = ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁλῶν (*who is over the salt mines or in the salt business*, מַמְלַחָה being a dialectical form of מְלִיחָה, Cooke, p. 109) occurs in a bilingual inscription dated the second century B.C.

From the available evidence the only difference in Aramaic between salt and salted thing would be merely a *yôd* or possibly a preformative *mēm*, which might easily be omitted by haplography or colloquial speech. In either case the word would begin with the sound of מ followed by an indistinct *shewa*, the middle consonant would be ל, and the final guttural ה would be preceded by its inevitable *pathah*. Or in the case of מְלִיחָה and מְלִיחָא the only difference would be the position of the vowel *yôd*.

It must be remembered that the striking phrase ἅλας ἀναλον is Greek,

and we have no evidence that the phrase would sound so paradoxical in Aramaic.

But even apart from Aramaic, it is significant that St Mark uses ἄλς (the classical form) in 50 b, a different form from the colloquial ἄλας of 50 a. Why should he use two different words in the same verse for the same thing? If there is a difference in meaning it must be that ἄλας refers to food.

Even in Aristotle (*Eth. N.* VIII iii 8) the phrase ἄλας συναναλῶσαι must have meant colloquially 'to consume *food* together'. The plural of ἄλς was certainly used with various meanings, e. g. lumps of salt, salt-works. Thackeray regards the LXX occurrences as neut. sing. except ἡ θάλασσα . . . τῶν ἁλῶν which 'looks as if the plural was the regular form for salt-*areas*'. We may now add the meaning *food, salted fish, pickled meat* in view of the evidence given below.

It is usual to regard ἄλας (τό) which occurs as early as the third century B.C.—as the late equivalent of ἄλς (ὀ). And this note had already been written in this belief when I noticed the suggestiveness of the above reference to Aristotle (in L. and S.) which sent me to consult the evidence of the papyri where both forms are used.

It must be mentioned first that Swete says of ἄλας in our passage 'the nom. is also written ἄλα (cf. γάλα) . . . and as a variant in each of the passages where ἄλας is found in the N.T.' Tischendorf preferred ἄλα in all cases. WH and Nestle read ἄλας twice in Mk. ix 50 a and ἄλα in 50 b. It may be urged that the final letter is omitted in the last occurrence (50 b) because it is followed by a consonant, but this is unlikely, and we must accept WH's statement that 'as an acc. ἄλα is fully attested in Mk. ix 50 (30)'.

The Hellenistic ἄλας was probably formed from the acc. plural of ἄλς. We have a very similar formation in ἐλαιῶν (ὀ), which is formed from ἐλαιῶν, gen. plur. of ἐλαία. The new Hellenistic word was in effect the raising of an epithet or gen. of description to the status of a noun meaning *of* or *belonging to* or *connected with olive-trees*, i. e. *place of olives, olive-yard*.

Moulton quotes many examples of the new word with gen. ἐλαιῶνος from the papyri (*Proleg.* pp. 49, 69, 235) in support of the N.T. forms.

The formation of ἄλας (τό) may therefore be due to the fact that it was in the acc. plural that ἄλς often meant food as in the phrase ἄλας συναναλῶσαι. To eat salt as a condiment implied the eating of food. Then there was the additional fact that many articles of food were pickled with salt, e. g. fish, olives, &c., even turnips (Rylands Pap. ii 231^b, Ox. Pap. iv 736^b γογγυλίδος εἰς παριχείαν—it is unnecessary to give references to fish, there are so many). Those who choose to do so

may believe that the collective ἄλας was substituted for ῥάριχοι under the influence of the Hebrew plural דִּישָׁן. It is quite likely that the similarity of the Hebrew or Aramaic words for *salt* and *salted food* suggested to St Mark ἄλς and ἄλας. The distinction in meaning between these two forms was probably never universal (cf. Mt. v 13, Col. iv 6) and has been lost sight of, partly owing to the textual confusion between two words differing as they do in only one letter, and partly owing to the fact that the new formation ultimately displaced ἄλς and became identical with it in meaning. It must also be pointed out that the tendency to regard salt as a plurality of grains would lead to the use of the new collective.

A. S. Hunt (Ox. Pap. vol. ix no. 1185) prints a letter written c. A. D. 200 by a Prefect, who 'was merely amusing himself or practising his hand'. Lines 10-12 are said to be a proverbial saying:

.ον παῖδα τὸν μικρὸν δεῖ ἄρτον ἐσθίειν,
ἄλας ἐπιτρώγειν, ὀψαρίου μὴ θινγάνειν,
ἂν δὲ καὶ οἶνον αἰτῇ, κονδύλους αὐτῷ δεῖδι.

The translation given is: 'A little boy must eat bread, nibble besides some salt, and not touch the sauce, but if he asks for wine, give him your knuckles.' Who ever nibbled salt? ἄλας in this context requires the meaning *salted fish* or *salted food*. We should translate ἄλας ἐπιτρώγειν 'and eat (or *munch*, though in the late vernacular τρώγω simply = ἐσθίω) *salted food with it*' regarding ἄλας as neuter singular.

Moulton and Milligan (N.T. Vocab.) quote ἐμβαλοῦ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἄλας καὶ λωτὸν from Hibeh Pap. i 152 dated about 250 B.C. But even here both ἄλας and λωτὸν are best interpreted as food: 'Put some salted food and lotus bread into the boat for yourself'—it continues ὅπως ἔχωσιν οἱ ναπηγγοί, καὶ περὶ τῶν ξύλων ὦν . . . where it breaks off. The rations for the foreman and shipwrights seem to be distinguished from the timber (? for repairs) which is defined by the def. art. The same interpretation can apply to P. Par. 55¹⁻²⁹ of the second century B.C. καὶ ἄρτοι καὶ ἄλας.

The salt-tax (ἀλική) mentioned in Fayum Towns 42 (a) ii 5 explains the occurrence of ἀλός (from ἄλς) in No. CXCI dated A.D. 135-136, No. CCCXLI of the second century A.D. The classical word is also retained in Amherst 77⁵⁸ of A.D. 139, 126³¹ of the early second century A.D., Tebt. 117²⁵ of 99 B.C., 190 of the first century B.C., Ox. Pap. xiv 1731¹⁶ of the third century A.D., and others.

Moulton and Milligan tell us, 'In the fourteen LXX instances of ἄλα and ἄλας the article is absent and we are free to assume that a new neuter noun was already developing, perhaps under the analogy of other food names like γάλα and κρέας', and that ἀλός (genitive of ἄλς) 'lived on in the papyri as late as A.D. 258-9 (P. Lond. iii 1170 p. 196)'.

May we not assume that it lived on in popular speech because it was often distinguished from ἄλας (-ατος)?

Ox. Pap. ix 1222² of the fourth century A. D. mentions τὸ ἄλας τὸ ἀμμωνιακόν (*the salt of ammonia*), which would suggest that by this date the distinction in meaning was lost. The rare genitive ἄλατος occurs in a fifth or sixth century A. D. recipe for a purging draught (Ox. Pap. xi 1384¹³), but an earlier occurrence is conjectured by Mayser.

Thus it would seem that the proverb recorded in Bekhor 8 b arose from the Greek, and that our Lord probably gave an original turn to the Aramaic proverb recorded in Niddah 31 a by making the apodosis a rhetorical question. Confusion was then introduced because the Greek ἄλας meant both *salt* and *salted food*.

It is not the aim of this note to solve the difficulties of context. Wellhausen's view of the priority of Mark's 'undigested morsels' is sounder than that of Loisy, who prefers the Q contexts and regards Mark as an 'artificial and maladroit compilation'. Sharman (*The Teaching of Jesus about the Future* pp. 74 ff) thinks that Mk. ix 49 was invented by the Evangelist to connect the preceding with the following verses. No such easy solution of the verse is possible. Only the word ἀλισθησεται directly concerns us in ix 49. We observe, however, that contrary to the general Gospel phraseology the fire must be preservative,¹ and seems to be related to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

John the Baptist according to Q spoke of baptism ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί. The Acts in describing Pentecost refers to γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός, St Paul speaks of salvation ὡς διὰ πυρός, and the extra-canonical saying of Jesus preserved by Origen ὁ ἐγγὺς μου, ἐγγὺς τοῦ πυρός· ὁ δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας would suggest that His saying recorded in Lk. xii 49 πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη; ('would it were kindled already!') Moffatt) refers to the Holy Spirit or to the immediate presence of God (cf. Exod. iii 2, Deut. iv 24, Mal. iii 2, iv 1, Heb. xii 29).

The readings of W ἀλισγηθήσεται *shall be polluted* (see Burkitt *J. T. S. Oct.* 1915 pp. 16-17) and of θ ψ κ ἀναλωθήσεται *shall be consumed*, although they betray an appreciation of the obscurity of πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται, yet curiously shew some connexion with the main lesson of the parable of the salt, namely the peril of being unsalted or half salted. The imperfectly cured fish is only fit for the consumption of the flames. It is not impossible that the *v.l.* ἀναλωθήσεται arose through a play upon the words ἄναλος and ἀναλόω.

The brevity of our earliest gospel is very noticeable, but St Mark does give us the earliest impression we have of the Life of Jesus, and

¹ Prof. Burkitt, in a letter, writes 'only it will be a burning, scalding preservative (Mt. xiii 41)—something that destroys σκάνδαλα'.

Mk. ix 49, 50 is one of the sayings which he has chosen to record in a narrative chiefly of events. To suppose that it was a well-known and oft-repeated utterance of Jesus would exclude the likelihood of a mere linguistic confusion. But if the metaphor of salt was used by Him in reference sometimes to the Divine activity (Mk. ix 49) and at other times to human influence (Mt. v 13) a confusion would be possible. Is it assuming too much to suppose that the salt was the subject of a parable whose lesson on the hypothesis suggested above becomes no less terrible than that of the parable of Gehenna, with its message of the destruction of what is worthless? In the humid climate of the lake-side the disciples would have experienced the loss of fish through imperfect pickling. The insanitary methods of the East would permit a piece of bad fish to be trampled under foot, though this detail is found in Matthew only, who evidently contemplates in v 13a salt and not food. It is difficult, however, to apply the strong language of Lk. xiv 35 to impure salt οὔτε εἰς γῆν οὔτε εἰς κοπρίαν εὐθετόν ἐστιν· ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό. Such language might be used by any one very annoyed with the salt, but is more applicable to stinking fish. Perhaps Luke distinguished ἄλας from ἄλς.

The new interpretation would in no degree weaken our Lord's question ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε (Mt. ἀλισθήσεται); '*With what (or possibly How* ἵνα or ἵνα) *shall ye season it?*' for it would imply that there was nothing more to be said—the food is worthless, past recovery. A good synonym for Mark's ἄναλον would be σαπρόν = rotten, decayed, bad. Whereas salt itself never does become corrupt, herein lies its 'divinity'; as Plutarch says ἀντιτάττεται τῷ θανάτῳ. We may, therefore, translate Mk. ix 50a: 'Salted food is excellent. But if the salted food loses its saltiness, how shall you season it?'—you are left to infer that you may just as well throw it to dogs or cast it into the fire, as try to pickle it again. Prof. Burkitt, who refuses to contemplate a linguistic confusion in the text of Mk. ix 50, admits in a letter to me 'that ἄλας is used (not quite correctly) in the sense of *the saltiness of a piece of salted food*—that is, if you want to be precise'. It was after receiving Prof Burkitt's valuable criticism that I noticed what I conceive to be a difference in meaning between ἄλας and ἄλς. And on this assumption my main contention no longer depends entirely—if at all—upon a linguistic confusion.

Like fire, wind, and water, salt too seems to have been used by Christ as a picture of the Holy Spirit's work.

The Fourth Gospel gives a fuller appreciation of this fundamental doctrine of Jesus than we could expect from St Mark. Perhaps the *fire*-symbol of the Spirit had led James and John, and others too, to carry the metaphor too far (Lk. ix 54) and the *salt*-symbol of life and preservation was a necessary corrective.

The fact that ἄλς was used with yet another meaning to denote the spirit of peace in Mk. ix 50b will prepare us for the hiatus if ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ ἄλς τῆς γῆς were followed by a saying referring to ἄλς as the equivalent of ὁ τάριχος (or τὸ τάριχον or τὰ ἄλμια).

But enough evidence has been given in this note to shew that ἄλς itself had two meanings. And the fact that τάριχος was an ambiguous word meaning a *mummified body* (cf. Herodot. ii 15, 85-90, 113, Fay. Pap. xiii 4, Ox. Pap. i 40°, Amherst cxxv) as well as *salted fish*, &c., would encourage the use of ἄλς for the latter.

We must admit that Matthew makes no distinction between ἄλς and ἄλς. And his identification of the two, as indeed the Koine eventually (perhaps always) allowed, has affected the interpretation of Mark. It is possible that he plays upon the two meanings of the word ἄλς. But we are not directly concerned with the different context in Mt. v 13. It must be granted that the disciples could only be the salt of the earth by first being themselves salted and having salt in themselves, this much is implied in Matthew's ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται.

The fundamental conception even in Matthew is that of *Divine* action upon the children of the Kingdom and through them upon the world. The salt and fire of Mk. ix 49 are both divine. And ix 50a would carry on the same thought of ἀλισθήσεται if ἄλς means *that which is salted—pickled fish*. The ultimate reference in Mk. ix 50b (salt as the spirit of harmony and fellowship) is to Divine grace, in other words to the Holy Spirit (cf. ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης of the Epistles *passim* and ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος of 2 Cor. xiii 13). And once it be admitted that the salt-symbol refers fundamentally to the *Divine* activity, ἀναλον becomes an impossible epithet for ἄλς unless the latter be distinguished from ἄλς. At any rate it is to be hoped that Dr Milligan will include in future editions of his indispensable *Selections* the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1185, vol. ix, as illustrating Mark's use of ἄλς.

ADDENDA.

1. The use of ὀψάριον in the Fourth Gospel is puzzling: (a) in vi 9, 11 it apparently means *pickled fish*, (b) in xxi 9, 13 *cooked fish (hot)*, (c) in xxi 10 *fresh fish*, equivalent to ἰχθύς in the same context. This last use (c) is manifestly 'incorrect', and (a) is not really correct. It is true that in Mod. Gr. τὸ ψάρι = *fish* (v. Jannaris *Hist. Gr. Gram.* p. 81), but it is noteworthy that the editors of the papyri usually translate ὀψάριον by *sauce, relish, or dainty*; strictly the word denotes a special cooked dish, a delicacy for a feast; cf. Pap. Fay. 119³¹ καὶ εἰς τὰ γενέσια Γεμέλλης πέμψις ὀψάρια. The diminutive ὀψαρίδιον is reserved for *fish* in

Ox. Pap. vii 1067²⁸; ὀψαρίων and ὀψαριδίων appear to be distinguished in Ox. Pap. xiv 1656^{10, 17} notwithstanding the translation *relishes* given in either case. If we were compelled to translate ὀψάριον by *fish* in Ox. Pap. ix 1185¹¹, we could still take ἄλας as the cold pickled fish and ὀψάριον as the hot cooked fish. But the frequent combination ἄρτοι καὶ ἄλας, ἄρτων καὶ ἄλα[τος] (cf. E. Mayser *Grammatik* pp. 211, 212, 286) suggests that ἄλας is something more than mere salt.

2. It is strange that the remarkable description of Christ as *The Salt* in *The Contendings of the Apostles* has passed unnoticed by commentators. The Ethiopic *Gadla Hawáryát* is assigned by Sir Ernest Wallis Budge to the fourteenth century, but he believes the work to be a version of thirteenth-century Arabic which in its turn was a version of sixth-century Coptic, much of the material however going back to the second century. He suggests that some of the legends were first written in Hebrew or Syriac. From *The History of the Death of St John the Evangelist* we quote Budge's translation (ii 259) of the eucharistic prayer over the Bread addressed to *Jesus Christ* by St John :

'This is the bread of life . . . We give thanks unto Thee, O Thou Who by Thy word hast created all things, Thou art the Guide, Thou art the Gate of grace, Thou art the Salt, Thou art the Treasury of the Pearl, Thou art the Net of the life of righteousness . . . and Thou permittest Thyself to be called by these names for the sake of men, so that they may be saved and become new (men) from out of the darkness of their former works into the sin of which they had fallen.'

Afterwards, before entering the grave, among his parting instructions (p. 262), St John says, 'Take good care that ye be not cast away'. This is the lesson of the Parable of the Drag-net (Mt. xiii 48 τὰ δὲ σαπρὰ ζέω ἔβαλον), and there may have been a parable of the Salt and the Salted Fish teaching the same lesson, the salt representing Christ or the Holy Spirit ('Thou art the Comforter' is addressed to Christ on p. 260). The above prayer has apparently grown from meditation on the parabolic teaching of Jesus.

N. D. COLEMAN.

DID CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA KNOW THE *DIDACHE*?

DR ROBINSON referring to the well-known passage in *Strom.* i 378—‘He is said (εἰρηται) to be a thief by the Scripture (ἡ γραφή): it says, Son (υἱέ) be not a liar for the lie doth lead to theft’ which is found in *Didache* iii 5, with the only difference of ‘my child’ (τέκνον μου) for ‘son’—remarks that ‘this is the only passage in Clement of Alexandria in which it can be thought at all probable that he has used the *Didache*’.¹ He suggests that the Scripture here is some lost apocryphal book of which both he and the Didachist made use. But in the twelfth chapter of the third book of the *Paedagogue* it would seem that Clement had before him a document like the ‘Two Ways’ of the *Didache*. He writes: ‘I lead you by the way of salvation (ὁδὸν τὴν σωτήριον). Abandon the ways of error. Follow then, my child (παιδίον), the good way which I shall describe to you’. The Didachist speaks of ‘the way of life’ (τῆς ζωῆς). In the passage that follows Clement altered the saying ‘this do and thou shalt live’ (ζήσῃ Lk. x 28) into ‘this do, and thou shalt be saved’ (σωθήσῃ). This suggests that he may have altered the way of life (ζωῆς) into the ‘way of salvation’ (σωτήριον). In the hymn at the end of the *Paedagogue*, he speaks of ‘the holy rewards of the doctrine of life’ (ζωῆς διδαχῆς). Barnabas speaks of two ways of teaching (διδαχή), one he calls ‘the way of light’ and the other ‘the way of the black’. Here Clement is closer to the *Didache*. After a brief reference to spiritual treasures he gives as a general summary the Golden Rule (St Luke’s form omitting ὁμοίως). Of that Rule there are three forms, the Lukan, the Matthean, and the Bezan (Acts xv 29) καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἐτέρω μὴ ποιεῖν. It is the last that the Didachist gives, πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἔαν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποίει. He began with the Matthean form, and proceeded with the Bezan. It is surely more than a coincidence that Clement should, like the Didachist, place this Rule in the very forefront of his exposition of the good way. The Didachist preferred to put orders in a negative form, e.g. Lk. xii 35 becomes ‘let not your lamps be quenched, and let not your loins be loosed’ (xvi 1). He could have found the negative in Tobit iv 15 ‘What you hate do not to another’. *Barnabas* does not give the Golden Rule in any form. Again, it is surely more than

¹ *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* p. 62.

a coincidence that Clement proceeds immediately to give the summary of the Law (διὰ δυνῶν), with slight differences; after Lk. x 27, and adding the concluding remark of the Lord in Mt. xxii 40 somewhat abridged, 'On this the whole law and prophets depend'. The Didachist begins his exposition of the way of life thus: 'First, thou shalt love God who made thee; secondly, thy neighbour as thyself', an abridgement of the Lord's summary of the Law in Mt. xxii 37-40,¹ omitting the second ἀγαπήσεις with Luke. He then gives his form of the Golden Rule. Both are similarly connected by Clement, but in the reverse order. Barnabas also began his exposition of the way of light with the command 'thou shalt love Him who made thee, thou shalt fear Him who formed thee, thou shalt glorify Him who redeemed thee from death' (xix 2). Twelve lines lower down he has 'thou shalt love thy neighbour above (ὑπέρ) thy soul'.² It is evident that he did not intend to give the summary of the Law as in either Luke or Matthew. Again several lines lower down (307 Potter) Clement gives the command in Lk. vi 27 f 'He bids us love our enemies, and bless those who curse us, and pray for those who spitefully use us'. The Didachist has the same passage, 'bless those who curse you, pray for your enemies, but fast for *those who persecute you*' (this last clause from Mt. v 44) mainly from Luke. He proceeds with Luke vi 32 'for what grace is it if you love those who love you? Do not the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη) the same?' (Matthew has 'reward', 'publicans', Luke 'grace' and 'gentiles'.) Clement, like the Didachist, followed Luke here. This passage is not in *Barnabas*, but in what is regarded by some as a Christian interpolation in the 'Two Ways' of the Didachist. It would seem that it was known to Clement, who continues his quotation from Lk. vi, 'To him who smites thee on the cheek give the other also'. This is given by the Didachist in the Matthean form—'If any shall give thee a blow (δῶ ῥάπισμα, through influence of Jn xviii 22 ἔδωκεν ῥάπισμα) on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also'. Clement proceeds, 'If any one shall take (ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις) thy tunic, prevent him not (taking) thy cloak'. The Didachist, after citing Mt. v 41 'If any shall compel thee to go a mile' &c. (not in Luke), gives the prohibition: 'If any one shall take (ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις) thy cloak, give him thy tunic also'. This is more like Lk. vi 29 than Mt. v 40, 'To him who wishes to take (λαβεῖν) thy tunic allow also thy cloak', which is combined here with the Lukan form by Clement, who also shews the influence of the Didachist in the beginning words ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις (τοῦ αἰροντος, Luke; τῷ θέλοντι λαβεῖν, Matthew). The Didachist proceeds to give Lk. vi 30 'To every one that asketh of thee

¹ Matthew (not Luke) gives the order, 'first', 'second'.

² See *Barnabas* i 4 'to love you *above* (ὑπέρ) my soul', iv 6 'loving all *above* (ὑπέρ) my soul', cf. Eccus. xxx 17.

give, and [from him who takes thy things away] do not demand them back' [Mt. v 42 'Give to him that asketh thee']. And concludes his first chapter with Mt. v 20 'He shall not come out thence until he pays the uttermost farthing'. Three expressions in this portion (1) 'thou shalt be perfect' (also vi 2); (2) 'thou canst not' (οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι), which occurs also in vi 2 (εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι); (3) giving 'according to the commandment', which occurs twice in ch. xiii, are also found in the second part of the *Didache*, and militate against the interpolation theory. The unusual form of the sentence in *Strom.* i 378 οὗτος κλέπτης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται—'He is a thief, it hath been said by the Scripture. It says (φησί) "Son be not a thief"' &c.—a quotation from *Didache* iii 5, may be due to the form in which the Didachist introduced his quotation i 6 'Concerning this it hath been said (εἴρηται): Let thine alms sweat' &c. With regard to this passage Dr Robinson writes: 'He blends the language of the Sermon on the Mount with that of Hermas. and ends by contradicting both' (p. 53). But it does not appear that the Didachist identifies himself with his quotation. The very form in which it is introduced ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται precludes the idea that he is stating his own views. But ('as you know', or 'little as we agree with it') it has been said on the other hand (δὲ) about this—'let thy alms sweat into thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou mayest give'¹—a principle which he contradicts in iv 7 οὐ διατάσεις δοῦναι. Dr Robinson says of the Didachist 'He has been giving us garbled passages from the Sermon on the Mount' (p. 53). Clement of Alexandria does exactly the same—gives us garbled passages from the Sermon on the Mount in his exposition of the Good Way. I should add, in both cases, also the sermon on the plain in Lk. vi. We find the same blending of Luke and Matthew in both.

This chapter of the *Paedagogus* contains the same quotations from the prophets on fasting and sacrifices that we have in *Barnabas* ii, including the mysterious ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδιά δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλασθέντα αὐτήν, which is also found in Irenaeus (iv 32), and which may be a development of Ecclus. xxxix 14—'Give fragrance (ὁσμὴ), sing a song of praise, bless the Lord'. This proves that Clement had the letter of Barnabas at his elbow.² And yet he also shews the influence of the Didachist, e. g. (306 Potter) 'Concerning oath and forgetting of injuries'. Why does he connect the two, ὅρκου δὲ πέρι καὶ μνησικακίας? Is it not because they were connected by the Didachist, 'thou shalt not

¹ Ecclus. xii 1 εἰς τὸν εὖ ποιῆς γινώθι τίς ποιεῖς : v. 7 δὸς τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ μὴ ἀντιλάβῃ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ.

² Clement has many long quotations from *Barnabas*, e. g. *Strom.* ii 445 quotes from *B.* i and ii; *Strom.* ii 447 from *B.* iv; ii 472 from *B.* xxi; ii 489 from *B.* xvi; v 677 from *B.* xi; v 684 from *B.* vi; vi 656 from *B.* ix, &c.

swear falsely, . . . thou shalt not remember injuries'—οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις . . . οὐ μνησικακήσεις, the latter only being found in *Barnabas* (xix 4)? Clement proceeds: 'Let none of you bear a grudge (μνησικακέτω) against (κατὰ) his neighbour in his heart, let him not love a false oath. Moreover he threatens the liars (ψευσταί)'. The Didachist (ii 3) simply has 'thou shalt not bear a grudge', but *Barnabas* has 'thou shalt not bear a grudge to (τῷ) thy brother'. *Barnabas* has nothing about liars, but the Didachist (iii 5) has the passage quoted by Clement in *Strom.* i 378. In his advice to the judge Clement (306 Potter) says, 'Thou shalt not shew respect to persons in judging'—οὐ λήψη (Deut. i 17 ἐπιγνώση) προσώπων ἐν κρίσει. The Didachist has 'Thou shalt judge justly, thou shalt not respect persons to reprove for transgressions' (iv 3). Both clauses are in *Barnabas* but separated (xix 11, xix 4), and the latter first. Finding the passage in the Didachist Clement saw its connexion with Deut. i 17, which he quotes. *Barnabas* xix 4 would not have suggested this connexion to him as it has nothing about *judging*.

After giving the New Testament summary of the Law in 305 (Potter), Clement gives the summary of the Decalogue 'thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not commit idolatry, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, honour thy father and mother'. This is surely following the Didachist who gives the New Testament Summary of the Law in i 2 and after it in ii a string of prohibitions as his *second command of the Didache* 'thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, . . . thou shalt not covet (ἐπιθυμήσεις) thy neighbour's goods, thou shalt not commit perjury, thou shalt not bear false witness', &c. Of these, *Barnabas* has these three together, 'thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys' (xiv 4), he omits οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ εἰδωλολατρήσεις to which the Didachist refers twice in iii 4. We may say, then, that Clement would have found his five prohibitions in the *Didache*; and only two of them in *Barnabas*. In his earlier *Cohortatio* (Potter 85) Clement had given another summary of the Mosaic and Christian law: οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις. These prohibitions occur and in the same order in *Didache* ii 1—ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου . . . ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν καὶ τῷ τύποντί σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. Evidently the law of 'turning the cheek' was considered one of the distinctive Christian principles then. It has a prominent place in the *Didache* also. Here it is in the Lukan form again, but the command of love this time having a second ἀγαπήσεις suggests Mt. xxii. Clement follows up οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις with our Lord's

words on lust and adultery, Mt. v 28. Barnabas does not do that. He has the prohibition in this form οὐ μὴ γένη ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον. But the *Didache* has οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον ii 2, and in iii 3 μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής, 'for lust (ἐπιθυμία)¹ leads to adultery'. The *Didache* and Clement use this prohibition in a sense not found in *Barnabas*, and both pass on from οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις (Mosaic) to our Lord's words on ἐπιθυμία. The law of love here, omitting 'with all thy heart' &c., resembles more closely the Didachist's form than the passage in the *Paedagogue*.

From these parallel passages it would seem that Clement knew the *Didache*. He fitly concludes his summary of the Lord's teaching with the words, 'such shall go into eternal LIFE' (Mt. xxv 46). The Didachist concludes his directions with 'this is the way of LIFE' (Barnabas 'light'). Clement concludes the chapter with specially selected passages—omitting all doctrinal passages—on various duties, from Ephesians, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, and Rom. xii, including κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ, which is in both *Didache* (v 2) and *Barnabas* (xx 2). Clement emphasizes the fact that the Word alone is without sin (μόνος ἀναμάρτητος). The Two Ways in *Barnabas* and the *Didache* end with πανθαμάρτητοι (πανθ' ἁμάρτητοι). Finally, Clement in his *Quis Dives* (29) seems to refer to *Didache* ix: 'We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant which thou hast made *known to us* through Jesus thy Servant'. Clement describes the wine which the good Physician pours into wounded souls as 'the blood of the vine of David', *blood* meaning *juice* as in αἷμα σταφυλῆς, 'juice of grape', Ecclus. xxxix 26, 1 15, 1 Macc. vi 34. The word is devoid of doctrinal meaning in both passages. This may serve as an answer to Dr Robinson who takes 'blood' in a literal sense (p. 82). One more point about Clement and the *Didache*. Just as the latter part of the *Didache* is divided into sections introduced by 'concerning', e.g. περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως (vi 3), περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος (vii 1), περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας (ix 1), περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου (ix 2), περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος (ix 3), περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν (xi 3); so Clement writes his chapter (*Paed.* iii 12) on the Way of Salvation under similar headings, e.g. εὐχῆς μὲν πέρι, περὶ δὲ νηστείας, περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, περὶ ἀνεξικακίας, περὶ ἀγάπης, περὶ πολιτείας ὅρκου δὲ πέρι, περὶ δὲ τῆς μεταδόσεως. This is a strange coincidence. The systematic arrangement of the *Didache*, which may have been suggested to its writer by the divisions beginning περὶ δέ in 1 Corinthians, may have been observed by Clement. Putting all these points together one may reasonably infer from them that Clement was acquainted with the *Didache*.

¹ *Barnabas* xxi 7 used ἐπιθυμία in a good sense 'that my desire (ἐπιθυμία) and watchfulness may come to good'.

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

A NOTE ON HEB. IX 12.

IN the January number of the JOURNAL Mr Chambers reckons Heb. ix 12 among five passages in which the aorist participle following a verb of motion appears to express the *purpose* of the motion. Whatever may be said of the other four passages, 2 Macc. xi 36, 4 Macc. iii 13, Acts xii 25, xxv 13, I cannot think that it is the right explanation of this one. The words are εἰσῆλθεν ἐφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἅγια, αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὐράμενος. The meaning of 'obtain redemption' must decide the grammar, and not *vice versa*, as indeed Mr Chambers recognizes when he says 'the analogy which the writer is drawing breaks down, if εὐράμενος is translated as a past. As the purpose of the High Priest in entering the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement was to wipe out the offences of the past year, so the purpose of Christ was to obtain an eternal redemption'. This sentence identifies the redemptive death with the propitiatory offering of the Blood in the Sanctuary. But these are distinct and separate things. In ch. ix the writer's allegory reaches its height, and he brings into one picture three different factors in Israelite thought which find their true fulfilment in Christianity, Propitiation, Redemption, and the Covenant, each of them representing an aspect of the work accomplished through Christ's death. The first is that of the sin-offering whose blood was carried within the veil once in the year; the third is that of the ceremony at Mount Sinai, the latter being the inauguration, the former the continuation of the Covenant. But redemption was not obtained by a sacrificial ceremony, but simply by the substitution of an equivalent for a life. In the Old Testament the only instance of redemption by means of a life is that of the ox by means of a lamb (Ex. xiii 13 = xxxiv 20). Elsewhere it is by a money payment, except in the case of the substitution of the Levites for the firstborn (Num. iii 12). The substitution of an equivalent requires no priestly act. Christ, by life and death, was the Equivalent for men, being in every respect Man, and Man as he is intended to be. And the price was paid in full on the Cross, so that εὐράμενος must have a strictly past sense. The writer teaches that everything in the Hebrew economy has its counterpart in Christianity, the former being imperfect and transitory, the shadow, copy, type, the latter being the perfect Ideal, real and eternal. Thus the redemption which could be gained in Israel is superseded by the 'eternal redemption' which Christ obtained for us as our Equivalent. *Having obtained it* He passed into the Sanctuary to execute His High-Priestly office.

A. H. MCNEILE.

ON THE FUTURISTIC USE OF THE AORIST PARTICIPLE IN HELLENISTIC.

IN the January number of this JOURNAL (pp. 183 ff) the Reader in Greek at Birmingham University called attention to a passage in 2 Macc. and one in 4 Macc. which go a long way towards solving the well-known difficulty of the aor. part. in Acts xii 25, and also suggest that the aor. part. in Acts xxv 13 and Heb. ix 12 are not, after all, intended to convey the meaning of coincident action (see Moulton *Grammar* i 132) but rather of purpose. Mr Chambers also drew attention to four passages in 1 and 2 Macc. where there is some MS authority for the aor. in place of the future. This use, in certain Hellenistic writers, of the aor. part. to express purpose was observed to have definite limitations: (i) the main verb must be a verb of motion (though in 2 Macc. ix 23 there is MS support for the aor. part. with the article after a verb of appointment), (ii) the participle must be placed after it, (iii) the participle must be either act. or mid. Since his article appeared Mr Chambers has kindly furnished me with two further examples, from the Apocryphal Acts, viz.:

(i) Mart. Petri iii (Lipsius, p. 84, l. 6) εὗρέν τινας τοὺς κομίσαντας αὐτὸν νυκτὸς κρᾶββάτω ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης εἰς 'Αρικίαν: 'he found men to carry him'.

(ii) Ac. Petri et Pauli § 2 (*ib.* p. 179, l. 4) καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔρχεται, δι' ἐπιθέσεως αἰτησάμενος¹ Καίσαρα τοῦ ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς.

The aim of the present paper is to examine the evidence of the papyri for the futuristic use of the aor. participle. There are five papyrus documents in which I have noticed instances of this construction. [A sixth, P. Rein. 48⁵, (ii/A.D.) Φθάσας ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σε τὸν ἀγοφύλακα διηγησάμενός σοι τὴν οὖσαν διάθεσιν ἐνθάδε, might be added but for the false concord, which vitiates the evidence.]

(i) P. Lipsius 65¹⁰ (A.D. 390)

[Δ]ίδομαι
καὶ εἰσαγγέλλω τὸν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένον
λιτουργὸν λιτουργήσαντ[α παρὰ] τῇ σῇ
ἐπικεικίᾳ πρὸς ἐναύσιον χ[ρόνον]
ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοτικῆς αὐτοῦ λ[ιτο]υργίας
ἀντὶ Πασίων Κοπρέου ἀπο[θ]ανόν-
τος.

'I submit and announce the liturgy holder named hereafter *to discharge the duty* by your kind consent for the space of a year in discharge of his common service in place of P. C. deceased.'

¹ αἰτησόμενος suspicit H. Usener.

(This is one of a large group of documents containing nominations of persons suitable for some liturgy. They are all addressed to the same official, the *νυκτοστράτηγος* of Hermopolis, and differ only in the personal details, and in the conditions which have won exemption for the previous holder of the office.)

Ludwig Mitteis, when he first edited this document (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* ii 263 ff), observed that we should rather have expected the future, but that in every document of this group *λιτουργήσαντα* stands clearly, not *λιτουργήσοντα*. He therefore came to the conclusion that the word is to be taken as 'vulgäre Futurform'. When he edited it for the Leipzig Papyri a few years later he described it as 'dialekt. Futurum'; and when his colleague Wilcken edited it in *Chrestomathie* (i p. 482) the comment reads '*λιτουργήσοντα* ist gemeint'.

(ii) P. Goodspeed 14⁸ ff (A.D. 343)—a contract for surety for the transmission of corn, probably from Hermopolis to Neapolis.

καὶ ταῦτα κομίσωσι ἐπὶ τὴν
λαμπροτάτην
Νέαν Πόλιν] καὶ παραδώσωσιν εἰς τοὺς δημοσίους
τῆς Νέας Πόλεως ἐποίσαντες ἐπ' ὄνομα
.....] . οματα¹ τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ προκειμένου
μέτρου σίτου καὶ προσκομίσαντες
.....] τῆς γενομένης ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραδόσεως.

'And let them convey these to the famous Neapolis and deliver them to the officials of Neapolis; *they are to hand over* the invoices for the delivery of the aforesaid corn and *to take* a receipt for what they have delivered.'

Curiously enough Goodspeed has no comment on this. But Crönert (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1903, nr 27, Sp. 729-36) was struck by this odd form *ἐποίσαντες*, and said that it stood for *ἐπενέγκαντες*. Wilcken (*Archiv* iii 115), however, dissented from this opinion, and took it as a hybrid form for *ἐποίησαντες*, comparing it with the '(hybrides) Futurum' *λιτουργήσαντα* in the document cited above. In the same way *προσκομίσαντες* is accepted as futuristic.

(iii) P. Fior. 86 (end of the first century A.D.).

This is a petition to the *ἀρχιδικαστής* for the serving of a writ with threat of entering into possession of a mortgage.

Didymus is to be served with a writ

ὅπως ἀποδοῖ μοι τὰ τε προκείμενα κεφάλαια πάντα καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὑπερχρονίων μέ
[χρι ν]ῦν τόκους καὶ τὰ τέλη καὶ δαπάνας ὁμοίως σὺν τόκοις ἢ εἰδῇ πρὸς μὲν
τὰ διὰ τῶν συγγραφῶν ὀφειλόμενα
[ἐμ]βαδεύσοντά μοι² εἰς τὰς ὑποτεθ[ει]μένας ὡς πρόκειται ἀρούρας καὶ κρατή-
σοντα αὐτῶν κυρίως καὶ ἀποισόμε-

¹ *l.* ἐπ' ὀνόματος τὰ διπλώματα.

² *l.* με.

[νον] τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιεσόμενα πάν[τα] ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἰκονομήσαντα περ[ὶ] αὐτῶν
ὥς ἂν αἰρῶμαι

'That he may repay me both the entire debt and the interest for the overtime down to date, and the taxes and expenses likewise with interest, or that he may know with reference to the debt on the contracts that I shall enter into possession of the mortgaged acres as it has been laid down, and that I shall take possession legally, and that I shall remove therefrom all live stock, and, still further, *shall make arrangements* concerning the property in any way I choose.'

Vitelli's note *in loc.* is simply 'οἰκονομήσαντα = ἤσοντα.'

Mitteis (*Chrest.* ii p. 282) remarks '-σαντα ist vulgäres Futurum'.

(iv) *B. G. U.* 300 (A.D. 148). Power of attorney.

Συνέστησά σοι κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χειρόγραφον
φροντιοῦντά μου τῶν ἐν Ἀρσινοείῃ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ
ἀπαιτήσαντα τοὺς μισθωτάς, κἂν δεόν ᾖν, μισθώσαντα
ἢ αὐτουργήσαντα καὶ ἀποχὰς προησόμενον¹ αὐτοῖς ἐκ το[ῦ]
ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ πάντα τῇ ἐπ[ὶ] τρο[πῇ] ἀνήκοντα ἐπι-
τελέσαντα, καθὰ κάμοι παρόντ[ι] ἐ[ξ]έσταιν.

'I have appointed you by this deed to take charge of my property in the Arsinoite nome, and *to demand it* of the tenants and, if necessary, *to let it* or *to work it* and to produce receipts for them in my name, and *to execute* everything attaching to your charge, just as I should have the right to do if there in person.'

Wilcken's original opinion in *B. G. U.* i is shewn by the word (*sic*) after each of the four aor. participles, with a foot-note in each case '1. ἀπαιτή-
σοντα' &c.

Mitteis in *Chrestomathie* (ii p. 393) annotates 'ἀπαιτήσαντα, dialektische Futurform, so auch im Fg.'

(v) From an unpublished P. Würzburg edited by Wilcken in *Chrestomathie* i 26, pp. 42 ff (A. D. 156).

Ἐντυχέ βιβλειδίῳ δοθέντι μοι παρὰ Κάστορος Ἀφροδισίου ὃ (= ψ)
ἐγγέγρα[π]ται καὶ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ κρατίστης μνήμης Μαμερτείνου, δι' ἧς οὐχ
ὅπως τοὺς Ἀντινοίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἠθέλησεν [ἀν]υβρίστους εἶν[αι, κ]αὶ
ἴσθι, ἐῖ το[ι]οῦτον κλό[π]ι[ον] προ[α]ΐξαις, δηλώσαντά με τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι.

'Attend to a petition presented to me from Castor Aphrodisius, as to which a letter has also been written by his late excellency Mamertinus, by which he desired that not only the Antinoites but also their dependents should be free from annoyance, and be assured that if you should practise such irregular exaction *I shall report* to his excellency the governor.'

Wilcken's significant comment is 'δηλώσαντα wie oft für δηλώσοντα'.

¹ Probably by *ilacism* for προοιόμενον. Cf. Mayser *Gram. d. gr. Pap.* p. 112.

In comparing these instances with those supplied by Mr C. D. Chambers, it is hardly necessary to say that we should not expect such casual documents to shew the same conformity to quasi-literary usage as is found even in the apocryphal Acts. Still the papyri from which these examples are taken are not the letters of illiterate peasants, but legal documents conforming to a more or less regular and formal phraseology.

Let us consider the five examples in relation to Mr Chambers's three canons quoted above.

First canon: In exx. (i) and (iv) the aorist part. is used after a verb of appointment; in (ii) after a verb of motion; in (iii) and (v) after a verb of knowing in the acc. and partic. construction.

Second canon: In every case the participle follows the verb.

Third canon: In every case the participle is active.

It is of interest to observe that in (iii) and (iv) the aorist participles are strictly parallel to future participles which have already been used in the same sentence.

By attributing the form ἀπατήσαντα to dialect, Mitteis seemed to give colour to the suggestion that this use of the aorist partic. might be due to a local usage in Egypt. Unhappily that eminent jurist and papyrologist is no longer with us, but a letter to his former colleague, the veteran scholar Dr Wilcken, has met with a courteous reply, saying that probably nothing more was meant than that this is a Koiné usage. The evidence seems to point to the probability that however the instinct of the narrative writer may have restricted its use within definite limits, there was in vernacular (but by no means illiterate) Greek of the Hellenistic age a strong tendency to use the aorist participle active as equivalent in meaning to the future.

W. F. HOWARD.

THE TEXT OF THE VULGATE.

Mémoire sur l'Établissement du Texte de la Vulgate, par Dom HENRI QUENTIN (Collectanea Biblica Latina VI). (Rome, Desclée; Paris, Gabalda, 1922.)

THE monograph of Dom Henri Quentin here reviewed may be regarded as the first constructional effort of the Papal Commission for the revision of the Latin Vulgate. The volume before us extends only to the Octateuch, but in many ways it serves as textual Prolegomena for the whole Bible, more especially in the part devoted to the

early printed editions, which no doubt maintain much the same textual characteristics all through the Canonical Books. It is a fine piece of work and worthy of the careful attention of all Biblical students. Perhaps the spirit in which it is written may be best illustrated by the fact that when Dom Quentin leaves the Clementine edition and comes to what has happened since 1592 the three works which, as he says (p. 203), he cannot omit to mention are Vercellone's *Variae Lectiones* (1860-4), Wordsworth and White's N.T. (1899-), and Samuel Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate* (1893).

Dom Quentin's monograph falls into two main divisions, that dealing with the printed editions (pp. 75-208), and that in which he makes an attempt to arrange and subordinate the MSS (pp. 209-520). His method is to take a selected chapter from each book—Gen. xviii, Exod. ii, Lev. v, Num. vi, Deut. ii, Josh. ii, Judg. ii, Ruth ii—collate it minutely for all his authorities, and then tabulate the results with a view to discover how the various texts group themselves. It must be remembered that except for Vercellone's collations it is mostly pioneer work. Berger relied chiefly upon selected readings of exceptional intrinsic interest: it is no doubt a safer method to take readings of little intrinsic interest as a first guide in grouping, as they are less likely to be changed except as part of the general revision of a whole text.

As regards the printed editions Dom Quentin's results can be stated in a very few words. He has collated 50 editions of the Latin Bible between the 42-line Bible of 1452 and the Clementine of 1592, and examined I don't know how many more. Of these only three are found to have any critical value: that printed at Vicenza in 1478, which was derived from or assimilated to the mediaeval Italian text; that of 'Cervicornus' (i. e. one Gobelinus Lavidius) at Cologne, 1530; and the Paris editions of Robert Estienne, valuable not for their text, but for the MS variations actually quoted by name.¹ Gobelinus Lavidius appears to have had access to some good Latin MSS and to have allowed their readings to have a real influence upon the text printed by him. All the other early editions, including the Sixtine and the Clementine, are little more than a reproduction of the *editio princeps* of 1452, itself an example of the mediocre text stereotyped by the University of Paris in the thirteenth century.

This result is not new, but it has never been demonstrated before with so much detail, nor had we anywhere before such a conspectus of the extant MS variations as Dom Quentin has provided us in his eight selected chapters. We now know that in not a few cases (e. g. *viditque*

¹ More particularly Estienne gives the readings of B.N. Lat. 11553 (Quentin's *Gcl*, Wordsworth's *G*, Tischendorf's *g*¹), the first volume of which is now missing.

for *vidit*, Exod. ii 11) all the editions, or all the editions except Cologne 1530, agree against all the MSS. The readings are not perhaps of intrinsic importance, but they shew to how great an extent the fifteenth and sixteenth century editors, notwithstanding the big promises in their Prefaces, contented themselves with reprinting their immediate predecessors.

In classifying and grouping the MSS of the Octateuch Dom Quentin entered on an almost unworked field. Something indeed was known. The Alcuinian and Theodulfian recensions of the ninth century comprised the whole Bible. For the Gospels and Acts, Romans and 1 Corinthians, we know their text and that of the Amiatinus and the Cavensis and Toletanus in detail, and it is unlikely that the characteristics of these great branches of transmission will be entirely lost in the Octateuch. Dom Quentin's results are somewhat startling. They are, in outline, as follows:—The three oldest surviving MSS, Amiatinus, Ottobonianus,¹ Turonensis,² represent three independent families. All the other MSS belong fundamentally to *Am* or to *Ottob* or to *Tur*: the Spanish MSS go with *Tur*, the Alcuinians with *Am*, and the Theodulfians with *Ottob*. Of the Alcuinian MSS the best is not the Vallicellianus but the Bible of Count Rorigon (B.N. Lat. 3), and of the Theodulfian MSS the Bible of S. Hubert (Wordsworth's H) represents an earlier stage of the group than the Codex Memmianus (Wordsworth's Θ).

Those who are familiar with Berger's *Histoire de la Vulgate* will see at once that these are very contentious propositions. When Dom Quentin comes to his final chapters and to his essays in the reconstruction of the true text of the Vulgate he treats these critical results as assured. It is therefore necessary to examine some of these results rather closely, and the methods by which they have been obtained, before considering one or two of the more notable readings which he proposes to adopt.³

And first as to the Theodulfian group. This is composed of five MSS: Theo, Anic, Hub, Gep, and Bern. *Theo* is the Codex Memmianus, Wordsworth's Θ (B.N. Lat. 9380), a Bible formerly belonging to the Cathedral of Orleans: Berger and Delisle regard this magnificent codex as having been prepared under the eyes of Theodulf himself, who was Bishop of Orleans from 798–818. *Anic* is the Bible of Le Puy (*Anicium*), almost the twin brother to *Theo*. *Hub* is the Bible of

¹ Ottoboni 66, in the Vatican Library (*sæc.* vii), Vercellone's E: it is famous, amongst other things, for containing a number of quite long passages (e.g. the whole of Genesis xlix and l) taken not from the Vulgate but from the Old Latin.

² B.N. Lat. Nouv. acq. 2334, known as the Pentateuch of Tours (*sæc.* vii), formerly at St Gatien.

³ In what follows *Cav* and *Tol* are Wordsworth's C and T. *Mar* is Tours 10 (see Berger, p. 204): *Mordr* is the Bible of Mordramnus from Corbie, now Amiens 6 and 7. Both are *sæc.* viii.

St Hubert (B.M. Add. 24142), Wordsworth's H. *Gep* is B.N. Lat. 11937, formerly at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and cited by R. Estienne as '*Ge. p.*', i. e. S. Germani exemplar parvum. *Bern* is A. 9 in the Berne Library: it comes from Vienne in Dauphiné (Berger, p. 62), and is only partly Theodulfian in text.

According to Berger *Theo* represents the revision of Theodulf, while *Hub* is a less pure representative of it; *Bern* exhibits the influence of the Theodulfian revision in parts, but not everywhere or to the exclusion of other elements. According to Dom Quentin, on the other hand, *Hub* is an earlier stage in a process of revision and correction that ended with *Theo*; while *Bern* has been influenced by the earlier stage, not by the later, in other words by *Hub* not by *Theo*.¹

Dom Quentin bases his deductions on 91 numbered various readings taken from his selected chapters, but the 16 variants from Genesis do not count, as *Hub* is not extant for Gen. xviii. This leaves 75. In 35 cases (I make it 39) *Bern* goes with the group; *Bern* is therefore to be reckoned a Theodulfian. *Bern* agrees with all but one of the group six times, and five times *Hub* is the dissident. I make eight occurrences, *Hub* the dissident six times (for 87 has to be added), and *Theo* twice (54 and 69, not 74). *Bern* disagrees with almost all the group five times and in these cases the MSS with which it continues to agree are *Hub* (four times) and *Anic* (once). *Bern* disagrees with all the group nine times: I make it ten, for we must add No. 62. Dom Quentin continues (p. 253): 'On voit par les chiffres qui précèdent que l'appartenance de Bern au groupe théodulfien est manifeste. Ce qui n'est pas moins évident c'est le rapport spécial avec *Hub*. S'accorde-t-il avec tous les autres manuscrits du groupe? *Bern* est alors en désaccord avec *Hub*. Est-il au contraire en désaccord avec tous les autres, c'est avec *Hub* qu'il s'accorde. Nous avons vu plus haut la signification de ce fait: il veut dire que *Bern* est intermédiaire entre *Hub* et le reste du groupe.'

This is a quite definite conclusion. It is evident that the decisive element in the demonstration is the alleged agreement between *Bern* and *Hub* when they both leave the rest of the Theodulfian MSS (i. e. *Theo Anic* and *Gep*). Dom Quentin's list of these agreements (p. 250) is: 32. *Hub**, 33. *Hub*, 41. *Hub*, 62. *Hub*; 89. *Anic*. The solitary agreement with *Anic* is in Ruth ii 20, where *Cav Tol* and a few other MSS agree with *Anic* and *Bern* in reading 'ait propinquus noster est' instead of 'propinquus ait noster est': Dom Quentin lays no stress on this, nor need we. The other four are what his deduction rests on. Of

¹ It should be explained that 'influenced by *Hub*' is to be understood as meaning 'influenced by the special branch of transmission to which *Hub* belongs'. Dom Quentin's genealogical tables all seem to be drawn up in this looser sense.

these we must take away (62), as will be clear if we refer to his p. 58, for on p. 244 *Hub* is put on both sides by an uncorrected printer's error, of which there are too many in the book; on the other hand we should add (37), which has apparently fallen out by accident.¹

Out of the 75 variants, then, *Hub* and *Bern* leave the Theodulfian group together in four places, viz. nos. 32, 33, 37, and 41. What sort of variants are they? First of all it should be noted that this special agreement is only met with in two out of the seven books: nos. 32 and 33 both come from Exod. ii 25,² no. 37 is from Lev. v 11 and no. 41 from Lev. v 19. It seems a narrow basis.

The actual variants in which *Hub* and *Bern* agree are:

- 32. *om.* Dominus,
- 33. cognovit (*not* liberauit),
- 37. offeret (*not* offerat),
- 41. in Domino (*not* in Dominum).

In each case *Hub* and *Bern* agree in company with a very large number of MSS of almost every age. The only serious variant is no. 33: *liberauit* is a gloss on *cognovit* (not from the Old Latin or the Hebrew!) intended to bring out the sense. The list of those who support *liberauit* is headed by *Mar* and *Mordr*, but besides this *cognovit* is actually retained in the margins of *Theo* and *Anic*. Any one correcting a MS by the aid of *Theo* or *Anic* would be quite as likely to take the marginal reading as the text.

I conclude therefore that the textual evidence does not even point towards Dom Quentin's conclusions about the Theodulfian group. I prefer to abide by Berger's opinion that *Bern* has been partly conformed to the Theodulfian revision, the standard of which is *Theo*, the Codex Memmianus, and that it has nothing to do with the special type represented by *Hub*.

Bern is after all not a very important MS; it has only come into prominence through the inferences of Dom Quentin. But *Hub* or H is a codex of considerable interest, both in the Old and New Testaments, and it will be worth while to consider what we can make of it. Where H differs from Θ (to revert to Wordsworth's notation) it generally agrees with the Amiatinus, sometimes with the Cavensis, but quite a large proportion of these differences have been corrected to agree with Θ, so that the combinations AH* on the one hand and H^cΘ on the other are quite frequent in the pages of Wordsworth and White.³

¹ See p. 240.

² Exod. ii 25 runs in the Clementine text *Et respexit Dominus filios Israel, et cognovit eos.*

³ Examples: ACH* against H^cΘ, Matt. xxi 31, xxvii 20, 32, 46; AH* against CH^cΘ, Matt. ix 38, xxvii 13, 58; CH* against AH^cΘ, Matt. xxvii 35. It should be noticed that H is often corrected to agree with Θ, even where Θ differs from almost all other MSS, e.g. Matt. xxvi 32.

What does this mean? H is very like ©, it is universally acknowledged to be a product of the same school, and it has been corrected to agree still more closely with the Theodulfian standard. Surely it means that H was copied from an older MS which had been corrected to agree with © but not perfectly or quite clearly, so that in a good number of cases the copy (our H) agreed with the original reading of its exemplar, not with the corrected reading, and then most of these exemplar-readings were corrected to the corrected reading by a reviser. We may therefore take all the readings where H differs from ©, and especially the H* readings, as giving us pre-Theodulfian readings of the MS from which our H was copied. This text seems to me a very noteworthy one. It agrees almost always with AC, in other words it represents a text akin to the Amiatinus but free from the 'insular' elements in A.

To return to Dom Quentin, I do not propose to follow his theories in detail with regard to the Alcuinian and Spanish MSS,¹ but I have the feeling that his views on the Alcuinian group are somewhat hazardous. He puts *Rorig* before *Vall*: this is because *Rorig* now and then agrees with more ancient readings than *Vall*, and he does not seem to me to have sufficiently considered the possibility that the more ancient readings survive through imperfect correction to the Alcuinian standard. Yet after all there is a sense in which a correct *stemma codicum* is a matter of secondary moment. In a remarkable List (p. 350 f) he shews that almost all the variants, good and bad, are represented in the divergences between the Alcuinian, Theodulfian, and the extreme type of the Spanish texts (i.e. *Tol*): could we therefore have some method of divination by which to pick and choose in each case we could almost reconstruct the true text of Jerome's translation from these alone. The trouble is that these three groups are not wholly independent, so that we should often go wrong if we merely took the evidence of two of these groups against the other. But Dom Quentin believes that in the three oldest MSS, viz. *Am Tur* and *Ottob*, we have three independent lines of transmission. *Am* represents the peculiar element of Alcuin's recension, *Ottob* represents the peculiar element of Theodulf's, *Tur* represents the peculiar element of the Spanish MSS. The task of the future editor therefore is quite simple. All he has to do is to collect

¹ It should be noted that Dom Quentin dates the Codex Toletanus (*Tol*, Wordsworth's T) about 988 A. D., that being the date of a Note recording the gift of *Tol* to the see of Seville. Berger, p. 13, treats this Note as being by a later hand. E. A. Loew (*Studia Palaeographica*, p. 57) dates *Tol* about the end of the eighth century, especially because *Tol* makes no distinction between the hard and the soft sounds of *t*, as almost all tenth century Visigothic hands do. On the other hand the handwriting of the Note (Quentin, pp. 318, 319, 323) is very like that of the ornamental and uncial letters in the body of the codex. Is it possible that the 'era' intended is not the Spanish era, but that 'of the Greeks' (i. e. 715 A. D.)?

the readings of *Am Tur* and *Ottob*, and to accept the agreement of either two of them against the other. The only real use of all the other MSS seems to be to supply evidence for reconstructing the text of these three in places where they happen not to be extant.

I fear this is too good to be true. I fear that what Dom Quentin says very well on p. 210, about the perpetual correction of Biblical texts by more ancient or more approved codices, has introduced so much cross-breeding in all our authorities that no mechanical rule will lead us out of the labyrinth. And if in the end we are searching for texts derived by peculiar lines of transmission from very early days I wonder he has not tried to make use of the evidence of S. Augustine's *Speculum*.¹ It is a pity that none of his specimen chapters cover paragraphs quoted by Augustine in that work: it would be particularly interesting to see how far the *Speculum* would tend to support the Spanish group.²

At the end of the book, on pp. 466-487, Dom Quentin brings together eighty readings, mostly taken from Genesis, to shew that the agreement of two out of AM TUR and OTTOB against the other almost always produces the true reading. Most of the eighty deal with points of the very smallest intrinsic interest; some, however, are interesting in themselves or raise questions about Jerome's style and methods. Thus in Gen. iv 6 he proposes to read *Quare mestus es?* with AM and TUR against all the others which have *Quare iratus es?* It is true that in the preceding verse we read that Cain was 'angry', *iratus est*, and that both in the Hebrew and the Greek the same word is used in both verses. Dom Quentin urges on the other hand that the correction was obvious, whether from the Old Latin or from the context, and that Jerome may very well have varied the expression to avoid repetition, just as he calls Cain's countenance *uultus* in ver. 5 but *facies* in ver. 6. This is a reasonable plea: several other anomalous renderings are defended, no doubt rightly, 'par l'habitude qu'a saint Jérôme de varier ses expressions' (p. 472, on Gen. ix 23 *uerecunda*), but if we bear it in mind it is scarcely cogent when comparing *uenationem tuam* (AM TUR) with *de uenatione tua* (OTTOB) in Gen. xxvii 7 to argue for the former because the accusative is the form in the Hebrew and the Greek and the Old Latin.

An interesting example of Jerome's stylistic freedom even in familiar texts is to be found in Gen. vi 2, where he seems to have written *filiis eorum* (OTTOB TUR Mar* Cav Tol Theodulf) not *filiis hominum* (AM Mordr Alcuin).

¹ I mean the work which begins *Quis ignorat*. On its text see *J. T. S.* xi 263 ff.

² See *J. T. S.* xi 458, where I pointed out a certain affinity between the text of Augustine in the *De Consensu* and that of Cod. Cavensis.

On Gen. iii 15 Dom Quentin decides for *ipsa* not *ipse*. This of course he has a right to do, but his note on the passage raises a very serious question. He says:—'[Gen.] iii 15 *ipsa* conteret AM TUR *Mar Mordr Rorig Zur Anic Theo Cav Co Tol Osc*; *ipse* conteret OTTOB *Geo**. C'est ici un passage qui a donné lieu à bien des discussions, mais la leçon de nos manuscrits n'est pas douteuse: elle l'est d'autant moins que *Ottob*, qui avec *Geo* est le seul témoin de *ipse*, est, comme nous l'avons vu, un manuscrit très affecté de l'ancien latin. Il est à noter, en outre, que saint Jérôme n'aurait pas rapproché *semen tuum* et *ipse*.'

I do not propose to discuss this famous reading on its merits; the question I must raise is one of fact. Are the Ottobonianus and *Geo* (i. e. B.N. 11504) the only witnesses for *ipse*? Which is correct, Berger or Dom Quentin and his collaborators? Berger's list for *ipse* (*Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 93, note 2), in addition to *Geo*, is

ottob tol vall** Tours 10* Monza G. 1 and L₂.

The Bible of Monza (G. 1) and its satellite (L₂) may be left out of account, for Dom Quentin has not made use of them. But 'Tours 10' is Dom Quentin's *Mar*, and he quotes both *Mar* and *Tol* for *ipsa*. On p. 204 Berger quotes *Mar* again for *ipse* and notes that it is the reading of the first hand. Then again *Vall* is an important and famous codex: Dom Quentin, it is true, does not regard it as the best Alcuinian MS, as Berger does, but when it attests a rare reading it seems ungracious not to notice the fact.

The matter is all the more important because of the numerous slips and errors that have escaped correction scattered through the volume.¹ We are dependent not only for textual theory but also for the actual readings of most of the Vulgate O.T. MSS upon the care and accuracy of the great Benedictine Commission, and it is a matter of the first importance to ascertain the standard of accuracy and completeness that has been attained. Corrections in some Western MSS are very skilfully carried out, and it is easy to overlook them altogether. But in the case of a variation so well-known and so contentious as Gen. iii 15 I do not think Berger (if he be wrong) ought to have been merely contradicted *ex silentio*. The collation of *Tol* was made by the Dames Bénédictines de Maredret, Dom Adrien Coughlin and Dom Gaetano Fornari (p. 299), that of *Mar* by Dom Henri Cottineau (p. 268): if the first hands of *Mar* and *Tol* really read *ipse*, how can we trust the rest of the collations

¹ Some of these are quite disconcerting. Instances of inaccurate tabulation have been given above in discussing the Theodulfian recension. On p. 479 *Melchisedech* should be *Abimelech*. On p. 336 (description of plate) *repos* should be *repas*: Habacuc we know was 'capable de tout', but what he brought to Daniel was a dinner, not a sleeping-draught!

in detail? If Berger was misinformed it is well that we should know it, but if he be right in Gen. iii 15, in how many other cases may not important variants have been overlooked?

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NOTE ON THE PICTURES IN 'THE PENTATEUCH OF TOURS'.

DOM QUENTIN'S *Turonensis*, now Nouv. Acquisitions Lat. 2334 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, formerly belonged to the Cathedral of St Gatien at Tours: it was stolen by the notorious Libri about 1842, by whom it was sold in 1847 to Lord Ashburnham. It came back to France in 1888. While it was still at Ashburnham Place the nineteen surviving full-page illustrations were reproduced in photograph and edited by Oscar v. Gebhardt (*The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, London, 1883) with full Prolegomena, which are not out of date even after Dom Quentin's description on pp. 414-432.

In particular I venture to think that v. Gebhardt's account of the descriptive lettering found on the pictures is more satisfactory than that of Dom Quentin. This lettering is painted on the various objects, and is light or dark according to the suitability of the surface on which it is painted, dark on a light ground, light on a dark ground. It was therefore done *after* the pictures had been painted. On fol. 56r there is a picture representing the Children of Israel building cities for Pharaoh: in this picture a good deal of the colour has come off, and underneath it is partly legible a similar series of legends, written with a pen, and done *before* the pictures were painted. The two series of inscriptions do not agree verbally: in the main they are based on the Old Latin, but Dom Quentin points out (p. 425 f) that the later, painted, series sometimes deserts the older wording to follow the Vulgate. Thus the under writing makes Moses hide the slain Egyptian *in arena* (Exod. ii 12), while the painting has *sub sabulo*. On the other hand both sets agree in calling the father-in-law of Moses *Iotor* (= Ἰδοόρ), while the Vulgate has *Iethro* (or *Raguel*).

The most obvious deduction to be made is that the pictures are a copy of a set of pictures made for an Old Latin Bible, but that the painter himself was more familiar with the Vulgate. A good many scenes are represented on the same page: before the painting was begun the painter himself, or his master, wrote with a pen the subjects to be represented: these inscriptions were no doubt copied verbatim from the exemplar. After the paintings were done the painter put on the inscriptions but now they were painted there was no further need

of an exemplar, and he described the designs more in the wording with which he was familiar.

The matter has a certain importance in view of Dom Quentin's suggestion (p. 431) that the *Turonensis* itself came from North Africa, 'un des derniers monuments de la civilisation chrétienne de l'Afrique'. His main reason is the realism with which some non-European beasts are drawn, e. g. the Camels, and the two Lions just let out of the Ark. I quite agree that these Lions are very different from the tame monsters which lick Daniel's toes in the pages of the *Legionensis* (p. 336). But the argument only proves that the pictures in our *Turonensis* were copied from an excellent model. No doubt there may not have been many steps between observation of nature and the extant pictures, but there was at least one. The evidence of the inscriptions seems clearly to point to the pictures having been designed for an Old Latin text, but the *Turonensis* is a Vulgate. A good parallel to the whole state of things is to be found in the Canterbury Psalter now in Trinity College Library, the Utrecht Psalter, and the ancient lost MS from which they are descended, all of which must have had the same set of illustrations, though the text of the Psalter is different.

In any case the Biblical knowledge of the admirable copyist who painted the pictures in the *Turonensis* was small. As v. Gebhardt points out he writes *Potamia* for *Mesopotamia*. More curious is '*Lampiton*', which is given both in the upper and under writing as the name of the first city built by the Children of Israel. The Greek of Exod. i 11 has τὴν τε Πιθὼ καὶ Ῥαμεσσὴ (of course with variations in spelling): it seems to me very likely that an Old Latin text had *aedificabant civitates Farao, ILLAM PITON et Ramesse*. The first syllable of *illam* has dropped out like the first syllables of *Mesopotamia*, and our copyist thought that LAMPITON was all one name. *Ille* for the article is well attested in 'African' documents, so that this also points to North Africa as the original source of the illustrations in the 'Pentateuch of Tours'. But it does not at all imply the N. African origin of the main Biblical text, which seems to be, as Dom Quentin shews, a very pure form of the specifically Spanish tradition.

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THE OLD LECTIONARY OF JERUSALEM.

THIS Note springs out of a very interesting study by Dr Anton Baumstark, of Bonn, about the Biblical Lessons,¹ exclusive of the Gospels, which are read in Syriac-speaking Churches. Dr Baumstark's

¹ *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends*, a study in comparative Liturgiology by Dr ANTON BAUMSTARK (Münster, Aschendorff), 1921.

study is a general survey of a field of work hitherto only explored in a piece-meal fashion. He has mapped out the ground and indicated lines upon which further investigation may be made: if in what follows attention is chiefly directed to some points in which the present writer differs from him, it must not be forgotten that the data brought forward and grouped by Dr Baumstark have made the discussion possible.

I do not propose to deal here with the first two-thirds of Dr Baumstark's study, the part which treats of the Nestorian and the Jacobite rites. This part contains a great many interesting observations and conjectures, but it suffered from the fact that the most important document bearing on the subject was not published when Dr Baumstark wrote. It was indeed Dr Baumstark himself who drew attention to what he called 'a Syriac *Comes* of the sixth century' in the British Museum (p. 84), i.e. the Table of Lessons contained in B.M. Add. 14528. Dr Baumstark only knew this document from the description in Wright's Catalogue, and contented himself with remarking that 'a complete account of its contents cannot be too vehemently desired'. This has now been done: after reading what Dr Baumstark had said I have transcribed this ancient Table, together with the relevant Lectionary notes in the older Syriac Biblical MSS, and have published the result in a British Academy Paper.¹ From this body of evidence, not used by Dr Baumstark, we learn for the first time exactly how the Bible was read in the churches of Edessa and its neighbourhood at the beginning of the sixth century, before the Monophysite schism: the later uses of Nestorians and Jacobites must be studied in the light of this further knowledge.²

But the most important part of Dr Baumstark's investigations were concerned with the Malkite or Greek-orthodox Lectionary. From a liturgical point of view ancient Greek orthodox uses fall into two groups, those that follow Constantinople and those that follow the old customs of Jerusalem. The use of Constantinople we may suppose to be a developement of the use of Antioch, but during the fifth and sixth centuries, a period of much liturgical developement, the Patriarchate of Antioch became practically Monophysite and ceased to be Greek. Then came the Mohammedan conquests; for a considerable period the Byzantine Empire was shut off from the Christian East, and when in the tenth century Antioch was recaptured by a Christian army,

¹ *The Early Syriac Lectionary System*, by F. C. Burkitt (Proc. of the British Academy, vol. xi, 1923).

² When it is mentioned that there were sometimes as many as seventeen Lessons at one Sunday or Festival Service, taken systematically from all parts of the Bible and making a total of over 400 verses, it will be obvious to any one who has made a study of Church Bible-reading that this document reveals a state of things quite different from any use hitherto known in detail.

Byzantine Christianity had arrived at its complete developement. Its liturgy, its kalendar, its method of Bible-reading, were the same almost as to-day. Moreover, Constantinople was now the one great centre of Orthodox Greek Christianity. It was natural that Churches in full communion with the Ecumenical Patriarch should model their services on Constantinople.

It was otherwise in the end of the fourth century and the early years of the fifth. These were the palmy days of Christian Jerusalem. The sacred Sites had been beautified with Churches by the piety of Constantine and his family, and a stream of pilgrims came year by year from all over the Christian world, even from far away Spain and from Bordeaux, to worship at the Holy City. Christian ritual was then rapidly crystallizing into fixed forms, and the special character of the ritual elaborated at Jerusalem was the representation, the re-enactment, of the Gospel history in a liturgical form on the appropriate days at the very Sites themselves. Thus on Maundy Thursday 'they assemble at 1 p.m. in the holy shrine of the city and' after Bible-reading 'the sacrifice is offered . . . before the holy cross. And in the same hour they proceed to holy Sion . . . and in the same hour they go forth to the mount of Olives', singing Psalms.¹ It was, indeed, at Jerusalem that the rite of the Palm Sunday procession, commemorating the Entry into Jerusalem, was first organized. A 'record of the assemblies held in Jerusalem in the holy places of Christ, in which the number of the day of the month and the lesson of the day are set forth' (with the proper psalms) still survives in Armenian MSS and has been translated by F. C. Conybeare in *Rituale Armenorum* pp. 516-527.

The other main authority for this ritual is the account of the Spanish pilgrim Egeria or Etheria (*ci-devant* 'Silvia of Aquitaine'), who visited Jerusalem A.D. 383-385.² Unfortunately Egeria gives no data as to the actual lections chosen, except that they were appropriate to the time and place. But all the evidence points to the accuracy of Conybeare's document, though it may have been accommodated here and there to the actual praxis in Armenia, particularly (according to Dr Baumstark, p. 155) in respect of the limits of Lent. Dr Baumstark adds, as a subsidiary authority, a Georgian *Kanonarium*, published in 1912 by K. S. Kekelidze.

The services and ceremonies at Jerusalem were not only described and copied out for their own intrinsic interest. To a very considerable extent, during the fourth and fifth centuries, they served as ritual models for other Churches. The influence of Jerusalem is perceptible in the

¹ Conybeare *Rit. Armen.* p. 521.

² For the date see Dr Baumstark in *Oriens Christianus* N. Ser., i 32-76 (1911): the old bishop of Jerusalem seen by Egeria was therefore none other than S. Cyril.

old Edessene Lectionary referred to above, though not altogether dominant. In the Armenian texts, on the other hand, the documents edited by Conybeare seem almost as much rubrics for the lessons to be read in Armenian churches as a description of the lessons read in Jerusalem. And it is the special merit of Dr Baumstark to have pointed out for the first time that the curious *Praxapostolos* (or non-evangelic Lectionary) in the Christian Palestinian-Syriac dialect, published by Mrs Lewis in 1897, is based on the old use of Jerusalem. It is 'eine degenerierte Form' (p. 171), but nevertheless it belongs to the Jerusalem use.

So far we can all follow Dr Baumstark. He has done a great service in shewing that the old name of 'the Jerusalem Syriac', though originally given through a linguistic error, has nevertheless a certain historical appropriateness. But I venture to think that his treatment of the Palestinian-Syriac literature, so far from being 'fast zu gründlich', as a friendly German critic seems to have said (see his Preface, p. ix), is really not quite 'gründlich' enough. I cannot quite believe that a treatment of the service books of this curious branch of the Orthodox Church which does not even mention the town of 'Ābūd, or the name of the late Prof. J. P. N. Land, can be quite thorough. The matter is interesting in itself and little understood by any except professed Aramaic scholars. I will therefore repeat some of the results at which I arrived in my paper on the Christian Palestinian Literature (*J. T. S.* ii 174-185), indicating the very slight modifications which later discoveries have necessitated.

Who and what, then, were the Christians who used the Palestinian-Syriac Literature? The language itself is a dialect of Aramaic very similar to that used by Jews and Samaritans in Palestine before Arabic became the common speech of the East. It might seem at first sight that in studying these documents we were investigating the history of primitive Christianity; we might fancy we were tracing the fortunes of communities founded by the Apostles, and still speaking their language. This hope is not at all borne out by the facts. The Christian Palestinian Literature has no signs of long ancestry or national vitality. It consists exclusively of rather slavish translations from the Greek, and nothing has been found in it which would not be required for public services in Church or the public instruction of Christians.

Moreover the areas in which this Ecclesiastical dialect was used seem to have been very limited. The only real 'Gemeinde' or community known to us that used it, apart from exotic congregations of monks living away from their parents' homes, is that of 'Ābūd, a large village situate at an equal distance from Jerusalem and from

Jaffa, and due NW. of Jerusalem.¹ Further, there is nothing which suggests that this organization of Semitic Palestinian Christians is older than Justinian.² The two places where we know that MSS in this dialect were preserved for use are the monasteries of Sinai and of the Black Mountain north of Antioch,³ for the fragments from the Nitrian Library and from the Cairo Geniza appear to have reached their destination only as writing material to be made into palimpsests or as curiosities.⁴ The monasteries of the Black Mountain owe their origin to the recapture of Antioch from the Saracens in A.D. 969; it was there that the famous Gospel Lectionary in the Vatican was written. For the earlier documents we only know of the great orthodox sanctuary of Sinai.

Dr Baumstark, ignoring all this, treats Mrs Lewis's *Apostolos* and the MS containing the Liturgy of the Nile now in the British Museum as belonging to the otherwise utterly unknown 'syro-palästinensischen Melkitengemeinde Ägyptens', whereas I regard 'the Syro-palestinian Malkite communities of Egypt' as a long name for the same set of Sinai monks to whom belonged the MSS and fragments in the Palestinian dialect that have actually come from the Library at Sinai or still remain there.

Mrs Lewis's *Apostolos* is late, not so old as the Vatican Lectionary (A.D. 1029), and, as was said just now, it represents a degenerate form of the use. A main object of this Paper is to call attention to the fact that fragments of at least two more ancient Palestinian Lectionaries survive, and that they attest a purer and more original form. One of these documents has been known to scholars since 1875 as Land's *Fragmenta Biblica Petropolitana*: in the light of Dr Baumstark's results and of the researches of Dr Hugo Duensing, to be mentioned below, it is possible to do a good deal towards reconstructing and augmenting these fragments and, what is more important, the rite which they attest can be determined with some precision.

The reconstruction of Land's Old Testament Lectionary is a somewhat complicated process. To make it clear it is necessary to describe the documents in some detail. Those that concern us are:—

1. Tischendorf's Georgian MS at Petrograd, used by Land in 1875.
 2. Duensing's MSS, published in 1906.
 3. Mrs Bensly's Homilies (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*), 1896.
 4. Mrs Lewis's Lectionaries (*Studia Sinaitica* vi), 1897.
- (1) Land's *Anecdota* is a collection, familiar to all Aramaic students. Vol. iv contains, among other things, the only other Palestinian docu-

¹ *J. T. S.* ii 174.

² *Ibid.* p. 181.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 176-178.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 177, 183: see Wright *CBM* i 379.

ments known for many years besides the Vatican Gospel Lectionary. Land's authorities were some London fragments (B.M. Add. 14664 and one leaf of Add. 14450), which seem to have reached the great Nitrian Library after the sale of Sultan Bibars's booty from Palestine, and a MS in two volumes which Tischendorf had brought to Petersburg 'from the East', i.e. from the Monastery on Mount Sinai. This MS is palimpsest, the upper writing being in the Georgian language. It now consists of 129 leaves, cut and folded to make a book of smaller size than any of the original MSS: a full index of the leaves is given in Land's *Introd.* pp. 186-189. Of the Palestinian MSS Land distinguishes two Gospel codices (P₁, P₂), some *Acta Sanctorum*, 63 Fragments of 'Theologica', and the Old Testament Lectionary, which I shall call Pl.

(2) In 1893 Mrs Bensly copied out at Sinai 13 leaves of an ancient MS of Homilies in the Palestinian-Syriac language, which she found in the binding of a late Aramaic MS. The writing is very similar to Land's *Theologica*: there is no reason to doubt that these leaves once formed part of the same MS as the fragment of a Homily of St Chrysostom which is No. 8 of Land's 'Theologica'.

(3) Dr Hugo Duensing published in 1906 a valuable work called 'Christlich-palästinisch-aramäische Texte und Fragmente', in which he edited Palestinian-Syriac texts from five MSS in a private collection. It is evident that this collection also came ultimately from Sinai, for one of the five MSS was a Palimpsest with a Georgian text as the upper writing, while the lower text contains Palestinian fragments taken from the same MS as Land's 'Theologica' (Duensing, p. 42).¹ Moreover Dr Duensing succeeded in identifying the greater part of these 'Theologica': of the 63 fragments printed by Land no less than 49 come from a MS of the Catecheses of St Cyril of Jerusalem. Three others, nos. 2, 17, 46, Duensing shews to be Biblical: he might have added 24 and 25, which come from Job ix 12-34. Thus only eight of Land's Fragments remain unidentified (nos. 3 and 4, 6 and 7, 12, 13, 19 and 20), all of which are clearly taken from some collection of Sermons; of these fol. 13 belongs to some of Duensing's unidentified fragments.

Duensing's Biblical fragments, so far as they concern our present enquiry, will be noticed below.

(4) Mrs Lewis's Lectionary (Ll) was acquired by her in Cairo in 1895. On p. cxxxviii f of her book (*Studia Sinaitica* vi) she publishes

¹ Duensing, p. 71 ff (the texts grouped under B). The first text called A (p. 72) and conjectured by Duensing to be from a Life of Rabbula comes from the Story of the Man of God (Amiaud's *St Alexis* p. 21 line 21 for the 'verso', and p. 22 line 2 for the 'recto'.

the text of a palimpsest leaf of another Lectionary (L₁), which she bought in Cairo about the same time: possibly it once formed part of the same collection as the second facsimile published by Duensing. In any case, as will be seen, it is a fragment of exceptional interest.

As remarked above, it is Dr Baumstark's great merit that he perceived that the Palestinian Lectionary follows in the main the old use of Jerusalem and is to be regarded as a branch of it. The main authority for this use is Conybeare's Old Armenian Lectionary in *Rituale Armenorum*: in attempting to reconstruct Land's MS, therefore, the most practical method is to take Conybeare's document as our standard and see whether the fragmentary indications in Land's scattered leaves do not agree with it. Of the 129 leaves in the two Georgian volumes (see Land's *Introd.* pp. 186-189), if we leave out the leaves of the two Gospel MSS P₁ (22 leaves) and P₂ (13 leaves) and all the Cyril of Jerusalem and other 'Theologica', we have left foll. 11, 12, 14, 24, 25, 38, 41, 48, 60, 63, 68, 106, 107, 108, 109, 127-16 leaves in all—and fol. 55, which contains a text from the Gospel, to be noticed later. Of the 16 leaves the pairs 68 and 63, 38 and 106, 107 and 48, 41 and 60, fit together and make single leaves of the old MS. Thus 12 leaves of the old MS would be preserved, whole or in bits, if they all belong to the same codex. Land (*Introd.* p. 206) seems to have thought they all came from the same codex, but in the case of detached leaves such as these a doubt is always possible.

Foll. 11, 12, 24 contain texts from Isaiah¹: it is a little difficult to believe that fol. 11, which contains Isa. xiv 28-xv 5, can ever have formed part of a Lectionary. Fol. 12 *r* contains Isa. xi 6-10, which is read on the vigil of Epiphany, but as Land (*Introd.* p. 187) says 'Fol. 11 et 12 conjuncta' it must go with its fellow: as a matter of fact on counting the lines in Swete's LXX it appears that if fol. 12 and 11 are a conjugate pair, then the intervening text of Isaiah would exactly fill three conjugate pairs, i. e. six leaves, forming the interior of a quire. It is better, therefore, to regard fol. 12, 11, 24 as fragments of a MS of the full text of Isaiah, not of a Lectionary.

It is most likely also that fol. 25, which contains a bit of Acts xiv, is a loose leaf of a codex of Acts. But the remaining eight leaves all formed part of the same Lectionary, a codex which contained Lessons from all parts of the Bible except the Gospels. Thus it was a MS of the same general character as Mrs Lewis's Lectionary (L₁), but its date may be put in the seventh century and, as we shall see, it stands nearer than L₁ to the original Jerusalem use, as represented by Conybeare's Armenian.

¹ The extract from fol. 24 (end), printed by Land *Introd.* p. 188, is really Isa. xxx 23, 24.

To appreciate the importance of Ll_2 we must note the order in which the texts occur. The fragment is a single leaf, of which the inner upper corner has been torn away. The writing is in two columns, the contents being as follows:

Job vii. . . -21. *3rd Lesson, from Isaiah the Prophet.* Isa. xl 1-8. Psalm xl (= xli Heb.) Blessed is he that considereth, &c. *Respond,* I said, Lord, have mercy, &c. (*ver.* 4).

In the second week of the holy Quadragesima, Monday, at the Anastasis. First Lesson, from the First Kingdom, from the beginning of it. 1 Sam. i 1- . . .

It would be difficult to have picked out a more characteristic leaf, for the most curious feature of the Jerusalem use is that there are Lessons for every week-day (except Saturday) in the second week of Lent, while in the other weeks Lessons are only appointed for Wednesdays and Fridays. We see the same arrangement in Ll_2 , and the same Lessons are appointed. Ll_2 therefore, so far as it goes, agrees exactly with the use of Jerusalem, as also we found that Pl did. On the other hand this peculiarity of the Lenten Lessons is not represented in Ll , the late MS which forms the bulk of Mrs Lewis's book and which alone was considered by Dr Baumstark.¹

The main historical deduction to be made is that the Palestinian-Syriac church originally followed the ritual customs of Jerusalem very closely, and that the divergences from it in the later documents are due to the general decay of Jerusalemite influence which followed the Mohammedan conquest and to the ever more preponderating authority of Constantinople over all Orthodox communities.

In conclusion a few remarks may be made on one or two of the ancient fragments of Gospel MSS published by Land and by Duensing. Land's P_1 and P_2 are fragments not of a Lectionary but of complete Gospel codices, or 'Tetraevangelia' as they are sometimes called. But about fol. 55 of the Georgian MS Land remarks (*Introd.* p. 188): 'Videtur e Diatessaro nescio quo petatum esse'. This excites expectation, but when we come to the edited text (p. 217) we find only

... that the scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled. And then all the disciples left him and fled. [And a] certain youth was [following] after him, clothed . . .

In the lower margin are the words 'Luke John'.

This is no Diatessaron, but only Mk. xiv 49^b-51^a, with the Syriac Eusebian Canons at the foot of the page. Probably the words

¹ He ought to have noticed Ll_2 on p. 157 (middle).

'Matthew 363' once stood there also, but are now illegible or torn away. What misled Land was the fact that by the addition of 'of the Prophets' in *ver.* 49 and of 'then' in *ver.* 50 the fragment agrees with Matthew xxvi 56 f rather than with Mark, but a glance at Tischendorf will shew that a respectable number of authorities headed by the Harclean Syriac and the Ferrar Group also have these harmonistic readings, so that all that is required is to add the voice of the Palestinian-Syriac, *quantum valeat*, to their testimony in the apparatus to Mk. xiv 49 and 50. Possibly this fragment of Land's is a bit of the same MS of the Four Gospels, also provided with Eusebian Canons, from which Duensing edited the leaf containing Lk. ix 7-19 (Duensing, p. 145 f).

Some of Duensing's fragments came from a codex of Acts: he has edited Acts xiv 5-9, 15-17; xvi 23-25, 33-35; xxi 28-30, 38-39. Small as these bits are they overlap Land's text, which contains Acts xiv 6-13. It is noteworthy that the texts are quite different. Thus in Acts xiv 8 *ἀδύνατον* is rendered *ܕܝܢܐ* in Land's MS, but *ܕܝܢܐ* in Duensing's: the latter is the common rendering (Joel iii 10; Rom. viii 3, xv 1).

The Lectionary rubrics in P₁ are puzzling and badly preserved. Unlike those in the Gospel Lectionaries they are in Palestinian-Syriac not in Carshuni (Arabic in Syriac letters), and they do not seem to agree entirely with the Byzantine system. Their discussion must be left for another time.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE JACOBITE SERVICE FOR HOLY SATURDAY.

THE Service described in this Paper is contained in Denzinger *Ritus Orientalium* ii 552 f, but it seems to be not so well known as it deserves, and there is a further point of special interest in the annotations of the scholar Ṣalībā bar Ḳarūn, mentioned below, for whom B. M. Add. 17230 was written. This MS is dated A. D. 1337 (Wright *CBM* cccli) and contains services for various special occasions, viz. 1. The Blessing of the Water on Epiphany Night; 2. The Consecration of the Branches on Palm Sunday; 3. The Service for Monday in Holy Week called 'Near the Haven'; 4. The Washing of Feet on Maundy Thursday; 5. Good Friday, at none; 6. Holy Saturday, after none; 7. The Asking of Peace, i. e. the Greeting or Kiss, on Easter Sunday, after matins; 8. Services for Pentecost after mass.

[illegible]**F f**

century: no doubt the name is derived from some 'announcement' of the Easter tidings corresponding to the Western *Exultet*. The 'Volume of Annual Services' is such a book as B. M. Add. 14506 (Baumstark *Festbrevier d. syr. Jakobiten* p. 78).

Zingerle's text was taken from the Pontifical of Michael the Great (Vat. Syr. 51). This MS was written under Michael's personal direction before A. D. 1199, and contains a great collection of Ordination and occasional services. The British Museum MS, dated A. D. 1337, is a century and a half later. Its contents correspond exactly to Nos. 35-42 in Michael's full collection: as these eight numbers begin with Epiphany and end with Pentecost, i. e. the whole liturgically provided part of the ancient Christian year, we may reasonably regard them as an ancient collection, complete in itself. The colophon of the MS, written the year after Tamerlane was born, just before the final collapse of the Syriac language and literature, contains a pathetic estimate of contemporary conditions. It says: 'Here end the Orders for the Feasts of the (Christian) Dispensation according to the request of Rabban Mas'ūd the pious monk and Aaronite priest of the holy Monastery of Mar Abī the Martyr, written by a broken old man and a stranger and wearied with illness in the year 1648 of the Greeks. Let him that uses it say "God have mercy on the poor wretch that wrote it with accuracy and on his departed parents and on the blest possessor", and let him not blame one who is indeed blameworthy, because the Syrians have not one book that agrees with another, and there are no more correctors or any who care about truth and accuracy in reading and the interpretation of the Divine Word'.

No doubt part of this is the conventional humility of oriental scribes, but the expressions are not quite those ordinarily used; moreover the writer actually avoids recording his name. This however was supplied in a foot-note by a neat hand on the same page, quite different from any handwriting in the book, which tells us that his name was 'the pious and holy monk Ṣalibā, the Teacher of the East, called Bar Ḳārūn', i. e. *Ibn Ḳārūn*, the Arabic form of Korah. The monastery of Mar Abi or Abas the Martyr was near Tyre (Cat. Bodl. *Marsh* 561). The note was written by, or for, Rabban Joseph of Mardin in Northern Mesopotamia, known as a diligent student of Bar Hebraeus (Cat. Bodl. *Hunt.* 341), so that it is likely that Ṣalibā, called one of the Sons of Korah and the Teacher of the East, was also a refugee from Mesopotamia. The body of the text seems not to have been written by him, but he annotated and corrected it. The old man seems to have gone about his task, like one who takes a last walk round an estate he is soon to leave for ever, who knows it will go to rack and ruin. The colophon just quoted is in his handwriting.

The Service for Holy Saturday is doubtless ancient among the Jacobites, and so far as I know is without a direct parallel in other rites. But it is not of immemorial antiquity. In B. M. Add. 14528, the early sixth century List of the Lessons read in the Syriac-speaking Church, the last hour of 'Saturday in the Great Week' was occupied by the Ablution (~~the~~), which took place then and not on Maundy Thursday. At this service they chanted Psalm li, and they read Hebrews x 19-39 ('let us draw near having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience') and John xiii 3-16 (Christ washing the disciples' feet). In other words the Lessons chosen shew that it was a service of preparation for the Easter Communion, such as the later Jacobite service is also, but it must have dropped out early, leaving little trace elsewhere, owing to the introduction of services on Maundy Thursday commemorating the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist, at which John xiii 3 ff was required as a Lesson. It appears to me that the service given at the beginning of this Paper is a substitute for the earlier service, the lessons for which are preserved in B. M. Add. 14528. Very probably it may have been among the innovations of Bishop Peter of Edessa (498-510), referred to by 'Joshua Stylites', c. xxxii.

It is surely not improper to point out that this Jacobite Office illustrates the honourable continuity of Christian doctrine in certain regions, remote from theological controversy but not on that account unimportant. When the *Didache* was discovered it was found that what was required of them who come to the Lord's Supper was that every one who had a quarrel with his neighbour should first be reconciled before he presented himself. It was very like the requirement in the English Catechism that a man be in charity with all men. And here in the middle of the intervening age, from a very far distant Christian society, we find the Jacobite Bishop instructed to say to his flock 'come and be reconciled with one another that God may be reconciled with us'. If there be not indeed a continuity in practice, these three documents do nevertheless bear witness to a continuity of aspiration among Christians.

F. C. BURKITT.

ON A DIRECTORY FRAGMENT RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE WADI N-NATRUN.¹

IN 1920-1921 the Egyptian Expedition of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art was engaged in the detailed survey of the monasteries in the Wadi n-Natrun, the Shihet or Scetis of ecclesiastical history. An account of these monasteries, with several views, will be found in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* for July 1920 (pp. 34 sqq.) and November 1921 (pp. 54 sqq.). In one, the Dêr Abû Makâr, there was an important find of manuscripts (cf. *Bulletin*, Nov. 1921, pp. 60-62), and among them a fragment of a liturgical Directory.

The fragment consists of two consecutive leaves, and the passage ends on the *verso* of the second. The commencement is missing. The subject-matter deals mainly with the use of the *Theotokia*.

The *Theotokia* of the Coptic Church is a metrical composition intended for singing and occupies so important a place in Coptic Church music that the name *Theotokia* is commonly given to the choir-book which contains, besides the *Theotokia* proper, the various *Psali* or metrical hymns, the Canticles, and even the choral portions of the Liturgy, whilst the two leading modes, ⲁⲛⲁⲛ and ⲁⲛⲁⲥ, get their names from the opening words of the *Theotokia* for Monday and Wednesday—names which are used also, still in Coptic, by the Abyssinians. The *Theotokia* itself takes the form of seven metrical compositions, one for each day of the week. The word 'Theotokia' is used in Coptic for each of these, or for all, the form serving as singular or plural. As the execution of this choral office needs a body of singers, a thing not easy to secure every day in a parish church, it is customary to sing the whole service on Saturday night, though of course the necessity behind this usage does not exist in the monasteries where the monks can be assembled on any day. Manuscripts of the *Theotokia* present it as available for any season, with accompanying *Psali* which are varied during the month of Choiahk (December); but modern (non-monastic) custom confines the *Theotokia* to that month when they are made to serve as a devotional exercise preparatory to Christmas.

The use of the Coptic Daily Office is confined to the monastic communities; it has never been introduced into the parish churches. It contains seven hours, the Morning Office, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline, and the Night Office. If we regard the Morning Office as corresponding to Prime there is nothing equivalent to the Latin

¹ I thank the authorities of the Metropolitan Museum Expedition for permission to make use of the fragment, and Mr H. G. Evelyn White for communicating it to me.

Laudes. The recitation of the Psalter is begun at the Morning Office just as, in the Monastic Breviary, it begins at Prime on Monday. In the monasteries of the Wadi n-Natrun the offices of Morning and Vespers are recited in common, usually in the open, and the other offices are said privately by each monk.

The *Theotokia* is used after Vespers and with it are associated various *Psali* and 'Odes' or canticles. The present Directory fragment begins with the close of Vespers and gives the order of the *Psali*, Odes, and *Theotokia* which follow.

To understand its directions it must be remembered that the Dêr Abû Makâr formerly contained two communities, the 'Sons of Abba Makari (Macarius)', who represent the original community, and the 'Sons of Abba John', i. e. of St John the Dwarf, who at an unknown date migrated from their own monastery, some seven or eight miles distant, to that of Abû Makâr bearing with them the body of the saint which is still preserved in the Church there. Maqrizi (c. 1420) says that in his day there remained only three monks in the monastery of Abba John (cf. Evetts *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* p. 321, where the whole passage is translated); whilst Thevenot, who visited Egypt in 1657, but did not himself go out to the Wadi n-Natrun, reports that it was then in ruins, with only one dome remaining. Originally, it is said, there were a hundred monasteries in the Wadi; but Maqrizi found only seven left. Formerly they were the centre of Egyptian Church life, and the Patriarch went out there in Holy Week to consecrate the Chrism. The last occasion on which this took place was in 1346, and the rapid decline of the monasteries began soon after, so that only a few houses with a handful of inmates were left at the end of the century. The Directory fragment appears to be of the thirteenth-fourteenth century, and it may either be that the migration had already taken place, or that it refers to some occasion when the monks of the two monasteries joined in some of their religious exercises.

The Directory represents the two communities as taking alternate parts in the service, so that a *Psali* in honour of St John is recited by the 'Sons of Abba Makari', and one in honour of St Makari by the 'Sons of Abba John'.

The order of the Directory begins with the recital of a *Psali* to the Virgin, probably by the 'Sons of Abba John'. Then the 'Sons of Abba Makari' say a *Psali* of Abba John, and the Gospel is read until the Doxology of Vespers. The Doxology implies a series of short *Psali* in honour of the B. Virgin, the Archangels, certain leading saints, and one or more in honour of the saint of the day.¹ This apparently brings us to the end of Vespers, after which the 'Sons of Abba John'

¹ Cf. The hymn Θεοτόκε Παρθένε . . . μόνη εὐλογημένη of the Greek Ἑσπερινόν.

say 'the *Psali*' and 'a *Psali*' though perhaps these refer to the commemorations included in the Doxology.

Then follow the Odes which in the Coptic Church are four, viz. (i) the Song of Moses, Exod. xv 1-19; (ii) Psalm cxxxv (cxxxvi); (iii) the Song of the Three Children; (iv) Psalms cxlviii-cl recited as one. The 'Sons of Abba John' say the first and third, the 'Sons of Abba Makari' the second and fourth. After each of the first two Odes a '*Psali* of the Lord Jesus' is said by the same group which recited the Ode. Following Tuki's edition of 1764 these *Psali* are (i) after Ode I *Ⲛⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲩⲱⲧ* . . . (Tuki p. 27) or in the month of Choiahk *ⲁⲛⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟ* (*ib.* p. 264), and (ii) after Ode II *ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ* . . . (*ib.* p. 32), or in Choiahk *ⲁⲛⲁⲓⲁⲩⲱⲥ* . . . (*ib.* p. 274). The Cairo edition of 1908 gives in each case only the former of these two (pp. 47, 55). Then a *Psali* of the Virgin is recited by those who did not say the Ode preceding, after which those who did recite it say a *Psali* in honour of St John or of St Makari. Thus:—

<i>Sons of Abba John.</i>	<i>Sons of Abba Makari.</i>
Ode I	...
<i>Psali</i>	...
...	<i>Psali</i> of the Virgin.
<i>Psali</i> of Abba Makari	...
...	Ode II.
...	<i>Psali.</i>
<i>Psali</i> of the Virgin	...
...	<i>Psali</i> of Abba John.

The first two Odes being completed, each followed by three *Psali*, the 'Sons of Abba John' begin the *Theotokia* and a *Psali* of the Virgin, after which the 'Sons of Abba Makari' follow and also say a *Psali* of the Virgin. Apparently the *Theotokia* for the day is said by both, reciting alternately. But the *Theotokia* for the day, both in the printed editions and in the MSS, has only one *Psali* of the Virgin; that is, one for each day of the week; and this is always given as preceding the *Theotokia*, whilst the Directory apparently gives two and places them *after* the *Theotokia*. The *Theotokia* is finished by the 'Sons of Abba Makari', and then the 'Sons of Abba John' say a *Psali* of Abba Makari and proceed to recite the third Ode. No *Psali* is given as following this Ode, although every text of the *Theotokia* has one inserted here, very commonly followed by the 'Intercessions', a kind of litany of the Saints. After the third Ode the 'Sons of Abba Makari' begin the fourth Ode which never has a *Psali* attached. Possibly the *Psali* after the third Ode was omitted in the Dêr Abû Makâr in order to equalize the portions of the two groups. The concluding rubric represents the

'Sons of Abba Makari' as saying the Psalm and the *Psalmi* of the Gospel 'in Abba John and in Abba Makar', which means that it was said both in the sanctuary of Abba John and in that of Abba Makari, sanctuaries which are still standing¹ and are covered by the two domes visible in the top right-hand corner of the view of the Dêr Abû Makâr which is figured in *Bulletin*, Nov. 1921, fig. 2, p. 55. Such an expression occurs in the *Martyrium S. Theodori* (*Acta MM. in Corp. Script. Christ. Or. Script. Copt.* III i p. 6, Paris, 1908) where we read *Sen abba nepofer* meaning 'in (the sanctuary of) Abba B'. For this explanation of 'in Abba John' &c. I am indebted to Mr H. G. Evelyn White.

*folio 1.**Text.*

recto еррнтс ÷ ёотѣалѣ
нѣпарѣѣнос ÷ ѡа
ре пепшнрѣ нѣбѣа
макарѣ ÷ ѡѣѣалѣ
напепѡт абѣа
ѡаппнс ÷ їта ат
ѡапѡѡ ѡпетаг
гелѡп ÷ ѡаёѣѣѡ
ѡологѣа ÷ нѣтрапа
ротѣрѣ ÷ ѡарн пепшн
рѣ нѣбѣа ѡаппнс
ѡа нѣпѣѣалѣ ÷ пем
отѣалѣ ÷
їта арѡн ѡпѣѡс
нѣротѣт ÷ напеп
шнрѣ нѣбѣа ѡаппнс

verso кетѣѣалѣ нѣтепа
ѡт їнс ÷ менепсѡѡт
ѡаре пепшнрѣ нѣб
ѣа макарѣ ÷ ѡа н
отѣалѣ нѣпарѣ ÷
їта ѡаре пепшнрѣ
нѣбѣа ѡаппнс ÷
ѡа нѣотѣалѣ ѡ
пепѡт абѣа ма
карѣ ÷
Пѣѡс ѡмаѡѣ ÷
ѡапепшнрѣ нѣб
ѣа макарѣ ÷ кет
ѣалѣ нѣте паѡт
їнс ÷
їта пеп шнрѣ нѣб

folio 2.

recto ѣа ѡаппнс ÷ тот
ѡа ѣалѣ нѣпарѣ ÷
не пепшнрѣ нѣбѣа
макарѣ ÷ тотѡа
нѣот ѣалѣ нѣбѣа
ѡаппнс ÷
Палп тарѡн нѣѡс
ѡѡѡѣа ÷ ѡапепшн

verso нѣбѣа макарѣ ÷
їта пепшнрѣ нѣбѣа
ѡаппнс ÷ тотѡа
нѣтарѡн ѡпѣѡс
маѡѡт ÷
Не пепшнрѣ нѣбѣа
макарѣ ÷ тотѡа
тарѡн ѡмаѡѣ ÷

¹ The northern sanctuary, originally dedicated to St Mark, now bears the name of St John the Baptist. That it was for a while the sanctuary of St John the Dwarf is a conjecture.

ρι παββα ιωαννης +
 κε + ψαλι ιη παρ +
 Πενεπσωτ πεпшн
 ρι παββα μακαρι +
 κε ψαλι η παρ +
 Πενεпσωт пеншн
 ρι παββα ιωαννης
 тотъω ποτψαλι +

Ιτα πεпшнρι παβ
 βα μακαρι + тотъω
 ιηпψαλλιος + πεм
 η ψαλι ιηте pietac
 гелион зен αββα
 ιωαννης + πεм зен
 αββα μακαρι +
 — — —

Translation.

[*fo. 1, recto*] . . . a *Psali* of the Virgin. The Sons of Abba Makari say a *Psali* of our father Abba John. Then they read the Gospel, down to the Doxology of Evening. The Sons of Abba John say the *Psali* and a *Psali*.

Then the Sons of Abba John say the beginning of the first Ode [*fo. 1, verso*] and the *Psali* of the Lord Jesus. After that the Sons of Abba Makari say a *Psali* of the Virgin. Then the Sons of Abba John say a *Psali* of our father Abba Makari.

The second Ode which the Sons of Abba Makari (say), and the *Psali* of the Lord Jesus.

Then the Sons of Ab[*fo. 2, recto*]ba John say a *Psali* of the Virgin, and the Sons of Abba Makari say a *Psali* of Abba John.

Then the beginning of the *Theotokia* which the Sons of Abba John (say), and the *Psali* of the Virgin.

After them the Sons of Abba Makari, and a *Psali* of the Virgin.

After them the Sons of Abba John say a *Psali* [*fo. 2, verso*] of Abba Makari.

Then the Sons of Abba John say the beginning of the third Ode.

And the Sons of Abba Makari say the beginning of the fourth (Ode).

Then the Sons of Abba Makari say a Psalm, and the *Psali* of the Gospel in Abba John and in Abba Makari.

D. L. O'LEARY.

REVIEWS

Hexateuch-Synopse: Die Erzählung der fünf Bücher Mose und des Buches Josua mit dem Anfange des Richterbuches in ihre vier Quellen zerlegt und in deutscher Uebersetzung dargeboten samt einer in Einleitung und Anmerkungen gegebenen Begründung. Von OTTO EISSFELDT. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1922.)

SUCH is the complete and circumstantial title of a work which will be welcomed by all who are engaged in the scientific study of the Old Testament. Its author, though hardly known as yet in this country, has already made good his position as one of the rising scholars of Germany; and here he makes a noteworthy contribution to the criticism of the Hexateuch which cannot fail to increase his reputation. He tells us in his *Vorwort* that the first impulse to this laborious investigation, dating from his early studies in Göttingen under Wellhausen and Smend, was matured in Berlin through the influence of Baudissin and Gunkel, from whose teaching he gained a certain freedom and independence of attitude towards the methods and conclusions of his former masters. It is fair to say, however, that in the present work he appears more as an adherent of the Göttingen school than of the archaeological school founded by Gunkel and Gressmann. He holds that the comparative study of the traditional material of the Hexateuch, inaugurated by Gunkel's brilliant commentary on Genesis, has had the unfortunate effect of diverting attention from the unfinished task of literary and analytic criticism; while on the other hand the later refinements of documentary analysis had resulted in a complexity which threatened the stability of the documentary theory itself. The formerly accepted unity of the primary sources had been gradually decomposed under the microscopic scrutiny of successive scholars, until a position is reached where the entire problem of the origin of the Hexateuch calls for a new and positive solution (pp. 1-4). To remedy this defect on the side of literary criticism, and bring back the documentary hypothesis to something of its original simplicity, is the aim which Dr Eissfeldt sets before him in this treatise.

The main argument of the book, as set forth in the elaborate Introduction (pp. 1-88), is that criticism, by operating with only three sources for the narrative parts of the Hexateuch, has entangled itself in difficulties due to the too restricted apparatus with which it has worked. Since the time of Hupfeld, whose epoch-making researches prepared the

way for the new documentary theory, it is well known that critics have resolved the Hexateuch into the three strands of narrative denoted by the letters J, E, and P, into one or other of which they have sought to fit every item of the text. But it has long been perceived that the older conception of J, E, and P as literary unities could not be maintained: each source had been analysed into primary, secondary, tertiary, or even later strata; and a rather complicated set of symbols (J¹, J², J³; E¹, E², E³; P^a, P^b, P^c, or the like) had been introduced to express the facts. In other words, J, E, and P could no longer be regarded as representing individual writers, but must be understood either as editorial complexes produced by successive expansions and alterations of a primary document, or as collections formed and reduced to writing within three distinct 'schools' or guilds of narrators. Now there is nothing in this which is necessarily subversive of the fundamental positions of the critical theory; for it is altogether probable that the actual codification of the floating mass of tradition was an even more complicated process than our analysis is able to trace. Still, simplification is desirable if it can be attained; and, moreover, there has always been a *residuum* of refractory, 'non-documentary' matter, which could not easily be fitted into the scheme of three sources. Eissfeldt at all events considers that the three-document hypothesis has broken down; and proposes in its stead a four-document theory, by which he claims to reduce to a minimum the secondary and non-documentary element, and practically get rid of the notion of composite or collective authorship. His fourth source he indicates by the letter L (= *Laienquelle*, Lay Document); and to it he assigns on a rough computation the equivalent of some 500 Massoretic verses—about one-seventh of the text covered by his survey. The narrative text of the Hexateuch is thus divided between four documents, each the work of a single writer, and each dependent on its predecessor in the chronological order L, J, E, P.

The method of investigation employed by Eissfeldt, besides being instructive in its application, is the one obviously appropriate to the nature of the problem he has in hand. Reversing the usual procedure of Pentateuchal criticism, he relies chiefly on the evidence of parallel narratives and notices, and attaches a subordinate importance provisionally to the more commonly emphasized criteria—viz. the distinctive use of the names Yahwe and Elohim, diversities of style and vocabulary, and differences of conception and standpoint—while admitting the ultimate validity of these criteria as tests of his own conclusions. He remarks, indeed (p. 5), that the older criticism was guided too mechanically by the divine names, and trusted too implicitly the Massoretic text. But the former charge cannot be fairly brought against most recent critics; and, so far as I have observed, the cases in which Eissfeldt

himself goes against the indication of the divine names are comparatively few, and those in which he prefers another text to the Massoretic fewer still. Accordingly, the bulk of the Introduction (pp. 6-84) is devoted to a minute and thorough-going discussion of numerous examples of *fourfold* (or, in the absence of one of the recognized sources, of *threefold*) narration, with the object of shewing that the introduction of a fourth document relieves the pressure on the three-document theory, by taking up elements which had been set down as non-documentary, as well as in other ways. And 'if in the Hexateuch . . . it is found possible to adduce some fifty passages in which fourfold recurrences appear; if these four times fifty points can be arranged in four series;—or rather if close observation of the facts compels us to this arrangement—and if practically the whole contents of the Hexateuch are thus disposed of without *residuum*: then the hypothesis of a fourfold thread of narrative may be considered as proved' (p. 6). The results are exhibited with admirable clearness and precision in the Synopsis which forms the *pièce de résistance* of the book (pp. 1*-253*)—a translation of the entire Hexateuch down to Judges ii 9, but excluding as non-narrative passages the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx 23-xxiii 19), Deut. i-xxx, and the legislative sections of the Priestly Code. This is preceded by a *Synoptische Uebersicht* (pp. 89-108), the chief use of which is to put in juxtaposition parallels which are obscured by being widely separated in the actual order of the Hexateuch (e.g. on pp. 99 and 101 the Manna: Exod. xvi 1-35 [L]; Exod. xvi 3-35 [J]; Num. xi 7-9 [E]; Exod. xvi 1-14 [P]; on pp. 104, 106 [*bis*] the settlement of Manassites East of the Jordan: Num. xxxii 39-42 [L]; Joshua xvii 1, 16-18 [J]; Joshua xvii 1, 14, 15 [E]; Joshua xiii 15-32 [P]).

It will be seen, therefore, that the outstanding feature of Eissfeldt's scheme is the delimitation of L as an independent document. It does not detract from, but rather enhances, the value of his work to point out that this is not an entirely new departure in Hexateuchal criticism. It is the culmination of a long series of critical studies in which the analysis of the Yahwistic element, starting from Gen. i-xi, has been gradually pushed through the remaining books of the Hexateuch. Thus, Eissfeldt's L corresponds closely with the Floodless version of the Primitive History disentangled from Gen. i-xi, especially by Wellhausen and Budde, and since known as J¹; less closely, but still very largely, with Gunkel's J^a cycle of Abrahamic legends. In the rest of Genesis Eissfeldt's extremely minute and sometimes precarious analysis renders a comparison with the work of his predecessors very difficult. This does not mean of course that every passage now assigned to L had previously been assigned to J: in the absence of decisive criteria it was inevitable that fragments inconsistent with the rest of J were given

a place in E or even in P, and have to be rescued from their un congenial surroundings (e. g. Gen. xxix 1, 14 b-30, and several other passages are transferred from E to L). But speaking broadly it may be said that L represents in the main the oldest stratum of J, and is more or less identical with the J¹ of earlier critics; while the final step of elevating J¹ to the rank of an independent document had already (1912) been taken by Smend, whose four-document hypothesis does not greatly differ from that of Eissfeldt. In effect the readjustment is similar to that achieved by the work of Hupfeld in the middle of last century; as Hupfeld split up the supposed unity of the Elohist components of Genesis into two distinct sources, E and P, so Eissfeldt puts the finishing touches to a division of the supposed unity of J throughout the Hexateuch between two separate authors. If his analysis should stand the test of time as that of Hupfeld has done, it will mark an equally important advance in the criticism of the Hexateuch.

Our estimate of the merits of Eissfeldt's achievement will turn mainly on two points: *first*, his success in removing difficulties inherent in the three-document hypothesis; and *secondly*, the extent to which the several sources exhibit the uniformity to be expected in compositions of individual authors. As regards the first point, there can be little doubt that the recognition of a fourth source brings to light a number of discrepancies and *nuances* which had either been overlooked or inadequately explained on the prevalent critical theory. It is true that many of the parallelisms examined in the Introduction have long been perceived and dealt with more or less plausibly. Thus, in the Primitive History (where E does not appear) there are traces of a threefold genealogy in Gen. iv 1, 17-22 (J¹ or L), iv 25, 26 (J² or J), and ch. v (P); and here Eissfeldt's solution does not differ from that of his predecessors. Similarly, there are three recognized variants of the abduction of a patriarch's wife by a foreign king in Gen. xii 10-20 (J), xx (E), and xxvi 1-11 (there being no parallel in P): in this case Eissfeldt improves on current solutions by assigning the last to L instead of treating it with Gunkel as a redactional addition to J. But besides such well-known instances Eissfeldt points out a number of hitherto unexplored variants; and, taking old and new together, they create a strong presumption in favour of his theory, although sometimes the subtlety of the analysis may seem to overreach its aim. A few examples may be cited. In the story of Jacob he makes the plausible suggestion that Gen. xxv 29-34 is L's parallel to the JE account in ch. xxvii of Jacob's fraudulent securing of the blessing: this may be right, but Eissfeldt does not fairly meet the difficulty presented by xxvii 36, whether that verse be J or E. Again, he finds in xxv 34 a notice of Esau's final separation from Jacob, leaving to the younger brother the undisputed lordship of Canaan: accordingly, in

xxxii 24-33, which is L's equivalent of the encounter between Jacob and Esau (J and E), it is not the man Esau but a demon who opposes Jacob's entrance into the Promised Land (so Wellhausen). In the accounts of the Plagues and the Exodus he detects numerous traces of a fourth representation of the events, distinct from J, E, and P. Thus allusions to the 'rod' of Moses have usually been regarded as characteristic of E; but Eissfeldt, following Smend, notes distinctive phrases which reveal the work of another hand; E uses the verb *nāṭā*, 'stretch out' (Exod. ix 22, 23, x. 12, 13, 21, 22), whereas L says *hērtm*, 'lift up' (Exod. vii 20 b, xiv 16, xvii 11; Num. xx 11); further in E the rod is spoken of simply as Moses' rod (Exod. ix 23, x 13), in L it is the rod of God—the divine wonder-working rod (Exod. iv 20, xvii 8) which had been miraculously turned into a serpent (Exod. iv 2-4, vii 15 b). A more significant observation is based on Pharaoh's surprise (Exod. xiv 5) on learning that the Israelites had *fled*: this is inconsistent with the statements of J and E that he had consented to their departure, but is in harmony with another representation, according to which the Egyptians without the knowledge of Pharaoh had implored the people to leave (Exod. xii 33-39; cf. iii 21, 22): these passages are accordingly assigned to L. Similar differences are discovered in the subsequent narrative of crossing of the Red Sea and the march to Sinai; and here it may be observed in passing that Eissfeldt's analysis does not corroborate Wellhausen's view that in the oldest form of the tradition Israel went straight from the Red Sea to Kadesh without a *détour* to Sinai. The vexed question of the site of that mountain is not dealt with here; but some doublets and diversities of representation reveal the hand of L in the account of the law-giving, and make it evident that the event was not passed over in this oldest source. L also records an *émeute* in the camp during the absence of Moses and Joshua on the mountain (Exod. xxxii 17, 18, 25-29), an incident which is entirely omitted by J and is worked up by E into the story of the Golden Calf. The miracle of the manna is mentioned by all four documents: by L, J, and P before Sinai (Exod. xvi), by E after it (Num. xi 7-9). With the manna P associates the sending of the quails (Exod. xvi 13), while L and J separate the two by a considerable interval (Num. xi). But to find a fourth parallel to the quail-narrative Eissfeldt adopts the improbable speculation that the inspiration of the seventy elders in Num. xi is E's version of the miracle, and an extreme instance of the spiritualizing tendency of that document. The only reason given is the interweaving of the two (or three) narratives in Num. xi (L, J, and E). But surely that fact is explained by Moses' complaint of the burden of solitary leadership (vv. 10-13, 15, J), a burden which is now to be shared by the seventy elders (vv. 14, 16, 17, E). In the scattered and conflicting references to Moses' father-in-

law the analysis yields some interesting results, which may have a bearing on the Kenite theory of the origin of the Yahwe religion. In L he is a Kenite named Hôbâb ben-Re'ûêl (Exod. ii 18; Num. x 29; Judges i 16); in J a Midianite (Num. x 29; Exod. iii 1, xviii 1) with the name Jethro (Exod. iii 1, iv 18, xviii *passim*); in E an unnamed Kushite (i. e. a member of the tribe of Cushan) (Num. xii 1). While J and E agree in ascribing to his initiative the juridical system instituted in the desert (Exod. xviii), J alone describes him as 'priest' (of Midian) (Exod. iii 1, xviii 1); to L he is simply an experienced nomad sheikh who knows the watering-places in the desert, but has no religious standing whatsoever (Num. x 31). According to L he acquiesces in the proposal of Moses that he should accompany Israel to Canaan (Num. x 31 f; Judges i 16), in J he declines it (Num. x 30); while in E he had taken his departure before the arrival at Horeb (Exod. xviii 27). This is but a small selection from the 'four times fifty' parallels which constitute Eissfeldt's main argument for his thesis, but it may convey some idea of the acute and scholarly, if sometimes over-ingenious character of his work, as well as the importance of the investigation for the study of Hebrew origins. It should be added that there are significant lacunae in L's narrative, which may be either intentional or due to redactional abridgements. The omission of the Flood-legend is certainly original; so also is the long absence of this document in the book of Joshua from ch. vii to ch. xxiv, which shews that L knew nothing of the sweeping victories and conquests of united Israel under Joshua. To L, in fact, Joshua is not 'a young man, the servant of Moses' (Exod. xxxiii 11, E), but a man of the same generation whose death took place not long after that of the great law-giver, leaving the real occupation of the land to be effected by the tribes in detail as recorded in Judges i, which has long been recognized as the oldest tradition of the settlement in Canaan. A more doubtful case is the silence of L about a descent of the patriarchs to Egypt. Eissfeldt holds, naturally enough, that here L's account has been suppressed in favour of the Joseph-stories of J and E. But perhaps the real issue is the unity or continuity of the L-document. When we find that L records the permanent settlement of Judah in Gen. xxxviii, and represents the fate of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi as determined by their conduct in Palestine, it looks as if he were following a line of tradition in which the final possession of Canaan was regarded as the immediate consequence of Jacob's migration into that country. It is quite conceivable that the Genesis and Exodus traditions are of entirely independent origin, and that in the earliest collections they were simply put together without any attempt to bring them into historical connexion.

This brings us, however, to the second and more difficult question raised above, the individual authorship of L and the other sources. If

L, J, and E are collections of traditions—and this, to some extent at least, they must be—it will be a somewhat delicate task to discriminate between the work of one hand and of several; and I am not quite convinced that Eissfeldt's analysis gets rid of the theory of collective authorship. In each of his four columns a good deal of matter is printed in italics to indicate its secondary origin; and although the quantity of such matter may not be inconsistent with the assumption of the fundamental unity of each source, it is doubtful if justice is done to the unresolved complexity which remains; in E, for example, the alternation of the names Yahwe and Elohim after Exod. iii 15 suggests the existence of different tendencies within the same 'school'; and the appointment of the seventy elders in Num. xi looks like a later variant of Exod. xviii. That L in particular is the work of a single writer is scarcely proved by the general characteristics which are instanced as peculiar to that document. It is true that it preserves the myths and legends in their oldest form, and is comparatively free from the tendency to artistic elaboration of them which appears in J and less frequently in E. To it belong such crude and primitive stories as the origin of the giants (Gen. vi 1-4), Noah's drunkenness (Gen. ix 21-27), Lot and his daughters (Gen. xix 30-38), the wrestling at Peniel (Gen. xxxii 24-33), Reuben's incest (Gen. xxxv 21, 22), Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii), the weird encounter of Yahwe with Moses at the khan (Exod. iv 24-26), and several others; and in the ethnographic legends the tribal character of the heroes is less concealed than in the 'novelistic' treatment of J and E. It is described as the most secular-minded of the sources, as pervaded by a sombre and pessimistic estimate of human life, and as marked by a predilection for the nomadic ideal in religion. I do not dispute the general truth and relevance of these observations, although they are by no means exclusively applicable to L, and to most of them one might venture to interpose a *caveat*. There is, after all, a good deal of artistic narrative in L; and, indeed, Eissfeldt goes so far as to attribute to him the composition of the Blessing of Jacob in Gen. xlix—an opinion which is surely opposed to all we know of the conditions of literary activity in Old Testament times. Is there another case in the Old Testament where a poem can be assigned to the author of the prose context in which it is imbedded? The note of pessimism is confined to the early chapters of Genesis, and lies in the legends themselves rather than in the mind of the writer: the severe judgement on the conduct of the people in the wilderness springs from a quite different motive. While it is true that there is less religious pragmatism in L than in the later sources, it is hardly correct to describe its point of view as less religious than theirs. As for the alleged devotion to the nomadic ideal, the evidence for that is far from clear. The resolution of the narrative of the Fall into its

two components is on any view a very uncertain operation ; but even on Eissfeldt's theory one fails to see that L's version makes the expulsion from Eden the condemnation of mankind to a nomadic life. The origin of nomadism is duly recorded in that document at a much later stage (Gen. iv 20), and I am still of opinion that this representation neither originated with a nomadic people nor indicates any particular admiration for that mode of existence. And when we consider that the promise of Canaan to the patriarchs is emphasized in L, it becomes very difficult to believe that its author differed so much from other Hebrew writers as to think the dismissal of Israel to settled life in Canaan a punishment for their rebellion or apostasy at Sinai.

In assigning dates to his four authors Eissfeldt is not more radical than others who have preceded him. He regards L, the oldest, as a writer of the ninth century B.C., who was in sympathy with the Rechabite movement which represented the reaction against Canaanite civilization in the age of Elijah and Elisha. This view, which had been expressed by B. Luther in 1906, and possibly by others, is of course an inference from the supposed adherence of L to the ancient nomadic religion of Israel ; but it is doubtful if this is more characteristic of L than of passages now assigned to J. Moreover, if the Rechabites were an offshoot of the Kenites (1 Chron. ii 55), we should have expected that L (if his religious attitude was as described) would have made more than he does of the religious standing of the Kenite father-in-law of Moses. J lived in the first half of the eighth century, and his optimistic outlook reflects the temper of the prosperous reigns of Jeroboam II and Uzziah ; while E is a writer influenced by the teaching of the literary prophets in the latter half of that century. P is assigned with most scholars to about 500 B.C. Until the question of unity is agreed upon there is little use in discussing questions of date. Nor perhaps can they be settled on the basis of the Hexateuch alone ; the evidence of the later historical books must be taken into account. If, for example, Budde is right in supposing that J¹ included the Court History of David—evidently written by a contemporary—in 2 Sam. ix–1 Kings ii, either J¹ is as old as the reign of Solomon or it is not the work of a single writer ; and L, on the same assumption, cannot be the oldest document unless we are prepared to date it as far back as the time of David.

JOHN SKINNER.

The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels, by H. G. JAMESON. (Blackwell, Oxford, 1922.)

MR JAMESON'S solution is: (1) *Matthew*, an original composition; (2) *Mark*, a revision of Matthew by some one who had heard St Peter tell the tales; (3) *Luke*, a combination of Matthew and Mark and some other independent narratives; (4) 'Q' is a myth. I don't think for a moment that Mr Jameson is right, nor will my readers in this JOURNAL expect me to think so, but he has considered some objections to the 'Two-Document Theory' in a scholarly way and his work demands some notice.

In the last resort, of course, we come to a judgement of what is intrinsically credible, concerning which people differ widely. It seems to me that Mr Jameson's views raise more literary difficulties than they solve, and that they do not touch the most important difficulties at all. He supposes that Luke, having Matthew and Mark before him, resolved as a general rule to follow Mark to the exclusion of Matthew in sections where they are parallel, because Mark was the revised and therefore the better version (§ 66). Having marked off the sections in his MS of Matthew which were paralleled by Mark he would pay no further attention to them when writing down his own narrative, but use exclusively the corresponding sections of Mark. Is this credible? It would have been all very well if in these sections Luke had followed Mark slavishly. But as we all know he rewrites everything, even where his own narrative is based on Mark; and Mark alone. He paraphrases, condenses, omits whole clauses and sayings quite freely. Is it not odd, therefore, that he never in such cases prefers the form in which Matthew tells the story, Matthew being *ex hypothesi* at his elbow?

Again, is Mr Jameson's account of Luke's use of Matthew credible, in those parts where he believes Luke to be based not upon an unknown Q but upon our Gospel according to Matthew itself? Mr Jameson supposes Lk. vi 20-49 to be a condensation of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v-vii): Luke was conscious of being pressed for space and felt bound to economize his materials. Accordingly he omits some parts of the Sermon, which 'from their Judaic reference might seem rather less suitable for his readers' (§ 54). But among the passages dropped are the Lord's Prayer and the whole set of sayings about taking no thought for the morrow! These indeed Luke introduces later when, according to Mr Jameson, he finds he has sufficient room on his roll. Surely this is unlikely. What impresses Mr Jameson is the masterly method and arrangement of our first Gospel; he thinks it improbable that it could have been constructed out of a mosaic of fragments, such as Q may have been. It seems to me that all the probabilities are the

other way; that the Sayings of Jesus were spoken one by one, as occasion arose for them, not set forth in ethical sermons¹; that they were remembered in a detached form and first set down in writing as they were remembered, in any order; and that the topical arrangement of such compilations as Matthew's 'Sermon' are the result of study and reflexion. No doubt the Sermon on the Mount is well arranged, but surely it *is* an arrangement, not an organic unity, such as a real speech would be, such indeed as its several constituent parts actually are (e.g. Matt. v 17-48, vi 25-34). And even within these constituent parts, such as v 17-48, very likely single illustrations have been added by the Evangelist from his sources, written or oral, because they were congruous to the subject-matter (e.g. v 29, 30; v 32). That Matthew is 'masterly in method and arrangement' is one of the reasons that makes me believe it to be later than Mark, a work admittedly wanting in what Mr F. H. Colson and the Greek rhetoricians call *τάξις*.

One or two points raised by Mr Jameson may be noticed here. And first, that throughout he treats the Synoptic Problem as if it were an Oxford idiosyncrasy, almost as the creation of Oxford scholars. But the classic exposition of the priority of Mark 'endorsed by Prof. Burkitt' (§ 7) is not an essay by F. H. Woods in *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii,² but Lachmann's paper in *Studien und Kritiken* for 1835. Mr Woods's essay is no doubt a good reproduction of the arguments generally used, but it is, I think, wholesome to remember that the foundations of the theory were laid by one of the greatest of Classical scholars.

One result of Mr Jameson's treatment is that he occasionally describes highly controversial statements as 'allowed' or 'conceded'. Thus I cannot agree with his treatment of Mark xiii, sometimes referred to as 'the little Apocalypse' (§ 207). Mr Jameson says (p. 128) 'it is allowed that Matthew's "immediately" in xxiv 29 is more original than Mark's "in those days" in xiii 24'. It might be sufficient to refer to my Note in *J. T. S.* xii 460, but as the matter is often brought up I will repeat the main point there brought forward, viz. that Matthew does not represent the Parousia as any more immediate than it is represented in Mark. In both Gospels a future tribulation is predicted, 'such as there hath not been from the beginning until now', after which the sun will be darkened and the Son of Man will appear in the clouds. According to Mark this great event will take place 'in those days', according to Matthew 'immediately after': I cannot see that the difference is more than literary, or that one phrase is more primitive than the other.

On Mk. xi 11 Mr Jameson says 'Mark is evidently correcting here on St Peter's authority. It is difficult to imagine an "editor" making

¹ 'He was no Sophist', as Justin Martyr so very well remarks (*Apol.* i 14, end).

² Mr Jameson adds '(1866)', but this is a mistake for 1886.

the extensive alterations from Mark which would be necessary if Mark were the original.' Yet this is exactly what Luke does: Luke suppresses most of the careful Marcan chronology of Passion-week and the indications of place.

Notwithstanding some remarks in § 140 I feel that Mr Jameson regards 'credibility' from an essentially modern standpoint. In that paragraph he names the story of the Stater and the Nativity story as special difficulties in Matthew, and in § 144 he suggests that Mark may have omitted Matthew's first two chapters because of his experience of Gentile life and thought. But the evidence of second-century literature seems to me to tell the other way. The Nativity stories seem to have been popular with the Christians and are even used by Justin Martyr in controversy. Of course both Mark and Matthew are full of stories that are incredible to modern ideas, except upon particular theological pre-suppositions, but the difference between them is in the freshness and vividness with which they are told. In Mark it is 'a new teaching κατ' ἐξουσίαν': it is difficult to avoid the impression that something very strange had been witnessed by the Evangelist or his immediate source. In Matthew on the other hand 'miracles' seem to happen conventionally; they seem to come as a matter of course, as in the *Acta Sanctorum*. And it should be remembered that Mr Jameson's theory is not a mere claim that Matthew may have independently preserved some real reminiscences: Mr Jameson supposes that Mark wrote with Matthew before his eyes. I find it frankly incredible.

F. C. BURKITT.

The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ, by the Right Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, Bishop of Gloucester. Pp. vii + 338. (John Murray, 1922.)

DR HEADLAM, just before his elevation to the episcopal bench, crowned his work as a teacher by issuing this valuable introduction to the study of the Synoptic Gospels and of the portrait of Jesus therein contained. The contents of the book does not answer exactly to the suggestion made by the title. For in the first place it covers only half of our Lord's ministry, closing after the Transfiguration, and some of the most important questions are expressly reserved for a second volume which we may hope to receive in due time: 'The task is only half completed' (p. 315). Further, the work has stamped upon it a definite character through its having grown out of lectures delivered to students of theology. It takes for granted almost no relevant information, so that a full half of this volume is occupied with Prolego-

mena, an admirably clear account of Palestine at the Christian Era, followed by chapters on the Education of Jesus and on John the Baptist. And the attitude of the writer is not that of one discussing problems with a view to advancing their solution so much as that of a teacher expounding the mature results of prolonged and patient study.

The opening chapter on the Critical Attitude sets out the case for using the Synoptic Gospels as a secure basis for historical investigation, the results of criticism accepted by Dr Headlam being such as are common to open-minded yet sober scholarship. There is, perhaps, a slight leaning to the conservative side. Dr Headlam is inclined to identify the common source of Matthew and Luke with the *Logia* of Papias. He dismisses somewhat too abruptly and not in the clearest of language the argument for dating Luke's Gospel as subsequent to the work of Josephus. And he repudiates rather emphatically the working of 'dogmatic influences' in the modifications introduced by 'St Matthew'. Is not the use of 'dogmatic' here (in spite of good precedent) a little unfortunate, suggesting something much more deliberate and ecclesiastical than is actually called for? What is hard to overlook, in spite of Dr Headlam's arguments, is the spontaneous reaction to later thought and practice of a quasi-fluid tradition. And does he not understate the difference in an important matter when he says that 'St Matthew . . . emphasizes, probably over-emphasizes, the eschatological element in our Lord's teaching'?

The chapter on John the Baptist is admirably done (though a note on p. 141 is marked by some curiously loose phrasing), owing its value largely to the wise and copious use of Old Testament sources to illustrate both the practice and the significance of Baptism. Nevertheless, as Dr Headlam sees, 'none of the earlier practices', whether Jewish or pagan, 'was the direct source of the Baptist's action'. A chapter on the Galilean Ministry continues to deal mainly with external features. The answer to the question, 'On what did the influence of Jesus depend?' does not go any deeper than 'He spake with authority' and 'He went about doing good'. The subject of the 'miracles' is handled cautiously and persuasively: and the suggestive definition is given, 'A miracle means really the supremacy of the spiritual forces of the world to an extraordinarily marked degree over the mere material'. But no attempt is made to analyse or explain the 'faith' apart from which certain of the miracles could not be performed.

'The main purpose of the Ministry was to preach.' We cannot but ask ourselves, Did our Lord then preach only what is covered by Dr Headlam's chapter on the New Teaching, the Sermon on the Mount, the Great Commandment, Religious Duties and the Golden Rule? Had the New Teaching no religious content or only such

religious content as can be elicited from teaching about the Kingdom? One hesitates to adduce omissions which may after all prove to be only postponements: and yet within the field covered by this volume there is the new emphasis on the Fatherhood of God, the formulation of the *summum bonum* in terms of becoming 'children of your Father', indications not very obscure of the absolute value which Jesus attached to the relation men held to Himself, and all that may be gathered as to His expressed attitude to sin. Teaching at once so penetrating and so revolutionary as that on what 'defiles', i. e. renders a man unfit for communion with God, ought surely to be included here.

These matters are even more important than some others which certainly lack adequate treatment, such as the Birth Narratives, and the 'eschatological' problem. For these matters of religious rather than ethical import seem to me at least indispensable for the achievement of Dr Headlam's object. In the fine summary with which the book closes he says: 'Our purpose was to construct a life on the basis of the material before us, without presuppositions either positive or negative; not to assume what Christian tradition had taught about Jesus Christ, but not to deny it. The one presupposition that we have allowed ourselves is that we must be able to account for the fact of Christianity.' Has he succeeded? If our answer must be, Almost, the qualification is due to a doubt whether he has (as yet) accounted for that which was vital to nascent Christianity, viz. the conviction held by His disciples that their relation to God was somehow conditioned by their relation to Him. Much of the evidence by which this is to be explained lies no doubt beyond the limit set to this volume; but the beginnings of it are here if anywhere, and the task which still lies before Dr Headlam will not be any easier for the width of the gap between the Jesus with whom he leaves us at the end of this volume and the Christ who was worshipped by the primitive community.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Philosophy and the Christian Experience: being the Pringle-Stewart Lectures for 1921-1922, by WILFRID RICHMOND, Hon. Canon of Winchester. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1922.)

THIS is the kind of book one approaches with an expectation chastened by many disappointments. The opening sentence, 'Christian theology guards the Christian experience', does not feed the flickering flame, and it grows fainter with the identification of reality, the experience of it, and the interpretation thereof in the Creeds. A criticism of expressions by Dr Bethune-Baker and Canon Glazebrook does duty

for a direct enquiry. They do not mean what they are taken to mean, and would leave the problems of the inadequacy of experience to the whole of reality, and of the defects of explanation for another way of thinking exactly where it is, whatever they meant. All true experience reveals some measure of the reality, but it may grow into something quite different ; and even if all true experience should continue to have some value, an explanation satisfactory on a basis of Platonic realism might become quite worthless when that basis is rejected.

The things we cannot reconcile in experience are called contradictions, and then these are stretched to contradictories. Whereupon, of course, reason is bankrupt, and we have an argument about immanence and transcendence, which really depends on forgetting that these words are mere spatial metaphors, and on thinking in terms of mechanical forces. Then Kant's view of knowledge is bowed out, and the New Realism is bowed in. What it is our author does not even attempt to explain. On the ground of this, somehow, we pass to the personality of God. Instead of the usual argument that our limited personality needs fulfilment in a perfect person, we have the view that limitation is of the essence of personality. Then from this position we have a demonstration of the Trinity. But with this goes an idea of dependence upon God which works so much by mere influx of His grace, and involves so little a personal relation that it does not seem worth while arguing about the personality of the Deity.

Yet, if this book is no better in reasoning than most works of the kind, it is very different in spirit, and in a certain indefinable quality of religious persuasiveness. It is terse and interesting in style, shews knowledge, is full of gentle wisdom, and reasons, apart from its main thesis, soundly. There is something true and sincere and generous which makes it profitable reading, leaving the sense of having had communion with a good man in the deeper interests of the spirit which go beyond reasoning.

Religion and Modern Thought, by GEORGE GALLOWAY, D.Phil., D.D.,
Principal and Primarius Professor of Divinity, St Mary's College,
St Andrews. (T. & T. Clark, 1922.)

IN spite of its limitations, this is one of the most important works on theology which has appeared in English in recent years. It is full of sound and unostentatious learning. Dr Galloway's earlier works give ample evidence of his philosophical equipment, but here he moves also in the fields of history and theology with a simplicity and precision which approve the master. He faces the most important problems with a clear conviction that they must be settled by open enquiry and

not evaded. The discussion is reasonable and, as far as it goes, convincing; and it seldom claims more definite results than it has attained. The helpfulness in suggestion to the reader does not end at the point where he ceases to feel satisfaction with the conclusions. It is the work of a man interested in theology because he is interested in the practical concerns of religion. Finally, the style is a model of lucidity.

Yet, after reading the book twice over with ever increasing pleasure and profit, the final effect left, at least on the present reviewer, is one of curious limitation for so able a mind. Almost the only paper which did not leave this impression was the last on *Religion and the Supernatural*, though that is the one part of the book where we might be content to find it. The reason is that this subject is the only one on which Dr Galloway cannot give his favourite solution of a balance of intellect, feeling, and will; and where he is, therefore, forced to seek for a fundamental principle.

Partly it is merely a matter of temperament. This appears most plainly in the paper on *National Religion*. In principle it is recognized that Christianity accepts neither national limitation nor political method; and the form of national churches, he thinks, will in time disappear. But he then proceeds to draw up a sort of balance-sheet between the gain and loss from the Church's connexion with the State. For the reason that the national feeling is a useful adjunct to the religious, a national Church is helpful for keeping good influences going and it proves in practice to be less subject to attacks of eccentricities. Hence he concludes that national churches should be kept going as long as possible. Even the Protestant principle that the truly religious life is the secular life rightly lived, and that the task of the Church is to serve the community, not to exalt itself, which gave birth to national churches at the Reformation, is not mentioned. Still less does the author go on to ask whether there might be any principle, on which this interest could be better served, which would be more in accord with the Church's own order, or to the question of the transmutation of the national idea into the Christian. It is a temperament which dislikes extremes above everything—shrewd, cautious, the incarnation of what is called a 'safe' man. But will it suffice for the hour of crisis either in thought or practice?

Yet this temperament has a background of theory. It is that religion is a just balance of all our powers. Dr Galloway has stated this fully in earlier works. Here it is not repeated, but practically every essay exemplifies it. Behind that, again, traces of an older theory, more akin to Hegel's intellectualism, occasionally shew. For example, we are told that, if philosophy could complete its syntheses,

theology would be determined by philosophy (p. 211). Both theories are open to question. If God means something to the world, the religious question would be, What is He going to make of it? if we knew the whole system of the cosmos, just as now when we know only a fraction of it. This kind of balance of our powers is just the old faculty psychology in its most objectionable form; and, moreover, it answers no question about religion. The question is what is the particular way in which a mind, which acts on its own motive guided by its own intelligence, works in this sphere; and that raises the further question, What is the sphere of religion? But the real objection is the ease with which all questions are answered by merely gathering together the various intellectual, emotional, and volitional elements to which it can apply. For example, it is no answer, on Dr Galloway's own principle of open enquiry, to say that the authority of religion is partly rational and partly traditional, for the whole problem is, How is religion to be rational, if it is traditional; and how is it to depend on history, if it is rational? Moreover, this prevents him from going on to ask whether it is either. This appears also in the article on *Controversy*. It is an eminently sensible discussion, but it fails to shew us any distinction between arguments which could decide on principle what is profitable and what unprofitable discussion. The Essay which this attitude most affects is on *The Essence of Christianity*. Dr Galloway substitutes for Essence three principles. (1) The intimate connexion with Christ. But he has already raised the difficulties about similar answers: What kind of connexion and what kind of Christ? If it is merely any connexion with any Christ, it would be simpler to say: That it bears the name Christian. (2) That it is a redemptive religion, and this in a specially ethical sense. But all religions are redemptive, and all higher religions in some sense ethical. Hence, at most, this would be a question of degree. (3) It lays man's ultimate destiny in a transcendent world. But that also is not unique. In particular, how, if we take Christ, in its original sense as Messiah, would Christianity be distinguished from orthodox Judaism? On the whole Harnack's view is, apart from any question of the words, essence, or principle, a more convincing distinction, more especially as the Ritschlian theologians mostly follow Ritschl and go back to what Jesus meant for man's relation to God, and not to mere questions of his teaching as Dr Galloway seems to say. Anyhow, it is a clearer mark that Christianity is a special kind of redemption by reconciliation, a reconciliation whereby we do not renounce but conquer the world.

This looks like controverting the whole position of the book root-and-branch: and it is not very far from what it appears. But the value of a book, like all human effort, is frequently in the method of the

endeavour rather than in the success of the achievement. Wherefore, even if this criticism be right, the book remains a stimulating, an instructive, an able, a worthy discussion of great, vital questions; and while few of its answers seem to go far enough, the reason never is any desire to evade difficulties.

An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion, by ROBERT H. THOULESS, M.A. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1923.)

THIS book has the advantage that it is within the comprehension of the ordinary reader, that it deals with points likely to interest him, and that it is extremely modern and up to date in all its discussions. Further, its judgments are full of the good sense which appeals to sensible people and do not go too deep to worry them with the question of their possible limitation. Finally, it has consideration for their interest in the reality of religion and discusses it in a balanced way likely to appeal to them. Even those who have studied the subject will find in it a great deal of useful information, presented clearly, accurately, and pleasantly, and sane criticisms, always worthy of consideration. The full title of the book ought to be 'Some things mainly psychological, more or less connected with Religion'. They are such things as the Sub-conscious and Conversion, the Sex-instinct and Religious emotion, the Herd-instinct and Revivals, Worship and Auto-suggestion, Mysticism and Introversion, Asceticism and Sublimation. These are by far the most valuable contributions, and if the discussion flows over into questions of the reality of the object, it is only what every psychology does; and Mr Thouless is on surer ground that he does it consciously and with a sense of the strictly limited area within which his conclusions may be valid.

The further questions to be asked are not to be addressed to Mr Thouless personally, but to modern psychology as a whole. The main question is, Can the mind as the one instrument of knowledge study the mind as though it were a purely subjective phenomenon? If we distinguish between sensation and perception, association and judgement, are we not assuming the reality of objective knowledge? And is there any distinction between one kind of psychology and another except the object to which the mind is directed? In religion Mr Thouless assumes, as though he lived in the eighteenth century, that this object is belief in God. And apparently he would agree with Dr Galloway in thinking this best treated by the harmony of all our powers. Both reject the faculty psychology, but, by this road, they fall back into it in a highly dubious way. Psychology surely ought to

shew us the distinctive quality which makes experience religious. It might thereby include much in religion not called by that name and exclude much that is, but that is only what it ought to do. And here we have another difficulty. Mr Thouless constantly identifies experience and experiences, and assumes that the affirmation that we cannot interpret experience ultimately except as religious is the same thing as affirming that our emotional states are revelations. Had he known something of the views of Windelband, Otto, and Soderblöm, it is improbable that he would have dismissed the sacred with its absoluteness as the mark of religion so easily, and made no mention of reverence as the peculiar religious response to experience. But probably he would not then have written so simple and popular a book or been so helpful especially to beginners.

J. OMAN.

The Idea of Immortality, by A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON. The Gifford Lectures, at Edinburgh, 1922. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1922.)

THE interest in this volume of Gifford Lectures lies in its being the application of an important philosophy to a primary problem of both philosophy and religion. The exponent is one of our foremost teachers and writers of philosophy, who combines originality of thinking with a wide range of learning and long practice in exposition, both orally and in literature. He had shewn us the issue of his Idealist philosophy in Theism in his former course of lectures, *The Idea of God* (1912-1913), and in these he had cast occasional glances at the problem of human immortality. The present course gave him opportunity to set before us the definite conclusions which he himself draws.

As philosophy is still in its perennial state of conflict there is much more to interest us in a study of Immortality in immediate connexion with one or other philosopher's system than there can be in any direct attack of the problem which leaves unspecified the metaphysical and moral principles which animate the investigator. What we have here is, to use the lecturer's words, 'the natural outcome of a general philosophical position': and its value is of course dependent upon the value of its source. Every one who is aware of the high esteem which Dr Pringle-Pattison has won in the world of philosophy will therefore turn with keen expectation to the conclusions which he has reached as to the rationality of the belief in Immortality.

This is not the place for an exposition of Dr Pringle-Pattison's system as a whole. We may confine ourselves to its results in reference to its particular problem, and ask (i) Does the age-long belief in

Immortality receive support from Dr Pringle-Pattison's Theism and the Idealist metaphysics behind that? and (ii) What specific features in the concept are included, and what features either find no support or are definitely excised?

On the first question. We find that he is led to hold that the Theism which to him is rational cannot be completed without the belief that the life of spiritual men which does in fact begin within human experience extends beyond the limits of our attachment to the human body or the lower ranges of mentality. He cannot construct his ideal of Divine perfection if beings endowed with such high prerogatives of self-conscious and self-assertive spirit as he finds, potential or actual, in man are created and started upon a course of development which may be suddenly closed at any moment, and which must at its utmost certainly be terminated after a brief span of days, quite inadequate to provide opportunity for the building of a perfected spirituality.

Dr Pringle-Pattison's position can be seen most vividly by setting it in comparison, not with the results of philosophies quite different from his own, but with those of his congeners in the Idealistic school. Of these we find greatest interest in his criticisms of Mr Bradley (still happily with us), and of Bernard Bosanquet whose recent loss we are now deploring. Here are two English thinkers who stand for belief in One Absolute, who is in essence Spiritual, and in man as finite spirit within the Absolute; but who do not deduce from these high doctrines a belief that the finite individuals can rationally look for a permanent personal place in the universe.

Most of us are likely to share Dr Pringle-Pattison's surprise that this is so. As to Bosanquet especially: after following him in his inspiring chapter on the 'Moulding of souls' we are conscious of a real shock when we find him content to regard all men as tending inevitably and finally to the grave; limiting our prospect of perfectibility to so much as can be attained in an earth-bound mortality. This manifestly causes a depressing shrinkage in our valuation of the spirit of Man; and the shrinkage cannot but be carried up higher and derogate most seriously from the perfection of the Absolute. Dr Pringle-Pattison expresses himself strongly on this: not only does the conclusion 'fall short of the idea of spiritual communion' for man; but 'the whole (the Absolute) seems to be little better than an empty space in which everything happens' (p. 159). Dr Pringle-Pattison notices that Mr Bradley has in his later writings moved towards 'a more positive mood', and he expresses 'a very genuine personal satisfaction' that this is the case.

Looking further back to an earlier philosophy of the Absolute

Dr Pringle-Pattison gives close scrutiny to Spinoza. He calls attention to variations in Spinoza's thought which appear when all his writings are studied, noting three stages of change. And he concludes that Spinoza is really anticipating the position of Bosanquet: they both, by their reduction of the claims of the finite individual in this life and beyond it, really leave the Absolute in solitary occupation of the spiritual universe. There are no Many; all is One.

Further back still Dr Pringle-Pattison includes a study of Plato's arguments for Immortality. But Plato's philosophy contains so many features differing from his own that we cannot expect him to set a high value on the particular arguments dispersed through the Dialogues; nor are we surprised that his opinion is that Plato himself held the belief rather as 'a religious conviction', and scarcely meant his arguments to be taken too literally. He is sure, however, that to Plato himself the idea was a profound conviction; and to this he ascribes his far-reaching influence in the history of its treatment. This influence has, no doubt, overreached its true merits so far as the arguments are concerned, as it has carried these too far into the structure of Christian theology on the side which is due to Hellenism. It was due to a feeling of their inadequacy that both later Platonism and Christian theology moved towards a more mystical treatment. But the lectures do not include the following up of Platonism in Neo-Platonism either Greek or Christian.

A parallel study of Aristotle is included, but space prevents more than a mention of it.

In modern times Dr Pringle-Pattison expounds the peculiar treatment of the Idea in Kant, assigning, in the usual way, its features to the general philosophical situation which Kant occupied. By similar reference to their anterior philosophical positions the Agnostic position of Henry Sidgwick and the quite peculiar conception of Dr McTaggart of finite spirits as having neither beginning nor ending are accounted for.

The Argument from Desires is treated in a somewhat tantalizing way. Dr Pringle-Pattison dissociates himself from those who scornfully repudiate it, and seems to be about to embark upon a high valuation of it by pointing out that in dealing with it 'everything depends upon the nature of the desire' (p. 192): and again, 'we do not weave our ideals out of nothing'. The three pages in which Desire is treated are spirited and eloquent, but they are inadequate for the purpose of exhibiting the measure of force which some of us think ought to be assigned to it.

In answer to our second question, the content of the concept of Immortality, which Dr Pringle-Pattison derives from his philosophy, I must confine myself to indicating some principal features.

Positively. The life of finite spirits is always to be understood as life in the presence of God ; as life with a measure of selfhood ; and as life in a community of beings of a like constitution. It is also not a mere extension of life in time, unchanging in degree and in quality, but a progress of spirituality.

Negatively. His concept *excludes* : the necessity for pre-existence ; the concepts of Reincarnation and Karma—which are carefully considered at a length which is welcome as a sign of the growing respect of Europeans for the contribution of Oriental philosophies to the sum of human speculations ; the equating of the area of spirituality with that of nature in man, in other words, the doctrine of Natural Immortality ; the juridical concept of the life beyond, especially with a penal character due to the presence of the vindictive factor in the concept of moral order.

It should be added that the course of lectures, brief as it is, only ten in number, includes a survey of Primitive ideas, and also sketches of the history of the idea in the Hebrew and the Greek periods : brief surveys, but based on the best recent authorities. There is also a discussion of the relation of Mind and Body, at a length which is somewhat disproportionate in view of the task which the lecturer had before him, but in itself is well worth reading.

For Christian theology the value of the lectures as a whole consists obviously in their setting before us the application to the problem of Immortality of Modern Idealism as held by one of its most influential exponents in Britain. And that the issue is of high significance appears when we find that this leading Idealist concludes that his system cannot be established without this idea. With this may be compared the parallel conclusion of another Idealist, the late Sir Henry Jones : the idea of Immortality is 'a necessary condition of an orderly universe'. Dr Pringle-Pattison does, indeed, dissociate himself from those who take the extreme position which Tennyson expressed, 'intemperately' Dr Pringle-Pattison considers, and which Professor A. E. Taylor has put forth, as to the extent of the devastation in philosophy and religion which would be caused by the withdrawal of the hope of a life beyond. But he does, himself, go so far as to say that it is man's victorious 'meditation upon death that has made him, or makes him, the human creature he is . . . his philosophy, his religion, his greatest poetry, all have their roots in the fact of death and in his refusal to accept it as final'.

A. CALDECOTT.

Chronicon Spinozanum. Tomus primus. (Hagae Comitatus Curis Societatis Spinozanae, 1921.)

THIS, the first annual volume of original studies from the Societas Spinozana which was founded a short time ago with its head-quarters at the Hague, is worthy of its inspirer and should do much to increase interest in the activities of the Society.

It contains facsimiles of old books and manuscripts, and is excellently got up. The first eleven pages, devoted to laudatory references to Spinoza by European thinkers, are followed by an account of the provisional constitution of the Societas Spinozana, and a preface to the *Chronicon*. Professor Höffding's opening paper on *Die drei Gedankens motive Spinoza's* forms a good introduction for this and subsequent volumes, but it contains no new suggestions with regard to Spinozism. Dr Höffding lays stress on Spinoza's relation to Jewish theology and the possibility of influence from Bruno. It is the differentiation of the problems that distinguishes contemporary philosophizing from that of Spinoza. Sir Frederick Pollock contributes a study of *Spinoza's Political Doctrine with special regard to his relation to English Publicists*. 'Spinoza's conceptions of political mechanism belong to an ancient world', but his principles are essentially those of English parliamentary leaders in the development of constitutional politics. In a short paper *Sur l'Interprétation du Spinozisme* M. L. Brunschvicg contends that the interpretation depends on a *scientia intuitiva*, without which the study of the texts and Spinoza's relation to other thinkers must almost inevitably lead astray by suggesting forms of externality as distinct from 'la formule suprême de l'Éthique, conscience de soi, et des choses et de Dieu'. Dr Dunin Borkowski brings out how very important for the study of the development of Spinoza's thought is *der erste Anhang zu der kurzen Abhandlung*, in which it first becomes clear that philosophy is fundamentally concerned with the differentiations in the universe: How are God and the world, mind and body, permanent realities and transient happenings, substances and modes, things amongst themselves, to be differentiated? Dr Carp, in a discussion of *Naturrecht und Pflichtbegriff*, shews that Spinoza's theory of right is purely psychological. In a paper on *Spinoza's Definition of Substance and Mode* Professor Wölffson discusses Spinoza's relation to mediaeval thinkers. 'The implication is that Spinoza's substance is inconceivable, its essence undefinable, and hence unknowable. . . . The mediaeval definition of the term substance has not undergone any change in Spinoza, though its application is restricted to God only.' Professor Myslicki's *Jonston et de Spinoza* may be regarded as the most original contribution in the volume, calling for close study by all

interested in the influences on Spinoza's thought. Of equal interest and importance is Carl Gebhardt's *Spinoza und der Platonismus*. In this the writer maintains that Spinoza came from a Spanish or Portuguese stock which for several generations had practised Catholicism without real belief and strove towards Judaism in spirit and in half-understood customs. 'They were Jews only in the will to find Judaism again.' They were educated in the forms of the Catholic Church and of the culture of the European Renaissance. Thus whoever calls Spinoza a Jew applies to him an indefinite general concept which calls up false associations. In spite of some of his unfavourable utterances in reference to Platonism, his thought is related with it through the influence of Leone Ebreo, who stands as intermediary between the Platonic 'transcendence' and the Spinozist 'immanence', a position partly aided by the neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation. Allowing for the immanent character of Spinoza's philosophy, the Platonic influence is seen in the doctrine of love as expounded in the *Kurze Abhandlung*. But this was abandoned through a later acquaintance with the philosophy of Hobbes in which, says Gebhardt, 'liegt das bedeutungsvollste Entwicklungsmoment in der Philosophie Spinoza's'. In considerable detail the writer goes on to shew how through Leone Ebreo Platonic traits came into Spinoza's thought, and he follows this by a reprint of part of Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'Amore*. There are other short contributions, including some book reviews. The whole constitutes a notable contribution to the study of Spinoza, one which no serious student of the history of modern philosophy can afford to neglect.

Le Quietiste espagnol, Michel Molinos, 1628-1696, by PAUL DUDON, S.J.
(Beauchesne, Paris, 1921.)

STUDENTS of quietism will find this a useful monograph on Molinos, the author of *The Spiritual Guide* (English translation 1688), and one of the most prominent of European quietists. The author brings evidence from the parish registers of the village of Muniesa to settle finally the disputed questions of the place and the time of Molinos's birth, as Muniesa, 1628. He describes the simple circumstances of his early life and education up to his installation in a benefice at Valencia. In 1663 Molinos went to Rome to promote the cause of the beatification of Francisco Jerónimo Simón, and seems to have remained there for the rest of his life. He became a prominent member of a confraternity, apparently of Spanish origin, called the 'School of Christ', a society given to quietism and asceticism. P. Dudon traces Molinos's quietism first to a failure properly to understand the works of Falconi. He also shews that he was influenced by Grégoire Lopez,

who was described by Bossuet as 'one of the wonders of his day'. Molinos's first published work was a small treatise advocating daily communion. For twenty years in Rome he attracted large numbers of persons of all classes as a spiritual director. 'Nuns, priests, monks, prelates, princesses, cardinals, held him in high esteem, and treated him as a master' (p. 24). *The Spiritual Guide* was first published in Spanish,¹ but it has since gone through many editions in different languages. 'The true purpose of the *Guide* is to lead souls to adapt themselves, without resistance, to the movement of divine grace.' On pp. 37-40 of his book P. Dudon gives a concise summary of the *Guide*. Molinos reduces Christian perfection, says P. Dudon, to prayer and 'abandon quiétiste'. All sorts of evil are allowed by God to come to men for the purification of their souls, apparently in many instances through their humiliation. 'The attitude of the faithful is to submit, with resignation.' P. Dudon maintains, chiefly on grounds of literary criticism and comparison which appear to me quite inadequate, that the *Guide* did not arise from a genuine inner spiritual life of Molinos's own, but was merely a laborious compilation from other writers. P. Dudon does not consider the problem which suggests itself, how it was that though the *Guide* was published in 1675 it was only in 1683, twenty years after Molinos first came to Rome, that the court of the Inquisition proceeded against him. To express it briefly, Molinos was charged with antinomianism. 'Dr Molinos . . . was denounced on divers charges which are related with certain pretended maxims which would be highly criminal and detestable if they were authorized by his counsels. . . . The chief of these . . . is that when the understanding comes to a degree of elevation which unites the soul unceasingly with God . . . some disorders . . . which occur in the region of the senses . . . ought to be no longer regarded as sins, but at most as temptations and futile efforts of the devil.' He recanted, but was condemned to prison. The volume is naturally unsympathetic to Molinos, but even so, one expected to find in it a closer and a less inadequate consideration of the grounds of Molinos's influence.

Les Penseurs de l'Islam, by Baron CARRA DE VAUX. (Geuthner, Paris, vols. i and ii, 1921.)

THESE two volumes are the first to appear of a five-volume work on Islamic thinkers. Like the author's previous publications in the field of Islamic studies, they are popular in character. Though there is

¹ In a long note the author discusses the current error as to its first appearance in Italian. The original appeared in Spanish in Italy in 1675; an Italian edition in the same year, and a Spanish edition at Madrid in 1676.

some chronological order, the books are not historical surveys, but studies of the thought of important individuals from the various Muslim countries. The author desires to arouse the interest of the educated general reader in the culture of Islamic peoples, with whom he thinks the people of Europe will become more and more concerned. Though they are well suited for this purpose the present volumes are too unsystematic to be of much use to the scholar. They treat of (i) Rulers, History and Political Philosophy; and (ii) Geography, Natural and Mathematical Sciences. It is in subjects of the succeeding volumes, on Exegesis and Law, Scholastic Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism, that the author has already produced sympathetic expositions, and these volumes may be looked forward to by students of mediaeval European thought as well as by orientalists. It is, however, with regard to modern Islamic liberalism that sound information is most needed; for it is on this that the settlement of the question of conflict or co-operation with Islam will mainly depend. Baron de Vaux promises to treat of this in his fifth volume.

A. G. WIDGERY.

The Primitive Consecration Prayer, by W. H. FRERE, D.D. Alcuin Club Prayer Book Revision Pamphlets, viii. (Mowbray, 1922.)

THE formula to which Dr Frere gives the title 'the primitive Consecration Prayer', and which Dom Cagin before him has called the 'Apostolic Anaphora', is the eucharistic prayer in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. By 'primitive', however, Dr Frere hardly means 'apostolic', though this is the only logical sense of the word when applied to Christian institutions. After expressing some hesitation as to whether the prayer originally stood in the work of Hippolytus, he eventually concludes that, 'perhaps more probably than anything, we must see in this prayer Hippolytus's own consecration prayer modelled to a large extent on tradition that has come down to him' (p. 11). The reason for Dr Frere's initial misgiving is stated by him thus: 'But it is the sort of addition that might easily have been made by a compiler at a later stage: and when we observe that it is lacking in some of the many forms in which we have the handbook preserved to us, we are warned to be cautious' (p. 4). Here, however, it is to be observed that the only members of this group of documents which omit the prayer are (1) the *Canons of Hippolytus*, and (2) the Coptic and Arabic versions. As regards (1), though the *Canons* have not the prayer itself, they refer to it, and preserve the preliminary dialogue of the *Sursum corda*. As regards (2), these two versions agree in omitting not only the eucharistic

prayer but also those for the ordination of a bishop, a presbyter, and a deacon, concerning which Dr Frere expresses no doubts. Moreover, these versions, at a later point, refer back to the eucharistic prayer in terms which presuppose that its text has already been given (Horner, pp. 309, 247). So far then as the external evidence goes there is no real ground for suspecting the prayer to be a later addition to the main document; while an examination of its text has led Dr Frere to the belief that it is, if anything, even earlier than Hippolytus—in the sense that Hippolytus has used and adapted a yet more ancient prayer. It is on this hypothesis, apparently, that he ventures to apply to it the epithet 'primitive'.

In its character of a simple thanksgiving, with a recital of the benefits for which thanks are rendered, culminating in the institution of the Sacrament itself and a commemoration of the passion of Christ, we may well believe that this prayer follows traditional lines. More than that it would be unsafe to maintain. The actual treatment of the theme is no doubt personal to Hippolytus, and we can feel no confidence that any particular clause or expression in it is part of a traditional stock. That Hippolytus worked over an existing text, whether preserved orally or in writing, is very improbable: the document itself contains the statement that any bishop who can do so creditably is at liberty to make his own thanksgiving, and that even one who can make but a moderate prayer may not be forbidden (Horner, p. 309). In Rome, and probably in most other churches, the age of fixed formularies had not yet been reached.

The last six pages of the paper are devoted to the question of the Epiclesis. In the clause 'Et petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae', which occurs towards the end of the prayer, Dr Frere finds an 'invocation of the Holy Spirit' which 'is brief and primitive in form' (p. 16). This is evidently one of the features which he would trace back to a traditional use earlier than Hippolytus. 'There is, he says, no cause for surprise in finding an invocation of the Holy Spirit at this early date, and in Rome; for 'we encounter in Justin and Irenaeus' an invocation of the Logos, 'and in the *Didascalia*' an invocation of the Holy Spirit (p. 18); while 'there is considerable evidence that the Consecration Prayer at Rome at one time included an invocation of the Holy Spirit': Gelasius I is witness to this (p. 19). When Rome had come to adopt the view that the words of Institution were the consecratory formula, 'it was obliged to deal with the invocation of the Holy Spirit, still presumably surviving in its liturgy' (p. 21). The method adopted was, it is suggested, twofold: (1) the *Supplices te rogamus* of the Roman Canon 'is certainly some sort of equivalent for the older invocation; and it may be a transformed relic of it. In that

case the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the oblation was banished here'. (2) The *Quam oblationem*, preceding the Institution, 'still contains a prayer that the oblation may "become to us the Body and Blood of Christ"; that is to say, it uses the language of an Invocation of the Holy Spirit in its developed form, but without mention of the Holy Spirit. It seems likely, therefore, that a second method of dealing with the difficulty was to transfer the old Invocation from its natural and historical position, . . . to this earlier position, where it would not clash with the accepted view of the consecration. The likelihood of this is strengthened by the newly discovered Deir-Balizeh papyrus, which has a developed Invocation of this sort in this position. The experiment then seems to have been common to Alexandria and Rome'. But later on 'Alexandria reverted to the usual Eastern model; and Rome again substituted generalities for the invocation. Thus doctrinal consistency was secured: but at the cost of making a break with Christian tradition, and of having a Canon which, apart from doxologies, is devoid of any specific mention of the Holy Spirit'. So the paper ends.

Whilst fully appreciating the scholarly work which we are accustomed to from Dr Frere, I cannot think that on this occasion he has done himself justice in dismissing in such summary fashion a problem which involves so many historical considerations. Of one omission at least I think we may fairly complain, his failure to say a word about the prayer in the treatise *de Sacramentis*. So far as the particular point of the Epiclesis is concerned, this prayer stands side by side with the Roman Canon: it has a textual equivalent of the *Quam oblationem* before the Institution; and in place of a request for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements it asks, as does the Roman Canon, that the oblation may be taken up to God's altar on high for His acceptance: an idea which is the very antithesis of the other. It seems reasonable, therefore, to ask that some account be rendered of this document before the parallel portions of the Roman Canon are approached from a critical standpoint; for the *de Sacramentis* is usually placed well within the fifth century (before the pontificate of Gelasius I), while some scholars are inclined even to connect it directly with St Ambrose, under whose name it is current. Certainly no one can doubt that the prayer which it contains is a western formula of a distinctly earlier type than the Roman Canon, or, on the other hand, that the two are very intimately related.

As regards the question whether eucharistic prayers in the second and third centuries ordinarily contained a clause petitioning for the descent of the Holy Spirit, or the Logos, on the elements with a view to their consecration, the evidence usually appealed to depends for its force on the supposition that writers of that early period already employed the

words *ἐπίκλησις*, *invocatio*, in the liturgical sense in which they are now current. But a study of the early history of the words would shew, I believe, that this supposition is unfounded, and that the technical sense which we are familiar with is an applied and secondary sense, which came in later and only by degrees. The most characteristic use of the words in the earlier period is to denote the solemn utterance of divine or other *names*, and then the formulæ (not necessarily prayers at all, and not necessarily pious or orthodox) in which such names occurred, or might be presumed to occur. Thus it is that they are so frequently applied to the baptismal formula, to exorcisms, incantations, and the like, which depended for their efficacy on 'the power of the Name'.

The late technical use of 'Epiclesis' may be responsible also for an impression, which seems to be about, that *ἐπίκλησις* implies the calling down of a Divine Power *upon* the elements. Thus on p. 18 Dr Frere speaks of the presence of the Holy Spirit as 'called down upon' the oblation, and on p. 21 he speaks of 'the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the oblation'. But are there any classical or early Christian examples of such a use of *ἐπίκλησις*? The word means, first of all, a surname, a name given *in addition*; and then (in Christian writers certainly) a calling *upon some person*, especially by name; with the addition of *τοῦ ὀνόματος* it means hardly more than the solemn *naming* of the name.

Liturgical Prayer, its History and Spirit, by the Right Reverend FERNAND CHABROL, O.S.B., Abbot of Farnborough, translated by a Benedictine of Stanbrook. (Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1922.)

A SHORT prefatory note tells us that *Le Livre de la Prière antique*, which is the French title of this work, was published in 1900, and is now in its fifteenth thousand. 'It has been thought well', adds the translator, 'not to alter the primitive text.' Evidently the 'primitive text' is the only one, for had a revised edition ever appeared this must have been used for the translation. The book is therefore twenty-two years old. But during these years liturgical studies have not been at a standstill: new texts have been made available, better editions of known documents have appeared, and many important books have been written. In order to convey some idea of the advance that has been made since the beginning of this century it is enough to mention the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* and the *Monumenta ecclesiae liturgica* which have been published by the Benedictines of Farnborough under the direction of Dom Chabrol himself. Clearly then, on the historical side, this book does not represent the state of know-

ledge at the present day; nor can it fairly be taken to represent the author's own position now in regard to a number of the questions with which it deals.

The historical treatment, however, though indispensable for an intelligent appreciation of the Church's official prayer, is not that which gives the book its special character. The author's first aim was (I think it may be said) to help devotion by shewing the spiritual beauty of the Liturgy, and insisting on its pre-eminent and enduring value as a method of prayer. Regarded from this side, the work remains admirable and continues to deserve the high appreciation which it has won hitherto. Its translation and reissue in the original form is thus justified. Nevertheless we cannot help a feeling of regret that the learned author has not yet seen his way to bring the scientific element in his work up to the standard of its devotional value. There can be few, if any, better qualified than the Abbot of Farnborough to produce a book on the Liturgy of this twofold character, and if he could find leisure from the many calls on his time and energies to give us a revised edition of the present work he would confer a great benefit on a large circle of readers. I am sure the Abbot will pardon me the liberty of this suggestion, and will fully understand also that in pointing out the one obvious defect in this valuable book, its age, I have done only what was unavoidable.

The translator, one of the nuns of Stanbrook Abbey, near Worcester, has done her work skilfully and given us a very readable English version. On p. 50 l. 6 'Liturgy' should be 'Litany': I have not noticed any other misprint of importance.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

Histoire générale du mouvement janséniste depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours, by AUGUSTIN GAZIER. 2 vols. (Librairie Champion, Paris, 1922.)

M. AUGUSTIN GAZIER devoted a long and honourable life to the cult of Port-Royal and the defence of those who called themselves 'Augustiniens' and were called by their enemies 'Jansénistes'. He died rather more than a year ago, in March 1922, *felix opportunitate mortis*, having written 'finis' on this history of the movement which he had so much at heart, and himself passed for press the first volume bringing the story down to the Bull 'Unigenitus'. The whole work is creditable alike to the author and to his friend and publisher, M. Édouard Champion, who was its 'onlie begetter'. Challenged to supplement and correct Sainte-Beuve—'Je ne vous lâcherai pas que vous ne m'ayez donné un Sainte-Beuve amélioré'—and profiting by exceptional

opportunities, M. Gazier certainly succeeded in filling a number of gaps in Sainte-Beuve, but he never pretended to replace him. 'Le *Port-Royal* de Sainte-Beuve est à revoir, à corriger et à compléter, il n'est pas à refaire.' All who had been in touch of any kind with M. Gazier will know what to look for in this posthumous work—enthusiasm, erudition, sincerity. They will not expect, nor will they get, impartiality. Of course, like every historian, M. Gazier has no other object than 'mettre la vérité dans le meilleur jour possible'. But equally, like every historian, his truth is not always that of other people. What the student asks of his teachers is not impartiality, but the recognition that there is another point of view. And of this, it must be confessed, M. Gazier was hardly capable. His critical sense was not on a level with his learning and his zeal. All his swans are phoenixes; his palette has no colours too glowing for the portraiture of his heroes (even the notorious De Retz acquires a touch of reflected holiness), nor too black for that of their foes. He accepts and repeats the old allegations, that there never has been a Jansenist sect, that the Five Propositions were the deliberate invention of the Molinists, that Antoine Arnauld and his friends, far from discouraging frequent communion, really promoted it. His definitions of Jansenism and of the Jansenists are 'la forme française de l'opposition des catholiques aux Jésuites' and 'les partisans de la grâce efficace et de la prédestination gratuite'. The spirit which prompts his encomiums recalls, with a difference, the *Imago primi saeculi* over which Pascal makes merry in his Fifth Letter, and it may be said that what was true of the Society of Jesus till yesterday is true of Jansenism to-day—it still awaits its historian. Meanwhile no one can neglect these two volumes, pleasantly written and beautifully presented; and read together with statements on the other side—Brou's, or Bremond's, or Ernest Jovy's—they provide material for forming judgement on a set of problems as perplexing as any to which the student's attention can be invited. The perplexity is most acute in the seventeenth century, where M. Gazier's conclusions are often open to question. He is seen at his best in dealing with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here he has the field more to himself and no obstacles which his skill and experience are incapable of surmounting. His treatment of the 'Unigenitus' is judicious and careful. He rightly emphasizes the effect upon contemporary opinion of the papal condemnation of Quesnel's Proposition XCI: 'La crainte d'une excommunication injuste ne doit jamais nous empêcher de faire notre devoir.' Quotations expressing the exasperation of the eighteenth century with the censure of what seems a commonplace might be multiplied. But M. Gazier admits a justification of it which is rather surprising in a Jansenist: 'Si cette proposition est condamnée en vertu de l'adverbe *respectivement* ("relative-

ment" would have made his meaning clearer) comme impie, blasphématoire et hérétique, les conséquences d'une telle condamnation peuvent être incalculables; mais il se pourrait aussi qu'elle fût simplement jugée offensante pour les oreilles pieuses, car un bon catholique ne devrait pas admettre qu'il puisse y avoir les excommunications injustes.' Is not this over-subtle? Is it theologically sound? Excommunication is a matter of discipline and not of faith, and no one can deny the possibility of an injustice in this connexion—though it may be wiser not to speak of it.

When he comes to recent history, M. Gazier has much to say that is both new and important. Not the least attractive of his pages are those which describe the latest fortunes of the convent buildings and the mind of the modern Port-Royalists, to whom he looks for redress of the evils wrought by Molinism and Liguorism under which according to him the Catholic Church at present groans. He sees no hope of help from the Old Catholics, whose schismatical tendencies he deplures.

M. Gazier's portraits are perhaps a little wanting in life, but his narrative is enlivened by many touches of topographical and antiquarian interest. Thanks to him the visitor to Paris can find for himself the last residence of Madame de Longueville, the apartments of Madame de Sablé and Madame de Guéméné—right in the middle of the nunnery—and the resting place of the noble Fitzjames, bishop of Soissons; while every reader will wish to make a pilgrimage to Port-Royal-des-Champs which the piety of M. Gazier has done so much to render worthy of its past.

The book has valuable appendixes—propositions of Molina condemned by the unpublished Bull of Paul V; a French translation of the 'Unigenitus'; the peccant propositions of Quesnel and Clement XI's remarks thereon—and, what is too often wanting in French publications, an admirable index.

H. F. STEWART.

Ian and the Attainment of Immortality, by JAMES Y. SIMPSON, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Professor of Natural Science, New College, Edinburgh. (Hodder & Stoughton [1922].)

THE first part of this book contains a singularly able and full survey of the results of the work of specialists in recent times that has contributed to knowledge of man's place in Nature and his life-history in the world. It is a survey in much detail, bringing together information about discoveries, and the inferences drawn from them, that otherwise has to be sought in many volumes and learned publications. Where experts in different departments of the study differ, Dr Simpson notes

the facts and the uncertainty as to the true interpretation of them. The reconstruction of the past history of man is notoriously in some respects highly speculative and precarious. The reconstruction which Dr Simpson sets vividly before us is at least that to which evidence drawn from many sources points, and it is coherent.

Full, however, as the details given are, Dr Simpson's chief interest in the subject is indicated by the title of his book. It is not merely archaeological. All the evidence is marshalled to shew the evolutionary process through which the world and man has passed. Others perhaps might have done this as effectively. What distinguishes Dr Simpson's presentation of this process from others that have been attempted is the resolute manner in which he looks to the end and sees the whole process as one by which man grows more and more conscious of himself in relation to his environment, climbs higher on the moral plane, identifies himself more and more with the moral purpose of life which he learns to discern, and thereby attains to real freedom and individuality. The whole process tends to this winning of freedom (such freedom as Augustine conceived) and this making of individuals. Some men may drop out of the evolutionary process altogether as happens in the course of evolution in other than human spheres; the attainment of individuality is morally conditioned, and is the attainment of immortality. Man is not immortal, but capable of becoming so: 'immortable' is Dr Simpson's new word for him; and by a careful review of the evidence of the New Testament he shews how much ground there is for the view that some of the chief exponents of early Christianity conceived of immortality as 'conditional', not the 'necessary' destiny of all mankind. The 'individuality' in view is 'essentially spiritual in character' and is contrasted with the lower 'level of organic and psychical activity' or the 'higher-grade automatism of action', the 'dual personality', the lack of self-harmony, which characterize most men as yet.

The argument culminates in the concluding chapter on 'the history of Jesus and the cosmic Christ', which will, I think, abundantly repay the attention of any one who is interested in the reconstruction of Christian Doctrine on evolutionary lines. I can only indicate its drift by one quotation:—

Along with the realisation that the world in which we find ourselves is ultimately a spiritual world, goes the sense that Nature is actually rooted and only fulfilled in grace. . . . We reach a point of view from which we begin to understand that the motive of the world process as a whole is Love, that from the time that the creative self-limitation or self-emptying of God culminated in the production of man, His Spirit has been striving with men throughout the ages, seeking for ever completer self-expression in the sons of men until this was perfectly attained in the Son of Man.

The Religion of Science, by WILLIAM HAMILTON WOOD, Professor of Biblical History and Literature, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H. (Macmillan & Co., 1923.)

A YEAR ago a bill to prohibit the teaching of evolution so far as pertains to the origin of man, introduced in the legislative assembly of the State of Kentucky, was defeated by only one vote. It was the culmination of an active campaign against the teaching of evolution which has been conducted in America with increasing vigour for four or five years (see *The Journal of Religion*, May 1922). Professor W. H. Wood does not advocate this short and easy way. He discriminates between the genuinely scientific evolutionists who confine their work to particular departments of study and the 'science-theologians' who build up a 'religion of science' which they would not only substitute for Christianity as it has been but declare to be 'the real Christianity'. These 'science-theologians' he assails with a rather strident dialectic, much of which is penetrating and fully justified. Following other writers who in recent years have examined the metaphysical implications or assumptions of the Natural Sciences of to-day, he is often able to score points against his opponents. He can shew the deficiencies of their negative dogmatism and their explanations of life and man. In setting forth against them the positive convictions of the Christian Faith he writes pages that are wholly admirable, which it would be a pleasure to quote. Yet he seems to me never to shew any appreciation of the extent to which the system of Christian Doctrine has depended on assumptions which are as vulnerable as those which he attacks, and, as he read over his book, the frequent recurrence of the phrase 'the theory never has been proved' (even with 'and never will be' added) ought to have given him pause. He does not seem to have asked himself how his own theories would stand the dialectic which he applies so trenchantly to theirs, nor to remember that it is by faith that we Christians live: I am afraid he would not like Dr Simpson's book. For all its cleverness a more modest attack might have been more successful, at all events with English readers.

The Church in America, by WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, Ph.D., D.D. (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922.)

DR ADAMS BROWN of the Union Theological Seminary was Chairman of 'the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook', and Secretary of 'the General War-Time Commission of the Churches' in America. His wide experience has borne abundant fruit in this 'study of the present condition and future prospects of American Protestantism'. The book (355 pages) is full of information about the

organization and religious and social activities of the Churches in America, during the War and after. But Dr Brown has always in view the widest possibilities of inter-denominational and inter-national co-operation in the common concern of all the Churches—to Christianize human society; and, as it seems to me, his clear insight into Christian principles, and the right application of them to the intricate problems of modern world-wide life makes his book a most valuable contribution to Religion and Social Science alike. He refuses either to abandon the hopes of the unity of Christians which soared high during the War, or to seek it by schemes of amalgamation. It is the best organized Churches, he maintains, that can best work together, and the business of the moment is to secure the greatest efficiency of Churches and the closest co-operation between them, in thinking and teaching and action, to establish a common consciousness of 'the central loyalties and convictions which all Christians hold in common'. It is a book for all the Churches.

The Psychic health of Jesus, by WALTER E. BUNDY, Ph.D. (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922.)

To most readers of the JOURNAL the subject of this book (as the author knows) will be as distasteful as its title. It is an elaborate examination of all that has been written in the last hundred years throwing doubt on the sanity of our Lord, culminating in the four volumes of *La Folie de Jésus* by Dr Binet-Sanglé (1908–1915), to which Dr Bundy gives a prominent place in his book. Dr Bundy conducts his examination with marked ability and fairness; yet I think he is too matter of fact, too 'healthy-minded' and normal, to appreciate truly a religious experience in which visions and voices certainly, and mystic rapture probably, played a considerable part: and so his defence is not always on right lines. It is notable also that he entrenches himself in the camp of the modern scholars who do not use the Fourth Gospel as evidence of our Lord's consciousness in His life on earth,¹ and that he finds sayings in the Synoptic gospels too that reflect the beliefs of later Christians rather than 'claims' of our Lord Himself. So he does not really meet his opponents on their own ground, that is, the ground of the old orthodoxy. There are, however, in his book many good fruits of close study of the Gospels of real value to students; and there is, no doubt, a public to whom it will be useful.

¹ 'The egocentric words placed in the mouth of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel are not words of Jesus at all, but really the christocentric confessions of the fourth evangelist'—'the *I*ams . . . should read in the third person: *HE* is . . .' pp. 132, 134.

J. F. B-B.

The Testament of Solomon: Edited from MSS at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris, and Vienna, with Introduction by CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, Professor of N. T. Literature and Interpretation in Pacific School of Religion. (Leipzig. Hinrichs, 1922.) (Untersuch. i. N. T., herausg. v. H. Windisch, Heft 9.) 8vo, pp. xii + 136 + 166*.

MOST people who know of the existence of the Testament of Solomon in print have been obliged to read it in Migne's reprint of Fleck's text, which is a poor copy of a single MS. The title of Professor McCown's new edition, transcribed above, shews that a large range of authorities has been employed in the constitution of a fresh text. Probably other copies, as the editor admits, may be in existence: one, indeed, turned up at Jerusalem too late to have its readings included in the *apparatus criticus*, though they are given in an appendix: but it may be said without hesitation that we now have before us adequate material for judging of the history of the text, and, above all, for getting hold of all the odd lore which the original writer and the successive redactors and interpolators desired to convey to posterity. The work has been most thoroughly done by Professor McCown. If one does not always agree with the readings he puts into the text, one has the materials at hand for improving them. And in the Introduction he will be found to have had his eyes open to all the sources from which any light could be brought to bear on the origins of the book. He is, in a word, to be very warmly congratulated on having performed in such excellent fashion a task which must have been, at times, irritating and irksome to the last degree. All his MSS are late, and most of them very badly written and worse spelt: only a true vision of the possibilities which such fables contain in the way of contribution to the understanding of history could have carried him through.

The completest text is, on the whole, that of the MS employed by Fleck (Paris gr. 38: here P): with N (Jerusalem St Saba 422) and another fragmentary copy it represents the editor's Recension B.

Recension A is furnished by H (Holkham 99), I (Paris gr. 500), L (Harl. 5596). Recension C by V (Bologna 3632), W (Paris gr. 2419), and some fragments.

Another form of the book is found in D (Dionysius Monastery, Mt. Athos, 132).

Recensions A and B do not differ so widely as to need separate reproduction, except at the beginning. Their text fills pp. 1*-75*. Recension C has a prologue, and a long episode about a spirit named Paltiel Tzamal (pp. 76*-89*). The text of MS D follows. It is a straightforward story from which all the demonic lore of A B C is absent, and also the

unhappy ending that tells of Solomon's fall (pp. 88*-97*). After some extracts from other MSS (pp. 98*-101*) is appended a similar story from a Jerusalem MS (St Saba 290) in frankly modern Greek, which brings the tale down to the Captivity and even beyond it (pp. 102*-120*).

According to the editor, MS D *represents* the story which formed the basis of the *Testament*: it is not the original tale, but a revision of it. It begins with the sin of David, and gives the story (found in the Pseudo-Epiphanian Lives of the Prophets) of Nathan's being prevented by the devil from getting to David in time to warn him. Nothing of this is found in A B C: A B begin at once with the story of the young workman or overseer who was attacked by the vampire-demon Ornias. The authors of A B (C) have decapitated the story, filled it out with the demonology in which they were interested, and added a fitting conclusion: and it was they who made the *Testament* out of the *Story*. This view of the evolution of the *Test.* is plausible, but not wholly convincing: I do not quite agree with Dr McCown when he says (p. 32) that it is 'inconceivable that any one should take the *Test.* as found in Recs. A, B, or C', and reduce it to the form found in MS D. As against this I would cite the treatment meted out to the *Ascension of Isaiah* by the author of the 'Greek Legend of Isaiah', who has cut about and rearranged the old text, with large omissions, and put in matter from the Epiphanian Lives, producing a result very much like D.

This question of recensions, however, I am, rightly or wrongly, inclined not to stress much. The editor's other conclusions as to the date and origin of the book are, to my thinking, more solid. He would assign, as date, the early part of the third century; as place—with hesitation—the province of Asia; as author, a Greek Christian not well versed in his religion.

As I have already hinted, the introduction will be found a storehouse of curious lore, most diligently gathered from every quarter. The opening sentence of it characterizes the book admirably. 'The *Testament of Solomon* is a combination of folk-tales and a magician's *vade-mecum*.'

There are still some awkward places in the text. I have never understood, and do not now understand, what Uriel did when he came down to quell Ornias (ii 8); iv 8 is another desperate passage, and so is xii 4. In xvii 4 we should punctuate οὐ τὸ στοιχεῖον ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ εἴ τις γράφει, and in xix 1 read εὐθηνούσα. In xx 4 the young man ought to say 'To what degree am I filled with madness (or "Am I so filled with madness") that I should strike my father?'; and ἕως (τίνος) or ἕως (τοσοῦτου) is wanted. In xx 15 read ἐπιτελοῦνται, and in xxii 5 ἀεὶ διὰ. Lastly, in a quotation from a letter of mine on p. 73, please read *list* for *bit*.

M. R. JAMES.

Der Stern des Messias, das Geburts- und das Todesjahr Jesu Christi nach astronomischer Berechnung, von Prof. OSWALD GERHARDT. (Deichertsche Verlagsbuchh., Leipzig, 1922.)

IN this book Professor Gerhardt has spared no pains to make himself acquainted with all that he regards as important for his subject, and has not confined himself to purely literary studies, but has made and caused others to make laborious astronomical computations. The book is certainly entitled to a foremost place in the literature bearing on the star of the Magi, though it is unlikely that the author will persuade many of his readers that the date of our Lord's nativity can be determined in this way.

It is probably correct exegesis to maintain that the evangelist meant that the Magi were induced to visit Jerusalem by some observation of a star in the east, not necessarily a horoscope, which they interpreted to mean the birth of a King of the Jews, but Professor Gerhardt seems to go beyond the evangelist in assuming that the Magi interpreted the observation to refer to the Messiah. In Matthew that idea occurs to Herod only. It may also be correct exegesis to suppose that the evangelist knew that Saturn was regarded as in a special sense the star of Israel, though Ptolemy assigns that honour to Aries and Mars. The investigation of the particular phenomenon which would be interpreted in the sense required can, however, have little value either for exegesis or for history. Astrology has never been an exact science, and even in a given age and country its votaries have made very discrepant predictions. To attempt to reconstitute the phenomenon from the interpretation, especially when we have no direct information of the system used, may be interesting as a *tour de force*, but is hazardous in the extreme, in spite of all the learning that our author has brought to bear.

The concluding chapter, which discusses the date of the crucifixion, has no connexion with the rest of the book. Here the author has deserved well of posterity by having observations of the moon's *phasis* made in Syria and Palestine, but he dismisses too lightly the received interpretation of St John's Gospel, which places the crucifixion on Nisan 14, and seems to make rather too much of the mere age of the moon independently of other astronomical considerations. His date—A. D. 30—is not to be regarded as definitive.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

Novum Testamentum Graece: textum recensuit, apparatus criticum ex editionibus et codicibus manuscriptis collectum addidit HENR. JOS. VOGELS. *Editio Altera.* (Schwann, Düsseldorf, 1922.)

Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine: textum Graecum recensuit, apparatus criticum ex editionibus et codicibus manuscriptis collectum addidit, textum Latinum ex Vulgata Versione Sixti V Pont. Max. iussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita repetiit HENR. JOS. VOGELS. *Pars Prima: Evangelia et Actus Apostolorum. Pars Secunda: Epistolae et Apocalypsis.* (Schwann, Düsseldorf, 1922.)

THE first edition of Vogels's Greek New Testament appeared as recently as the early summer of 1920, and was reviewed in the JOURNAL in January 1921 (vol. xxii p. 174 f). That a new edition should have been required two years after the first is sufficient proof of the merits of the work. The text as now issued has been only slightly altered, but the apparatus has been substantially enlarged and improved. The preface has been turned from German into Latin by the accomplished Munich Latinist, Prof. Carl Weyman. The book is most heartily to be commended to students of the Greek New Testament, especially on account of the admirable critical apparatus: I am still of opinion that the best *text* obtainable is that of Westcott and Hort. Let the student therefore use the two editions together.

The book has also been simultaneously issued with the Sixto-Clementine text of the Vulgate on the opposite page. Nestle managed to combine the two in one volume by using very thin paper: the result was, however, a somewhat dumpy little book. Vogels's page is larger, and his paper thicker. He has thus required two volumes, but the *format* is very attractive. The references to parallel passages are given at the foot of the page. Pending the publication of the results of the work of the Benedictines at Rome, a new critical edition of the Vulgate New Testament is not to be looked for.

A. SOUTER.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1923 (Vol. xcvi, No. 191 : S.P.C.K.). LORD PHILLIMORE The law of Divorce—C. W. EMMET Belief in Christ—F. E. BARKER The religious poetry of Richard Crashaw—G. H. S. WALPOLE The Church in America—R. HANSON History and the 'historic' Jesus—W. M. PRYKE The present value of the earliest Christian apologetic—J. C. DU BUISSON A French hermit of the Sahara—H. L. GOUDGE The Lord of thought—A. CALDECOTT Sir Henry Jones's Gifford Lectures—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1923 (Vol. xxi, No. 3 : Williams & Norgate). J. S. HALDANE Natural Science and Religion—J. HUXLEY Progress : biological and other—O. LODGE The effort of evolution—E. BARKER Until teachers are kings—G. M. SARGEANT Two studies in Plato's *Laws*—H. B. SMITH The reviving interest in religious education—H. W. HOUSEHOLD Teaching through the mother tongue—A. ROBERTSON Revelation and Relativity : how it strikes a bishop—E. Y. MULLINS The contribution of Baptists to the interpretation of Christianity—E. S. P. HAYNES Enemies of liberty—E. F. CARRITT A theory of the ludicrous—V. BARTLET Christian Ethics : their distinctive quality and present rôle—M. L. BONHAM, Jr. Spiritual conditions in Canada viewed across the border—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, April 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 148 : Hodder & Stoughton). O. C. WHITEHOUSE The historical background of the deuterо-Isaiah—W. P. MERRIL An evolutionist at Calvary—A. C. WELCH A Zealot pamphlet—P. T. FORSYTH The preaching of Jesus and the Gospel of Christ—H. L. TOWNSEND The gospel of evidence.

May 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 149). O. C. WHITEHOUSE The historical background of the deuterо-Isaiah—A. C. WELCH On the present position of Old Testament criticism—J. H. LECKIE The teaching of John MacLeod Campbell—E. A. ROBERTSON and J. A. ROBERTSON Jesus the lawbreaker—S. TONKIN Some unlit lamps—W. H. STEELE Hosanna.

June 1923 (Eighth Series, No. 150). J. MOFFATT In memoriam : W. Robertson Nicoll—O. C. WHITEHOUSE The historical background of the deuterо-Isaiah—A. M. POPE Paul's address before the Council at Jerusalem—H. J. FLOWERS Jesus and baptism—J. R. MANTEY Unusual meanings for prepositions in the Greek New Testament—W. EWING The sign of Jonah.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Journal of Religion, May 1923 (Vol. iii, No. 3: University of Chicago Press). C. J. CADOUX The Christian concern with history—S. J. CASE The art of healing in early Christian times—K. J. SAUNDERS Buddhism in China: a historical sketch—W. J. MUTCH What is Christian education?—E. B. HARPER Social re-education and nervous disorders—A. M. SANFORD Did Jesus call himself the Son of Man? another point of view.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1923 (Vol. xxi, No. 2: Princeton University Press). R. D. WILSON The origin of the ideas of Daniel—W. H. JOHNSON Is God almighty?—T. WHALING Adoption—O. T. ALLIS 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever'—E. E. EELLS Protestantism and property—H. K. W. KUMM Ramon Lul—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, May 1923 (Vol. xxxv, No. 2: Abbaye de Maredsous). A. VAN HOONACKER La vision de l'*ep̄ha* dans Zach. v 5 ss.—D. DE BRUYNE Deux feuillets d'un texte préhiéronymien des Évangiles—P. LEHMANN Zur Kenntniss der Schriften des Dionysius Areopagita im Mittelalter—A. WILMART Les livres légués par Célestin II à Città-di-Castello—G. MORIN La Constitution de Francfort, 11 févr. 1234—L. GILLET Note sur les *Nomina sacra* en paléoslave-ecclesiastique—Comptes rendus.

Revue Biblique, April 1923 (Vol. xxxii, No. 2: V. Lecoffre, Paris). M. J. LAGRANGE Vers le Logos de saint Jean—P. DHORME L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien—A. ROYET Un manuscrit palimpseste de la Vulgate hiéronymienne des évangiles—E. PODECHARD Notes sur les Psaumes: Psaume lxxiii—Mélanges—Chronique—Recensions.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Vol. xvi, No. 1: Louvain, Librairie Universitaire, 1923. Bibliographie de 1914-1919.

April 1923 (Vol. xix, No. 2: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). P. GUILLOUX L'évolution religieuse de Tertullien—J. DE GHELLINCK Un évêque bibliophile au xiv^e siècle: Richard Aungerville de Bury (1345)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana (Vol. xli, Nos. 1 and 2: A. Picard, Paris). M. BLOCH La vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare—P. PEETERS À propos de l'Évangile arabe de l'Enfance: le manuscrit de J. Golius—A. COULON Notes d'iconographie chrétienne d'après les sceaux des archives de Zurich—R. LECHAT La 'Conversion' de S. André Avellin—C. BECCARI I resti mortali del B. Antonio Baldinucchi—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. ciii, Nos. 3 & 4: H. Laupp, Tübingen). RIESSLER Joseph und Asenath—VOGELS Die Johanneszitate bei Lucifer von Calaris—ADAM Der Weg der erfahrungsmässigen Gotteserkenntnis—DURST Die Frage der Armenseelenanrufung in der theologischen Summe des hl. Thomas von Aquin—Rezensionen.

LEXICON OF PATRISTIC GREEK

Of the following notes, the first, that on 'Αδάμ, is a specimen article in the form intended for the Lexicon of Patristic Greek, the others are collections of materials which will be compressed in the Lexicon itself. Criticisms or additional information will be welcomed by the editor of the Lexicon, Dr Stone, Pusey House, Oxford.

'Αδάμ.

I. *Adam*, the first man, said to be derived (1) from $\Delta\eta\varsigma$ *man* Or. *Cels.* 4. 40 καθ' Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ὁ 'Αδ. ἀνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσι περὶ τοῦ 'Αδ. εἶναι φυσιολογεῖ Μωϋσῆς τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσεως : 7. 50. therefore ὅλος ὁ 'Αδ. signifies mankind as a unity Mac. *hom.* 12. 13 συναγομένων ὅλων τῶν φυλῶν τῆς γῆς ὅλου τοῦ 'Αδ. : 15. 36 πενθούσι . . . ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὅλον τὸν 'Αδ., ἐπειδὴ μία ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων : 19. 8.

or (2) from $\Pi\tau\tau\iota\varsigma$ *the ground* *cp. Barn.* 6. 9 ἀνθρωπος . . . γῇ ἐστὶν πάσχοῦσα· ἀπὸ προσώπου γὰρ τῆς γῆς ἡ πλάσις τοῦ 'Αδάμ ἐγένετο. Eus. *p. e.* 7. 8 Vig. 307 C 'Αδ. . . ὄνομα τὸν γηγενῆ δηλοῦν κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μετάληψιν. Gr. Nyss. *hom. op.* 22 (Paris 1638 I. 101 C) \mathfrak{M} . 44. 204 D. or (3) from $\Delta\eta\varsigma$ *red* Thdt. *in Heb.* on 13¹² τὸ ἐξ 'Αδ. σῶμα τὸ ἐρυθρὸν σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα τῇ Ἑβραίων φωνῇ. or (4) from the red earth in Eden ($\iota\tau\tau$) Diod. ap. Thdt. *Gen.* 25 'Αδάμ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐν Ἑδὲμ γεγενῆσθαι προσηγορεύθη· Ἑδὼμ γὰρ τὸ πυρρόν (confusion of $\iota\tau\tau$ Eden, through Ἑδέμ of LXX and $\Delta\iota\tau\tau$ Edom, cf. Gen. 25³⁰).

or (5) from the four quarters of the earth Severian. *Gab. de mundi creat.* 5. 3 inter opp. Chr. 6. 483 B ἐπεὶ . . . προῆδει θεὸς ὅτι ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἀνθρωπέου σώματος πληροῦται τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πέρατα . . . ἔθηκεν ὄνομα ἄξιον τοῦ πράγματος· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ 'Αδ. τὸ ὄνομα ἀρραβὼν τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔμελλε τὰ τέσσαρα κλίματα ἐξ αὐτοῦ πληροῦσθαι τίθησι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ 'Αδ., ἄλφα ἀνατολή, δέλτα δύσις, ἄλφα ἄρκτος, μὴ μεσημβρία. described as made by God in His image, sinless but not perfect, capable of sin, able to keep or receive immortality or death, sinning by his own choice through the temptation of the devil, through his sin marring or losing the image of God and coming under the sway of death, transmitting to his descendants the inheritance of loss and death Justin *ap.* 1. 10. 2 : *dial.* 5. 5 : 88. 4 : 94. 2 : 103. 6 : 124. 3, 4. Justin (?) *res.* 7. Tat. *orat.* 7. Theoph. Ant. *Autol.* 2. 27 οὕτε . . . ἀθάνατον . . . οὕτε . . . θνητὸν ἀλλὰ . . . δεκτικὸν ἀμφοτέρων. Iren. 3. 18. 1 : 4. 38. 1 ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς μὲν οἷός τε ἦν παρασχεῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ τέλειον, ὁ δὲ ἀνθρωπος ἀδύνατος λαβεῖν αὐτό, νήπιος γὰρ ἦν : 5. 16. 3 : 5. 21. 1 : 5. 34. 2. Clem. *Str.* 6. 12 (96. 1, 2) meets

the dilemma *εἰ μὲν ἀτελής, πῶς τελείου θεοῦ ἀτελὲς τὸ ἔργον καὶ μάλιστα ἄνθρωπος; εἰ δὲ τέλειος, πῶς παραβαίνει τὰς ἐντολάς;* by replying *τέλειος κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἐγένετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτήδειος*: in most places Clem. does not appear to allow for any inheritance by Adam's descendants of results of his sin, but this inheritance seems asserted in *protr.* 11 (111. 1) *ὁ πρῶτος* [i. e. Adam] *ἐν παραδείσῳ ἔπαιζε λελυμένος, ἐπεὶ παιδίον ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτε δὲ ὑποπίπτων ἡδονῇ . . . παρήγετο ἐπιθυμίαις, ὁ παῖς ἀνδριζόμενος ἀπειθείᾳ καὶ παρακούσας τοῦ πατρὸς ἡσχύνετο τὸν θεόν . . . ὁ δὲ ἀπλότῃτα λελυμένος ἄνθρωπος* [i. e. mankind in general, as following words shew] *ἁμαρτίας εὐρέθη δεδεμένος τῶν δεσμῶν λύσαι τοῦτον ὁ κύριος αὐθις ἠθέλησεν καὶ σαρκὶ ἐνδεθεῖς . . . ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἡδονῇ πεπλανημένον, τὸν τῇ φθορᾷ δεδεμένον, χερσὶν ἡπλωμέναις ἔδειξε λελυμένον.* Or. *in Ro.* 5. 1 (betw. A. D. 244 and 249) and *Cels.* 7. 50 (c. A. D. 249) speaks of Adam as source of sin and death (? relation of these passages to theory of pre-existence in *de princ.* 3. 5. 4 &c. c. A. D. 230). *Method. Symph.* 9. 2: *de autex.* 16. 2: *de resur.* 55. 1. *Ath. inc.* 3-6. *Ath. (?) c. Apoll.* 1. 15: 2. 6. *Cyr. H. cat.* 12. 7: 13. 2. *Bas. in Ps.* 48. 8: *hom. temp. fam. et sicc.* 7: *serm. de renunc. saec.* 7: *ep.* 261. 2. *Gr. Naz. orat.* 33. 9: 38. 11-13. *Gr. Nyss. de anim. et res.* (Paris 1638 3. 217 D) *M.* 46. 81 B: *de virg.* 12 (Paris 1638 3. 148 A) *M.* 46. 369 C. *C. A.* 8. 12, 16, 17, 19. not ignorant of anything *hom. Clem.* 3. 18 *ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἡγνόει.* idea of his original knowledge and goodness extended so as to represent him (1) complete in intelligence at his creation *Cyr. in Io.* on 9^o *ὁ προπάτωρ Ἀδ. οὐκ ἐν χρόνῳ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς τὸ εἶναι σοφὸς ἀποκερδάνας ὁρᾶται ἀλλ' ἐκ πρώτων εὐθὺς τῶν τῆς γενέσεως χρόνων τέλειος ἐν συνέσει φαίνεται.* (2) complete in virtue at his creation *Io. Dam. f. o.* 2. 12 *πάσῃ ἀρετῇ κατηγγαῖσμενον, πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς κομῶντα* (these words added by *Io. Dam.* in his reproduction of *Gr. Naz. orat.* 38. 11).

II. opinion of Tatian following Gnostic depreciation of OT that Adam was not saved rejected by *Iren.* 1. 28. 1: 3. 23. 1, 2. *Hipp. ref.* 8. 16. *Epiph.* 46. 2. his salvation asserted *Or. in Mat. comm. ser.* 126. *Gr. Naz. orat.* 24. 4. delivered by Christ in His descent to Hades (cf. *ᾄδης*) *Ev. Nic.* 2. 8. 1, 2. *Hipp. ap. Thdt. Eran.* 2. *Schulz.* 4. 131. [*Gr. Thaum.*] *in omni. sanct.* *M.* 10. 1201 B. *Mac. hom.* 11. 10. *Thdt. in Is.* on 7¹⁴. buried at Calvary (against usual but not universal Western tradition of Hebron) *Or. in Matt. comm. ser.* 126. [*Ath.*] *de pass. et cruc. dom.* 12. *M.* 28. 208 A. [*Ath.*] *g. ad Antioch.* 47. *M.* 28. 628 B. *Bas. (?) in Is.* on 5¹. *Epiph.* 46. 5. *Chr. in Io.* 85. 1 (τινὲς φασιν). *Bas. Sel. orat.* 38. 3. *M.* 85. 410 A. *Anast. Sin. hex.* 7. *M.* 89. 944 D.

III. **Manichaean opinion that Adam was created by the ἄρχοντες.** Hegem. *act. Arch.* 12 (30) περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀδ. πῶς ἐκτίσθη λέγει οὕτως· ὅτι ὁ εἰπὼν, δεῦτε καὶ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἢ καθ' ἣν εἶδομεν μορφήν, ἄρχων ἐστίν, ὁ εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐτέροις ἄρχουσιν ὅτι, δεῦτε, δότε μοι ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς οὐ ἐλάβομεν καὶ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν ἡμῶν, τῶν ἀρχόντων, μορφήν, καθ' ἣν εἶδομεν, ὁ ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος· καὶ οὕτως ἐκτίσε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. τὴν δὲ Εὐὰν ὁμοίως ἐκτίσαν δόντες αὐτῇ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατῆσαι τὸν Ἀδ., καὶ διὰ τούτων γέγονεν ἡ πλάσις τοῦ κόσμου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος δημιουργίας.

IV. **the second Adam Christ as recovering what Adam had lost** and as the source of new life to Christians, based on 1 Cor. 15⁴⁵ ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδ. which may be influenced by Jewish phraseology such as that in Philo's distinction of ὁ οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγωνῶς, ἰδέα τις ἢ γένος ἢ σφραγίς, νοητός, ἀσώματος, οὐτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, ἀφθαρτος φύσει (Gen. 1²⁷) from ὁ γήινος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ νῦν πλασθεὶς, αἰσθητός, μετέχων ποιότητος, ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστώς, ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, φύσει θνητός (Gen. 2⁷) in *de leg. alleg.* 1. 12, 13: *de mund. orif.* 46. cf. Ro. 5¹⁴; 1 Cor. 15⁴⁷ ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος. expressed in general terms Iren. 3. 22. 3. Method. *symp.* 3. 4, 6, 8. Mac. *hom.* 11. 6. Chr. in Ro. 10. 1. expressed in specific phrases (1) ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδ. Or. in Ro. 5. 1 (novissimum Adam). Chr. in 1 Cor. 41. 3. (2) ὁ δεύτερος Ἀδ. Iren. 5. 16. 3. [Gr. Thaum.] in *omn. sanct.* 22. 10. 1201 B. Ath.(?) c. *Apoll.* 1. 8; 2. 10. Thdt. in 1 Cor. on 15⁴⁵. (3) ὁ νέος Ἀδ. Gr. Naz. *orat.* 30. 1. (4) ὁ ἐπουράνιος Ἀδ. Gr. Naz. *orat.* 33. 9.

V. **human nature taken by Christ** [Method.] *de Sim. et A.* 3 μονογενῇ τοῦ πατρὸς υἱὸν . . . κάτω ἐκ παρθενικῆς παστάδος νυμφικῶς ἐνώσαντα ἐαυτῷ τὸν Ἀδ. ἀτρεπῶς: in *ram. palm.* 6. cf. Method. *symp.* 3, 4, 6 where however the idea seems rather to be an assumption of Adam himself by Christ: cf. Hipp. ap. Thdt. *Eran.* 2. Schulz. 4. 132 ὁ . . . πρωτότοκος λόγος τὸν πρωτόπλαστον Ἀδ. ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπισκεπτόμενος, and the exaggeration of this ascribed to the Symmachiani by Mar. Vict. in *Gal.* on 1¹⁹ Symmachiani . . . etiam Iesum Christum fatentur, dicunt enim eum ipsum Adam esse et esse animam generalem et alia huiusmodi blasphema.

Cf. Ἀδάμας, πατήρ, προπάτωρ, πρωτόγονος, πρωτοπάτωρ, πρωτόπλαστος, πρωτότοκος, τετραγράμματος.

D. S.

HADES IN THE GREEK FATHERS.

THE word ᾠδης is derived originally from Greek mythology. In early Greek it meant the Lord of the Underworld; later on, the Underworld itself was sometimes referred to by that name. After Homer, ᾠδης is found, apparently only in poetry, as the equivalent of Death.¹ Thus when the Hebrew Bible came to be translated into Greek, ᾠδης was the natural word to express *הַיְדוֹת* and other Hebrew words that denote the abode of the departed or death: and so it is used throughout the LXX. In the New Testament the word is employed just as in the LXX, which was the Bible of most of its different authors. In both LXX and N. T. the precise sense of ᾠδης varies as does the particular conception of *הַיְדוֹת* in any given passage.

I. 1. In several places the Fathers have occasion to refer to the pagan underworld. Aristides 11. 3 is interesting because of his date and nationality: [Ἀφροδίτῃ] ἦν λέγουσιν καὶ εἰς Ἄιδου καταβαίνειν ὅπως ἐξαγοράσῃ τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀπὸ τῆς Περσεφόνης. Clement of Alexandria, who quotes many otherwise unknown fragments of Euripides, preserves, *Strom.* 5. 11 (70. 3, 5),

σοὶ τῷ πάντων μεδέοντι χοῆν
πέλανόν τε φέρω, Ζεὺς, εἴτ' Ἄϊδης
ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις' . . .

σὺ γὰρ ἐν τε θεοῖς τοῖς οὐρανίδαις
σκήπτρον τὸ Διὸς μεταχειρίζεις
χθονίων τ' Ἄϊδι μετέχεις ἀρχῆς.

Hippolytus *Philos.* 1. 19. 11 is important because his own views are profoundly influenced by the Greek views of the underworld: κρίσεις φησὶν [*sc.* Plato] εἶναι μετὰ τελευτὴν καὶ ἐν Ἄιδου δικαστήρια. Origen *Cels.* 2. 16 also refers to Plato's *Republic X*.

2. The whole conception of future life in the Clementine Homilies seems to contain a strong element of what is characteristically pagan; which is interesting in view of their supposedly Elkesaite and Christianized Essene connexions, and of Josephus's statement (*Bell. Iud.* 2. 8. 11) about some at least of the Essenes that they believed in a doctrine of the immortality of the soul similar to that of the Greeks. In 2. 13 it is stated that the object of the soul's immortality is ἵν' ὁ μὲν κακὸς ἐν ᾠδῃ γενόμενος, ὡς ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαβών, ἐκεῖ περὶ ὧν ἡμαρτεν κολάσθῃ, ὁ

¹ See L. & S. (especially in the forthcoming edition).

δὲ ἀγαθός, ἐνταῦθα περὶ ὧν ἡμαρτεν κολασθεῖς, ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐν κόλποις δικαίων ἀγαθῶν κληρονόμος καταστῇ (cf. Lk. 16^{23, 25}). So 11. 10 οὐ γὰρ δώσει τῷ βλασφήμῳ οὐχ ἥλιος τὸ φῶς [sc. here on earth] . . . οὐκ ἐν ᾧδῇ τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ ἐκεῖ καθεστὼς ἄρχων τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν. With this compare *acta Thomae* 21, where a dying man who thinks himself bewitched says to the king, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπέλθῃς τῇ τιμωρίᾳ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ μάγου, οὐκ ἀναπαύσεις μου τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς ᾧδου. There is something here that recalls Palinurus and his companions; 'centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum'.

The constitution of Hades in the universe does not essentially differ from that believed in by the Jews; *Clem. Hom.* 3. 32 [sc. θεῶ] τῷ . . . οὐρανὸν δημιουργήσαντι, γῆν πλώσαντι, θάλασσαν περιορίσαντι, τὰ ἐν ᾧδῇ ταμιεύσαντι καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀέρι πληρώσαντι (cf. 3. 33 τὰ ἐν ᾧδῇ ταμιεύει, ψυχῶν χώρον ὀνομάσας). But more mythological explanations are proffered by opposition interlocutors, of which one of the least fantastic occurs at 6. 24 οὐ τὸ πᾶν περιέχον ὄρατον κύτος οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ ᾧδῇ σαρρέουσα ὑποστάθμη, οὐ τὸ ἐπιπολάζον ὕδωρ, οὐχ ἡ ζέουσα οὐσία, οὐχ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς μέχρι τῶν ἐνταῦθα διήκων ἀήρ. There does not seem to be any hint in the homilies of any belief in an intermediate state; though a future last judgement is referred to, yet the state of a soul after death seems to be permanent.

II. 1. Hades is next used to denote an intermediate local habitation for the souls of all the departed. In determining the earliest passage in which it is so employed we meet with the difficulty that, while Sheol (translated by ᾧδης) is generally recognized by the Fathers to have been an intermediate abode for all souls that died before Christ, yet they differ widely in their views of the permanent character of Hades and consequently of the effect of Christ's resurrection upon the place of souls departed since that event. Thus the many passages in which Ps. 16¹⁰ is quoted of Christ (such as *Iren.* 3. 12. 2; *Hipp. adv. Iud.* 3; *Clem. Strom.* 6. 6 (49. 3); *Or. Cels.* 2. 62; *Cyr. H. Cat.* 14. 4; *Ath. Ar.* 2. 16, &c.) throw no light upon the problem of the present state of the dead; nor does *Polyc. Phil.* 1 ὃν ἡγείρεν ὁ θεὸς λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ ᾧδου [Ac. 2²⁴]; and there is also some doubt of Justin's view (*Dial.* 99) when he states the expectation of the Jews concerning Jesus that he would ὡς κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ᾧδου μένειν, though in view of *Dial.* 5 it is possible that he did indeed regard this Hades as the still-existing intermediate place for all souls until the last judgement.

This view of Hades was certainly held by Irenaeus and Hippolytus. So Irenaeus 5. 31. 2 (where no doubt *inferos* represents ᾧδης, as at 4. 27. 1 [42. 4] 'ea quae sunt sub terra' must represent τὰ καταχθόνια), 'quomodo non confundantur qui dicunt *inferos* quidem esse hunc mundum qui sit secundum nos, interiorem autem hominem ipsorum

derelinquentem hic corpus in supercaelestem ascendere locum? cum enim Dominus *in medio umbrae mortis abierit* [Ps. 23⁴] ubi animae mortuorum erant . . . manifestum est quia et discipulorum eius, propter quos et haec operatus est Dominus, αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὸν (invisibilem) τόπον τὸν ὠρισμένον αὐταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κακεῖ μέχρι τῆς ἀναστάσεως φοιτῶσι. So still more explicitly in deductions drawn from the parable of Dives 2. 34. 1 [55. 1].

Hippolytus's fragment *adv. Graecos* is a little treasury of information about his conceptions of the lower world and the last things: *adv. Graec.* 2 οὗτος ὁ περὶ ᾧδου λόγος, ἐν ᾧ αἱ ψυχαὶ πάντων κατέχονται ἄχρι καιροῦ ὃν ὁ θεὸς ὥρῃσεν ἀνάστασιν τότε πάντων ποιησόμενος. With him Hades is underground, with one gate, under the guardianship of an archangel. Once through this gate, the souls are parted. To the right, angels conduct the righteous to 'Abraham's bosom', a spot replete with light and bliss and the expectancy of heaven. To the left, angels of punishment drag the wicked with force and threats to a spot on the confines of the burning lake of Gehenna, where yet the sight of the righteous in bliss increases their woe, since a deep and vast abyss separates them from the latter.

After Hippolytus there would seem to be a gap, save for Gregory of Nyssa (see next section), until Procopius of Gaza *in Prov.* 15¹¹ (ᾧδης καὶ ἀπώλεια, φανερὰ παρὰ Κυρίῳ), M 87. 1373 B. It is possible that fresh information may bridge this gap. Procopius describes Hades as ὁ ἀφανὴς τόπος ἐν ᾧ μετὰ διάλευξιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων διάγουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως.

Clearly this quasi-Classical use of the word Hades is rare and abnormal in the Greek Fathers.

2. Gregory of Nyssa, alone, apparently, of important Fathers, regards Hades not as a local habitation but as a spiritual intermediate state for departed souls. It is necessary to quote him therefore at some length. The passages in which he states his doctrine are, first, *de An. et Res.* M 46. 68 A, B Γ. ποῦ ἐκεῖνο τὸ πολυθρύλλητον τοῦ ᾧδου ὄνομα . . . εἰς ὃ πάντες οἴονται καθάπερ δοχεῖον ἐνθένδε τὰς ψυχὰς μετανίστασθαι; . . . M. . . τὴν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρωμένου πρὸς τὸ ἀειδὲς μετὰστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς εἰπουσα, οὐδὲν ὧμην ἀπολελοιπέναι εἰς τὸ περὶ τοῦ ᾧδου ζητούμενον. οὐδὲν ἄλλο τί μοι δοκεῖ παρὰ τε τῶν ἐξωθεν καὶ παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο διασημαίνεω, ἐν ᾧ τὰς ψυχὰς γίνεσθαι λέγουσι, πλὴν εἰς τὸ ἀειδὲς καὶ ἀφανὲς μεταχώρησιν: and secondly, *ib.* 85 B εἰκὸς δῆπου καὶ τὸν μνημονευθέντα νῦν ᾧδην μὴ τόπον τινὰ οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον οἶεσθαι ἀλλὰ τινα κατὰστασιν ζωῆς ἀειδῆ καὶ ἀσώματον ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐμβιοτεύειν παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἐκδιδασκόμεθα. His teaching is echoed in the very late writers Theophylact (*in Luc.* 16. 419), M 123. 977 B, and Theophanes (*Hom.* 8. 50), M 132. 260 C, 261.

3. In a few passages, in connexion with the parable of Dives, the

question is discussed of the nature of the departed soul. Irenaeus 2. 34. 1 (see II 1 above) draws the conclusion that souls possess *hominis figuram*. Origen (who, it is true, held a very different view of Hades [see below IV 1], but at least regarded it as one of several intermediate abodes) goes rather further, stating (ap. Method. *de Res.* 3. 17. 5, *Gr. C. S.* p. 414, a passage recovered from Photius), that Dives and Lazarus *πρὸ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενόμενοι, καὶ λεγόμενοι ὁ μὲν ἐν ᾿Αϊδου κολάζεσθαι ὁ δὲ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ ἀναπαύεσθαι, διδάσκουσιν ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ σώματι χρῆται ἡ ψυχὴ*. To this Methodius, in the same context, *de Res.* 3. 18. 4, 5, replies, *αἱ δὲ ψυχαὶ . . . σώματα νοερά ὑπάρχουσιν, εἰς λόγῳ θεωρητὰ μέλη διακεκόσμηται . . . ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾿Αϊδι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λαζάρου καὶ τοῦ πλουσίου, καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ δάκτυλον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέλη ἰστοροῦνται ἔχειν, οὐχ ὡς σώματος ἐτέρου συνυπάρχοντος αὐταῖς αἰετοῦς, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐταὶ φύσει αἱ ψυχαί, παντὸς ἀπογυμνωθεῖσαι περιβλήματος, τοιαῦται κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ὑπάρχουσιν*. For this conception of a *σῶμα αἰεδές* compare Methodius *de Res.* 2. 28. 5 (*Gr. C. S.* p. 385), where Origen is said to have derived *ᾄδης* from *αἰεδής*: *ᾄδην δὲ . . . παρὰ τὸ αἰεδές, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁράσθαι, καθάπερ ἐλέχθη καὶ Ὀριγένηι*. And finally, Gregory of Nyssa, *Hom. or.* 27. 2, *W* 44. 225 c, remarks, *τὸ γὰρ ἐπιδιαμένειν τινὰ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ μετὰ τὴν διάλυσιν σημεῖα τοῦ ἡμετέρου συγκρίματος δείκνυναι ὁ κατὰ τὸν ᾄδην διάλογος, τῶν μὲν σωμάτων τῷ τάφῳ παραδοθέντων, γνωρίσματος δὲ τινος σωματικοῦ ταῖς ψυχαῖς παραμείναντος*.

III. 1. We turn now to the more distinctively Hebrew and Jewish conception of Hades, or rather of Sheol. It was situated under the earth, or the sea, or both. Clement of Rome twice quotes the word from Num. 16^{30, 33}, e.g. 51. 4 *κατέβησαν γὰρ εἰς ᾄδου ζῶντες*. Hippolytus *adv. Iud.* 3 interprets "μηδὲ καταπιέτω με βυθός" [Ps. 69¹⁵], *τούτέστιν, ὁ ᾄδης*. Origen in *Ioh.* 19. 21, 140 expressly says *οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς, εἰς ᾄδου*. (Origen also believed in a paradise for righteous souls which he located somewhere upon the earth's surface, *de Princ.* 2. 11. 6.) Hades is sometimes identified with 'the abyss'; for instance, in Origen *Engastr.* ii 496 (*W* 12. 1024 D) *ἰδὼν τὴν τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἀμφέβαλλε καὶ τάχα ἠπίσται, διὸ οὗτος ἔνδοξος* [Isa. 5¹⁴] *καὶ μέχρους ᾄδου καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀβύσσου κατελεύσεται*: *διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγε Σὺ εἰ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν*; and in Eusebius *Eccles. Theol.* 3. 3. 16 *ἔοικεν γοῦν ἐν τούτοις* [*sc.* Rom. 10^{6, 7}] *τὰ τοῦ ᾄδου χωρία κεκληκέναι ἀβυσσον*. The apocryphal *act. And. et Mat.* 31 have an interesting account of a rather mythological-sounding flood which was afterwards re-engulfed; *εἰς τὴν ἀβυσσον πορευθῆς . . . καὶ μείνητε ἐν τῷ ᾄδι . . . καὶ ἀνεψῆθη ἡ γῆ καὶ κατέπιε τὸ ὕδωρ σὺν τῷ γηραιῷ* (to whom the first words quoted are addressed by the apostle). In *act. Phil.* 132 (Bonnet, p. 64³) there is an obvious imitation of the Dathan and Abiram incident: *ἀνοίξάτω*

ὁ μέγας ᾠδης τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἡ ἄβυσσος ἡ μεγάλη. And in Cyril of Alexandria in *Ioh.* 11. 2 (on 16¹⁶) Hades and the abyss are used interchangeably.

2. To this abode it is generally stated that all souls went before Christ. For instance, *ev. Nic.* II 2. 1 ἦμεν ἐν τῷ ᾠδῃ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος κεκοιμημένων: *Test. Abr.* text A 8 οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὐας πάντες ἀπέθανον; . . . πάντες ἀπέθανον, πάντες ἐν τῷ ᾠδῃ κατηλλάξαντο: *Ath. Ar.* 1. 43 εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἄνθρωπος ὁ Κύριος ἐγεγόνει, οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτιῶν λυτρωθέντες ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστημεν ἀλλ' ἐμένομεν ὑπὸ γῆν νεκροί, οὐδ' ἂν ὑψώθημεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀλλ' ἐκείμεθα ἐν τῷ ᾠδῃ: Theodoret *Eran.* 3 (Schulze iv 199) κατελθόντι τῷ Ἀδὰμ εἰς τὸν ᾠδῃ ἠκολούθησαν οἱ μετασχόντες τῆς φύσεως.

But from this view Clement of Alexandria and his successor Origen dissented. The reason was that they considered Hades to be a definite place of punishment for grave sin to which the souls of the prophets could not be supposed to have been committed. Clement puts this point in *Strom.* 6. 6 (45. 2-3) οἱ ἐν ᾠδου καταταγέντες καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες . . . ἐπεὶ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἐν μιᾷ καταδίκη καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαίων καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ὑπολάβοι εἶναι ψυχάς; Origen, in *Ierem.* 18. 2 (243) (on 18¹⁻¹⁶) says, Σαμουήλ, ἥνικα ἐδιδάχθη τὰ καταχθόνια, καταβέβηκε κάτω καὶ γέγονεν ἐν ᾠδου, οὐ δικαζόμενος ἵνα ἐν ᾠδου γένηται, ἀλλ' ἵνα γένηται κατὰσκοπος καὶ θεωρητὴς τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν καταχθονίων. He is forcibly attacked by Eustathius of Antioch, *de Engastr.* 17 (M 18. 649 B), εἰδεινοποιεῖ δὲ δημαγωγῶν, ὅτι φάσκουσι [*sc.* the orthodox] πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς εἶη φρικῶδες ὑπολαβεῖν ἐν ᾠδου γεγενῆσθαι τὸν εὐκλεῆ Σαμουήλ.

3. Nevertheless, the orthodox believed existence in Hades to have been a spiritual death, and would no doubt have replied (as Athanasius, quoted above, does suggest) that but for Christ's work all men would have been lost eternally, since all, even the prophets, need the redemption of Christ and the saving faith of the gospel. This is clear as early as *Hermas*, *S.* 9. 15-16. (He does not use the name Hades but calls it ὁ βυθός.) All the righteous of the first and second generations, and God's prophets and ministers, had gone down, but having of necessity not received the seal, were spiritually dead. They rose again from the βυθός when they had received the seal from the apostles who went down (themselves spiritually alive) to give it them: οὗτοι ζῶντες κατέβησαν, καὶ πάλιν ζῶντες ἀνέβησαν· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν. This fact is expressed very generally in the Fathers by describing Hades as a place of darkness, bonds, and corruption. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6. 6 (44. 3), indeed expressly interprets the bonds and darkness metaphorically of the spirit; Origen would probably have done so too; compare *de Princ.* 2. 10. 8: but this does not alter the effect. Otherwise the context usually suggests a more

literal interpretation. Thus corruption is implied by Origen in *Ioh.* 28. 7. 55 (on 11^{43f}) νόμισον εἶναι ἐν ᾧδου μετὰ τῶν σκίων καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ νεκρῶν ἢ μνημείοις, and by Methodius *de Sim. et Anna* 9, M 18. 372 B, τὴν κατὰδυσιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰς ᾧδην καὶ παράδοξον ἀνάρρυσιν τῶν ἐν φθόρᾳ κατεχομένων: darkness and confinement in *ev. Nic.* II 5. 3 εἰσῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος καὶ πάντα τὰ σκοτεινὰ τοῦ ᾧδου ἐφωτίσθησαν, *act. Thom.* 10 ὁ . . . ἔως τοῦ ᾧδου κατανήσας, ὃς καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγες ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς ἐγκεκλεισμένους πολλοῖς χρόνοις ἐν τῷ τοῦ σκότους ταμείῳ, Cyril of Jerusalem *Cat.* 14. 19 ἐξεπλάγῃ ὁ θάνατος θεωρήσας καινόν τινα κατελθόντα εἰς ᾧδην δεσμοῖς τοῖς αὐτόθι μὴ κατεχόμενον, Athanasius (?) *c. Apoll.* 1. 14, Chrysostom *de Coem. et Cruce* 2 (ii 399 B) ἐκείνο δὲ τοῦ ᾧδου τὸ χωρίον ζοφωδέστατον ἦν καὶ ἀτερπές, Cyril of Alexandria *c. Nest.* 5. 5, 136 D, [Amphilochius] *Or.* 5. 1.

IV. It is convenient to notice at this point how, from the foregoing conception of the pre-Christian Sheol, Hades came to be regarded as a synonym for Gehenna.

1. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6. 6 (48. 3), implies that after Christ had preached in Hades those who did not repent were left in that abode, which after all had in Clement's view never existed except for the non-righteous: οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν ᾿Αΐδου ἡ αὐτὴ γέγονεν οἰκονομία; ἵνα κακεῖ πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀκουσᾶσαι τοῦ κηρύγματος ἢ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐνδείξωνται ἢ τὴν κόλασιν δικαίαν εἶναι, δι' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν, ὁμολογήσωσιν. In this opinion he is followed by Origen, with whom Hades is always a place of punishment for sinners, though it is doubtful whether he would absolutely identify it with γέεννα; probably as he distinguishes paradise from heaven, and places intervening stages between them, and also reckons different grades of Gehenna, he should be supposed to differentiate between them. The following quotations give some idea of his views. In *Ioh.* 13. 37, 244 (on 4³⁴) τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ ἀρχὴ μὲν τοῦ εἶναι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἦν, τὸ τέλος δὲ διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τάχα ἐν ᾧδου κάτω ἢ τινι τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ: *sel. in Ps.* 9¹⁸ ὥσπερ ὁ παράδεισος τῶν δικαίων ἐστὶν οἰκητήριον, οὕτως ᾧδης τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν κολαστήριον: *frag. in Ioh.* 11² (*Gr. C. S. p.* 545, *frag.* 78) εἶποι δ' ἂν τις . . . σύμβολον εἶναι . . . [*sc.* Λάζαρον] τῶν διὰ τινα ἁμαρτήματα εἰς ᾧδου καταβεβηκότων κατὰ τὸ "ἀποστραφῆτωσαν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ εἰς τὸν ᾧδην" [*Ps.* 9¹⁷]: *de Princ.* 4. 3. 10 τάχα δὲ ὥσπερ οἱ ἐντεῦθεν κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα πεπραγμένων οἰκονομοῦνται, εἰ κριθεῖεν ἄξιοι τοῦ καλουμένου χωρίου ᾧδου, τόπων διαφόρων τυγχάνειν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων οὕτως οἱ ἐκεῖθεν [*sc.* the heavenly Jerusalem], ἢ οὕτως εἶπω, ἀποθνήσκοντες εἰς τὸν ᾧδην τοῦτον [*i. e.* this world] καταβαίνουσι, κρίνόμενοι ἄξιοι τῶν τοῦ παντὸς περιγείου τόπου διαφόρων οἰκητηρίων βελτιόνων ἢ χειρόνων. This looks as though Hades were with Origen a term of wider application than Gehenna. Hades has its own brand of evil spirits; *de Marl.* 18 οἱ ἐν ᾧδου include κάτω δυνάμεις αἱ

ἐπιχαιρεσικάκοι. (Eusebius *Dem. Ev.* 10. 8. 73, 90–93 has further and detailed information about these.) Finally, there is an interesting description of the gates of Hades, in *Matth.* 12. 12 ἐκάστη τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν δι' ὧν ἔστιν εἰς ᾧδου γενέσθαι πύλη ἔστιν ᾧδου, and, further on, ἕκαστος μὲν τῶν πατέρων μοχθηρὰς γνώμης ἀρχιτέκτων γέγονε πύλης τινὸς ᾧδου, and still further, ἕκαστος τῶν ἑτεροδόξων καὶ γεννησάντων ψευδώνυμόν τινα γνῶσιν ψυχοδόμησεν ᾧδου πύλην, ἄλλην μὲν Μαρκίων, καὶ Βασιλίδης ἄλλην, καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος ἄλλην.

2. From this position it was not far to the identification of Gehenna and Hades. It will be observed that Psalm 6⁶ (LXX) was not without influence in fixing the view that, ultimately, for the most part prevailed. [Justin] *Cohort. ad Graec.* 35 may refer to, though he does not quote, that psalm; εἰ εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν τρέπεσθαι νυνὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνων [sc. τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν] βούλεσθε πλάνης, οὗς εἰκὸς ἐν ᾧδου νυνὶ ἐκπρόθεσμον μετάνοιαν μετανοοῦντας ὁδύρεσθαι· οἷς εἰ δυνατόν ἦν ἐκείθεν δηλοῦν ὑμῖν τὰ μετὰ τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ βίου συμβεβηκότα αὐτοῖς, ἔγνωτε ἂν ὅσων ὑμᾶς ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν προείλοντο. The last sentence may refer to Dives and his brethren in the parable—another *locus classicus*. Hades is personified evil in *act. Xanth. et Polyx.* 8 ἐπεσκέψω γὰρ τοὺς εἰς ᾧδην ὡς εἰς καλὸν τρέχοντας, τοὺς τὸν σκόλιον δράκοντα καὶ φθορέα ὡς προνοητὴν καὶ προστάτην ἀναγορεύοντας. But it is expressly called γέεννα, for apparently the first time in extant literature, in Adamantius *Dial.* 2. 11. Marcus, the Marcionite interlocutor, tries to prove that Lk. 16 places Abraham in Hades instead of in the Kingdom of Heaven, because he held communication with and was visible to Dives, admittedly in Hades. Adamantius denies this interpretation altogether: the spiritual eye alone is meant. Hades is regarded as exclusively a place of punishment. Then Eutropius, the umpire, says, ὁ Χριστὸς ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ διδάσκων τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων ἐνταῦθα ὑποτίθεται τὸν πένητα καὶ τὸν πλούσιον. τί γὰρ ἕτερον ἔσται ἢ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἢ δηλονότι ἀγαθόν; ἢ τί ἕτερον ἔσται ἢ γέεννα καὶ ἢ καταδίκη εἰ μὴ κακόν; Hades is identified with Gehenna.

The following passages sufficiently explain themselves. Athanasius *ep. ad Epict.* 2 ἐκ μὲν γὰρ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται νόμος Θεοῦ καὶ λόγος Κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ· ταῦτα δὲ πόθεν ἐξήλθε; ποίους ᾧδης ἠρεῦξάτο ὁμοούσιον εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐκ Μαρίας σῶμα τῇ τοῦ λόγου θεότητι; Basil *Sr. Sanct.* 16. 40 (iii 34 E) τότε δὲ [sc. at the last judgement] ἐξ ὅλου τῆς βεβηλωσάσης αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ψυχῆς ἀποτμηθήσεται [sc. τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα]. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ᾧδῃ ὁ ἐξομολογούμενος [Ps. 6⁶] . . . οὐκέτι τῆς βοηθείας τοῦ πνεύματος συμπαρούσης. Basil *quod Deus non est auctor malorum* 5 (ii 77 A) οὐκ αὐτοὶ τι τῷ τοιαύτῳ τρόπῳ τῆς κολάσεως βελτίους γεγόνασι· πῶς γὰρ οἱ καταβάντες εἰς ᾧδου; (Dathan and Abiram). Again, in *Ps.* 48. 9 init. (on v. 15, ὡς πρόβατα ἐν ᾧδῃ ἔθετο) he describes Hades as the devil's own stronghold, ὁ διαρπάζων εἰς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἐχθρὸς ὢν, ᾧδῃ κατέβαλεν

εἰς τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ὀχύρωμα. Like other Fathers he admitted the existence of degrees of punishment in hell: *reg. brev.* 267 (ii 507 c) καὶ τό, Εἰς πυθμένα ᾧδου, ἐν Παροιμίαις εἰρημένον [Prov. 9¹⁸] δηλοῖ ὅτι εἰσὶ τινες ἐν τῷ ᾧδῃ μὲν, οὐκ ἐν πυθμένι δὲ ᾧδου, κουφοτέρην ὑπομένοντες τὴν κόλασιν.

Gregory of Nazianzus *Or.* 16. 7, 305 ὡς βέλτιον εἶναι νῦν παιδευθῆναι καὶ καθαρθῆναι ἢ τῇ ἐκείθεν βασάνῃ παραπεμφθῆναι, ἥνικα κολάσεως καιρὸς, οὐ καθάρσεως. ὥσπερ γὰρ θανάτου κρείττων ὁ ἐνταῦθα θεοῦ μνημονεύων καὶ κάλλιστα τῷ θεῷ Δαβὶδ τοῦτο πεφιλοσόφηται [Ps. 6¹], οὕτως οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ᾧδῃ τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐξομολόγησις καὶ διόρθωσις, συνέκλεισε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθα μὲν καὶ βίον καὶ πρᾶξιν, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὴν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐξέτασιν. Chrysostom *serm. in solem. de prod. Iud.* 1 (ii 377 A) ὁ μὲν προδοθεὶς ἐν δεξιᾷ κάθηται τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὁ δὲ παραδοὺς ἐν ᾧδῃ νῦν ἐστι τὴν ἀπαραίτητον ἀναμένων κόλασιν¹: *in Rom.* 18. 6 (ix 639 c) οὐδέπω γὰρ εἰς τὸν ᾧδην ἀπῆλθες, ἐνθα οὐδεὶς ἐξομολογήσεται . . . οὐπω γέγονας ἐνθα πον ὁ πλούσιος, ἵνα ἀκούσῃς ὅτι Χάος ἐστὶ μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν. Cf. *in Matt.* 36. 3 (vii 410 D sqq.). Cyril of Alexandria *in Es.* 1. 3. 89 (on 5¹⁴) M 70. 153 A τόπος δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ ᾧδης καὶ ψυχῶν ἀθλίων ἀμειδὲς δεσμωτήριον: again *in Ioh.* 3. 284 fin. (on 6^{12, 13}) he quotes Psalm 6⁶ and continues, ποῖος γὰρ ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ καρπός, ἢ πῶς ἔτι μεμνήσεται τις θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ πληροῦν ἐντολὴν τῶν ἐν ᾧδῃ καταβεβηκότων; “συνέκλεισε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς κατ’ αὐτοῦ” κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον [Job 3²³]. Cyril also supposes Dives to have been in hell, as he takes the parable to be a picture of what will be after the last judgement (*in Luc.* 16¹⁹). Theodoret *Eran.* 3 (Schulze iv 200) βλέπε τοίνυν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρεξεταζόμενα . . . τῇ κατακρίσει τὴν ἄφεσιν . . . τῇ τελευτῇ τὴν ζώην, τῷ ᾧδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν.

In [Basil] *in Es.* 166 (on 5^{14, 15}) there is a vivid description of Hades, τάχα δὲ ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἐνδείκνυται κοινόν τινα τόπον ἐν τῷ ἐσωτάτῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπίσκιον πανταχόθεν καὶ ἀλαμπῇ τὸ τοῦ ᾧδου χωρίον εἶναι· στόμιον δὲ τι ἐπὶ τὰ κοῖλα καθήκον δι’ οὗ τὴν κάθοδον εἶναι ταῖς πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον κατεγνωσμέναις ψυχαῖς. Further on εἰς ᾧδου κατάβασις is described as ὁ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας χύσιν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τῷ ἀγαθῷ διάθεσιν, ἀπὸ θεοῦ γινόμενος χωρισμός. And in the apocryphal *mart. Matt.* 3 (Bonnet p. 219) the second clause is perhaps descriptive of Hades, not contrasted with it: Herod οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ ᾧδῃ· κατεσκευάσται δὲ αὐτῷ πῦρ ἄσβεστον, γέεννα ἀτελείτητος, βόρβορος κοχλάζων, σκώληξ ἀκοίμητος, ὅτι τρισχίλια νήπια ἀνείλεν φονεῦσαι θέλων Ἰησοῦν τὸ παιδίον.

Gregentius (?) *Disp.* 608 (M 86. 645 A) has a most interesting passage on Solomon, for whom he clearly had no admiration. Incidentally he indicates that there might be alleviations even in hell. Σολομῶν δὲ διεφθάρη πρὸς τὰ τέλη καὶ ὄλωλε, τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ χωρισθεὶς . . . καὶ εἰ

¹ I take this to mean that Judas is already in hell and is only waiting for his sentence to be permanently ratified at the last judgement.

μή ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὅτε σταυρωθεὶς καὶ θανὼν κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾠδην, χεῖρα αὐτῷ σωτηρίας δέδωκεν, οὐκ ἔσχεν οὐδὲν . . . εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτή-
τους αἰῶνας τιμωρηθήσεται μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ὡς παραβάτης καὶ ἐκπτώτος
τοῦ παντός.

And, finally, Dorotheus, *Doctr.* 10. 5, M 88. 1729 D, states the relation between Hades and sinful habit: ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη κατάστασις ὑπόκειται πάντως τῇ κολάσει· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἁμαρτία ὑπὸ τὸν ᾠδην ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ κἂν θελήσοι ὁ τοιοῦτος μετανοῆσαι οὐκ ἰσχύει μόνος περιγενέσθαι τοῦ πάθους, εἰ μὴ καὶ βοήθειαν σχῇ παρὰ τινων ἁγίων.

V. Hades is sometimes personified, or without actual personification employed as equivalent to 'death'. But this happens less often than might be expected; partly, perhaps, because it is not always easy to decide whether in a given case the word means death or the abode of the dead, when either interpretation is open; but far more because in truth the Fathers do not commonly use the word Hades at all, even when they are speaking about the objects which it expresses. The only connexion in which it is freely used is with regard to the 'Harrowing of Hell'.

1. *Ev. Nic.* II personifies Hades throughout, for instance 4. 1 Satan, from whom Hades is quite distinct both in name and substance, λέγει τῷ ᾠδῇ Παμφάγε καὶ ἀκόρεστε, an apt form of address. Hades in this work is simply personified Sheol. Chrysostom equates Hades and spiritual death, *de Coem. et Cruce* 1 (ii 398 A, B) οὐχὶ θάνατος δὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾠδης ἐκαλεῖτο . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ὑπὲρ ζωῆς τοῦ κόσμου ἀπέθανεν οὐκέτι θάνατος καλεῖται λοιπὸν ὁ θάνατος ἀλλὰ ὕπνος καὶ κοίμησις. Theodore in *Canf.* Schulze ii 157 (on 8^o) Ἄϊδην δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κατεχούσης δόξης ὠνόμασε, τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ ταύτην ἐπιθεῖς τὴν προσηγορίαν. Cyril of Alexandria quoting Wisdom 1¹⁴ contrasts Hades with Being or Existence, *hom. Pasch.* 14. 196 fin. (M 77. 725 B) οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ᾠδου βασιλεῖον ἐπὶ γῆς, ἔκτισε γὰρ εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα.

2. Olympiodorus *Iob* 19. 18 (M 93. 208 B) has an amusing passage in which Job's detractors ask about him, μέχρι τίνος οὐ τελευτᾷ; τί βαρὺ φορτίον καὶ ἀχρεῖον κείται τῇ γῇ; . . . πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγουσιν Οὐπω τέθνηκεν; ἐτι ζῇ ὁ ᾠδης οὗτος; The appropriate translation seems to lie somewhere between 'this death's-head' and 'the poor devil'.

VI. On the use of the word ᾠδης with prepositions, and on the use of the article therewith.

The original usage, going back as far as Homer, was to say εἰς ᾠδου or ἐν ᾠδου with an ellipse, just as we say 'to St. Paul's', since Ἄϊδης was a proper name. In LXX this usage is exclusively employed in the books from Genesis to 4 Kings, and in Sirach [and Ezekiel]. In most other books in which occasion arises more than once for employing ᾠδης with prepositions not governing the genitive, we find the usage varies;

sometimes *ἐν*, *εἰς*, *ᾧδου* is preferred, sometimes the rival form. It so happens that the only two clear instances that bear upon the point in N. T. give us *ἐν τῷ ᾧδῃ* and *εἰς ᾧδῃν* (Lk. 16²³; Ac. 2²⁷). In the Fathers both usages occur with almost equal frequency, and it does not seem possible to discern any principle determining the use adopted in any given passage: nor does it appear from the limited data examined that individual writers maintained a strict consistency in the matter, except that Clement, and still more noticeably Origen, give a marked preference to *ἐν*, *εἰς*, *ᾧδου* (no instance of their using the alternative form occurs among the passages I have examined, as against 13 Origen and 4 Clement with the genitive), and that the Clementine Homilies prefer the dative in a number of instances with the preposition *ἐν*.

A further point of some interest is that from the LXX onwards when any preposition is used directly governing the case there is a fairly strong preference generally shewn for inserting the article with *ᾧδῃς*. *εἰς τὰ ᾧδου* or *ἐν τοῖς ᾧδου* are never found, but *εἰς τὸν ᾧδῃν* and *ἐν τῷ ᾧδῃ* (and similarly with other prepositions) are about twice as frequent as *εἰς ᾧδῃν* or *ἐν ᾧδῃ*. The one exception which I have noticed is with the preposition *ἐξ*. In my collections *ἐξ ᾧδου* occurs five times and *ἐκ τοῦ ᾧδου* not at all. Curiously, the Clementine Homilies cherish a marked though not exclusive preference for *ἐν ᾧδῃ* over *ἐν τῷ ᾧδῃ*.

When *ᾧδῃς* denoting the place of souls occurs without a preposition, the article is hardly ever omitted, except in such phrases as *πύλαι (πύλη) ᾧδου* and *πυλωροὶ ᾧδου*.

VII. The following passage from an Elizabethan author, a noted scholar in his own day, who was deeply hurt at his exclusion from the company which translated the Authorized Version, is here inserted for its peculiar interest. Hugo Broughton, the writer of it, spent much ink in maintaining that the 'descent into hell' did not mean Christ's appearance in the place of the wicked and impenitent.

After stating that in Greek Hades meant the whole world of souls, containing both 'Leimones' and 'Tartarus', he proceeds, 'And after that God had by the *Macedonians* conveyed the Greek tongue to the Indians, Strabo recordeth that the very Indians believed of *Haidēs* as the Grecians did. And the *Macedonian* Greek usually termed Heaven *Haiden*: as *Portus* Dictionary telleth. And our Lord's Prayer from *Math.* cap. 6 in vulgar Greek for the borous [*sic*], saith, Our Father which art in *Haidēs*. And Saint *Luke* in his Attique stile, bringeth the tormented in *Haidēs* talking to *Abraham*; assigning no other place for him. And no Greek ever denied *Abraham* to be in *Haidēs*'. (Works, London MDCLXII, p. 625—in Bodleian, B. Th. 18. 13.)

LEONARD PRESTIGE.

ἀγέν[υ]ητος AND γεν[υ]ητός,
AND KINDRED WORDS, IN EUSEBIUS AND THE
EARLY ARIANS

I. EUSEBIUS.

1. EUSEBIUS constantly uses both ἀγένητος and γενητός in their strict sense of uncreated and created, the former usually in reference to God the Father, e. g. *h. e.* 1. 2. 8 τὴν ἀγένητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον οὐσίαν θεοῦ, *dem. ev.* 4. 6. 6 (155 A) τῆς ἀγενήτου καὶ ἀχωρήτου πατρικῆς οὐσίας, *praez. ev.* 7. 11 (320 A) ἀγένητον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον καὶ μήθ' ὅλως ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι (this is not his own view),—*dem. ev.* 4. 1. 6 (145 B) τὸ μόνον τῆς τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάντων οὐσιώσεως τε καὶ ὑπάρξεως αἰτιον—*et sic saep.* Often the two words are contrasted, e. g. *praez. ev.* 4. 5 (142 A) δυνάμεις [i. e. angels] τὴν φύσιν γενητὰς οὐσας καὶ πολλῶ τὸν ἀγένητον καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιητὴν θεὸν ἀφυστερούσας, cf. *dem. ev.* 4. 7. 4 (157 A) ἐπέκεινά τε οὐρανοῦ καὶ πάσης γενητῆς οὐσίας τοὺς ὑπηκόους . . . ἀνακαλούμενος, μόνον τε αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀγένητον καὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴν θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστον παραδίδους εὐσεβεῖν. The Son may also be said to share this quality of God the Father, *dem. ev.* 9. 10. 4 (442 D) τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ . . . παρ' οὗ καὶ τῆς ἀγενήτου θεότητος μετασχὼν θεὸς καὶ κύριος . . . ἀηγοῦνται.

2. Similarly the eternal relationship between the Father and the Son is constantly expressed by the use of ἀγένητος and γενητός, e. g. *dem. ev.* 4. 3. 13 (149 A) υἱὸν γεννητόν, οὐ χρόνοις μὲν τισιν οὐκ ὄντα, ὕστερον δέ ποτε γεγονότα, ἀλλὰ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων ὄντα καὶ προόντα, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ὡς υἱὸν διὰ παντὸς συνόντα, καὶ οὐκ ἀγέννητον ὄντα, γεννώμενον δ' ἐξ ἀγεννήτου πατρός, μονογενῆ ὄντα, *dem. ev.* 4. 3. 1 (147 A) ἐνὸς δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἓνα χρὴ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς εἶναι, καὶ ἓνα τέλειον μόνον γεννητὸν θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, *dem. ev.* 4. 3. 5 (147 D) ὁ δὲ πατὴρ' προϋπάρχει τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ προϋφέστηκεν, ἥ μόνος ἀγέννητος ἦν, cf. *ib.* 4. 1. 2 (144 B) τοῦ πρώτου καὶ αἰδίου μόνου τε ἀγεννήτου . . . θεοῦ.¹

By implication γενητός is also used of Christ as born in the flesh, *praez. ev.* 3. 14 (124 D) ἐνταῦθά μοι τήρει ὀπίσους Ἑλλήνες θεοὺς γεννητοὺς γυναικῶν ἐθεολόγησαν, εἰς παράθεσιν, εἴ ποτε περὶ φῶτος σκώπτειν τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου σωτῆρος γενέσιν.

¹ On Marcellus's theory that the Trinity was originally a monad he can speak of the impersonal existence of the Word, before the 'expansion' into a Trinity, as follows, *eccl. theol.* 2. 3. 4 (106) ἠνώσθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ συναγέννητον εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον ἔφασκεν. (Marcellus is quoted, *loc. cit.*, for ἠνώσθαι, but συναγέννητον is Eusebius's interpretative comment.)

3. But for all this Eusebius clearly had great difficulty in arriving at a clear and permanent distinction between what is involved in being γενητός and what in being γεννητός. His theology is in this respect emphatically ante-Nicene, and his treatment of the Son's relationship to the Father throws a flood of light upon the 'semi-Arian' or old-fashioned orthodox Origenistic position and the tolerance extended by his party for a time to Arius.

In the first place, there are several passages which imply that Christ was not γενητός, e.g. *eccl. theol.* 1. 8. 3 (66) ἐπρεπεν γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ πρὸ παντὸς γενητοῦ καὶ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων τὸ μονογενὲς τοῦτο προβαλέσθαι γέννημα—and so in the far earlier *dem. ev.* 5. 1. 4 (212 C) ἡ πρὸ τῶν γενητῶν θεία καὶ πανάρετος οὐσία, ἡ νοερὰ καὶ πρωτότοκος τῆς ἀγενήτου φύσεως εἰκὼν, *id.* 5. 1. 9 (213 C) οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις τῶν ἐν γενητοῖς τισιν τὴν ἀρρητον καὶ ἀκατωνόμαστον αὐτοῦ γένεσιν τε καὶ οὐσίωσιν ἀφομοιοῦν.

But there was a tendency to state that the Father alone was ἀγένητος. This tendency is explicitly mentioned by Athanasius, *c. Ar.* 1. 30 and *de syn.* 47, who quotes and defends certain Catholic teachers who had said ἐν τὸ ἀγένητον and even ἐν τὸ ἀγένητον ὁ πατήρ,¹ and explains the latter phrase as meaning that the Father alone had no cause. I have not noticed any passage in Eusebius which definitely states that the Father alone is ἀγένητος, but that seems to be constantly implied, or at least suggested. Now Eusebius asserts that the Son's claim to be the image of the Father is due to the fact that He is derived from Him—*dem. ev.* 5. 1. 7 (213 B) νοοῖτο δ' ἂν εἰκότως εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς ἂν γέννημα τῆς ἀγενήτου φύσεως τύγχανον. But just above he states the matter rather differently, *dem. ev.* 5. 1. 4 (212 C) ἡ νοερὰ καὶ πρωτότοκος τῆς ἀγενήτου φύσεως εἰκὼν. It does not follow that the image is ἀγένητος because the original is so, particularly when it does not share with the original its quality of being ἀγέννητος, and above all when the two words both alike mean in some sense 'underived'. We therefore find such statements as the following: *dem. ev.* 4. 3. 8 (148 B) τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μονογενὲς ἔκγονον, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ καὶ ἡμῖν πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀναρχον καὶ ἀγένητον οὐσίαν θεολογούμενον τέλειον ἀγαθόν. Clearly there is no derogation here intended from the dignity of the Son, of whom it has been said just above φῶς δεύτερον κατὰ πάντα ἑαυτῷ ἀφωμοιωμένον ὑπέστησατο [*sc.* ὁ πατήρ] and ὅπως . . . τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πρώτου . . . τὴν ὁμοίωσιν ἐπάγοιτο [*sc.* ἡ εἰκὼν]. Eusebius is not denying (in Nicene language) the ὁμοούσιον, but merely insisting that the Son's being is derived—as he says, it comes after the ἀναρχον καὶ ἀγένητον οὐσίαν of the Father. And therefore he can say, *dem. ev.* 4. 10. 16 (164 D) μέσος

¹ Lightfoot is certainly wrong in arguing for the reading ἀγέννητον here, which would make absolute nonsense of the whole passage—cf. Robertson *Athanasius* (in *Nic. and Post-Nic. Fathers*) p. 475 n. ⁵.

τε ἑστὼς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν γενητῶν, and *laus Const.* 1. 6 τὸ φῶς αὐτὸς ἦν τὸ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὅλων ἀμφὶ τὸν πατέρα χορεύον μεσιτεῖόν τε καὶ διεύργον τῆς τῶν γενητῶν οὐσίας τὴν ἀναρχον καὶ ἀγένητον ἰδέαν.

But this does not reveal the full extent of Eusebius's terminological improprieties, as may be seen from the following passages: *dem. ev.* 5. 1. 6 (212 D) ἐπάγει λέγων [*sc.* Christ, ἡ Σοφία θεοῦ]· 'κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος θεμελίωσέν με' [*Prov.* 8^{22, 23}]· δι' ὧν ὁμοῦ καὶ γενητῶν ἑαυτὸν, οὐχὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα τῷ ἀγενήτῳ, διδάσκει, πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος οὕσιωμένον, θεμελίου δὲ τρόπον τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάντων προβεβλημένον, and *ib.* 4. 2. 1 (146 A, B) καὶ δὴ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων πρῶτον ὑφίστησιν αὐτοῦ γέννημα τὴν πρωτότοκον σοφίαν, ὅλην δι' ὅλον νοεράν καὶ λογικὴν καὶ πάνσοφον, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτόνον καὶ αὐτόλογον καὶ αὐτοσοφίαν· καὶ εἴ τι δὲ αὐτόκαλον καὶ αὐτοαγαθὸν ἐπινοεῖν ἐν γενητοῖς θέμις, τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ θεμέλιον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων προβάλλεται, τὸ τέλειον τελείου δημιούργημα καὶ σοφοῦ σοφὸν ἀρχιτεκτόνημα, ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθὸν γέννημα.

The state of Eusebius's somewhat confused mind is fairly illustrated by *dem. ev.* 5. 1. 12–20 (213 D *fin.*–215 C) ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ εἰκόνι τοιαῦδε καὶ ὁμοιώσει χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγενήτου φύσεως τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου γενέσεως [*γένεσις*, it will be remembered, means 'beginning' as well as 'birth', and this may help to explain Eusebius] πάντων ἂν εἴη ἀσεβέστατον. [13] οὐ τοίνυν ὡς ἕτεροι ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἐξ ἀπείρων καὶ ἀνάρχων αἰώνων ἦν ὁ υἱὸς ἀγένητος ἐν τῷ πατρί, μέρος ὦν αὐτοῦ ὃ μεταβληθὲν ὑστερον καὶ κενωθὲν ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ γέγονεν· τροπῆς γὰρ ἦδη τοῦτο οἰκείον, καὶ δύο γ' ἂν οὕτως ἀγένητα εἴεν, τὸ προβεβληκὸς καὶ τὸ προβεβλημένον . . . οὐκ οὖν ὡς μέρος ἢ μέλος ἀγενήτως ἠνωμένον ἀεὶ πρότερον, ἔπειτα δὲ διαστὰν . . . τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οἶόν τε ἐπινοεῖν . . . [15] ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐλθεῖν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον καὶ ἀπλῶς οὕτως ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γενητῶν τὸν υἱὸν τοῖς λοιποῖς γενητοῖς ὁμοίως ἀποφύνασθαι· ἄλλη γὰρ υἱοῦ γένεσις καὶ ἄλλη ἢ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ δημιουργία . . . [19] . . . οὐκ ἀγενήτως συννύσσει τῷ πατρί, ἀλλ' ὡς μονογενὴς υἱὸς μόνος πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένος . . . [20] . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τῆς ἀγενήτου κατὰ τι πάθος ἢ διαίρεσιν οὕσιωμένος, οὐδέ γε ἀνάρχως συννέφεσται ἐν τῷ πατρί, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἀγένητος ὁ δὲ γεννητός, καὶ ὁ μὲν πατήρ ὁ δὲ υἱός, προϋπάρχειν δὲ καὶ προϋφεστάναι πατέρα υἱοῦ πᾶς ὁστις οὖν ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν. Eusebius really did not distinguish ἀγένητος from ἀγενήτος, and shared his difficulty, though not his conclusion, with Arius.

4. More rarely, Eusebius confuses γεννητός and γενητός as applied to *things*, e.g. *eccl. theol.* 1. 8. 2 ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ὅλων γεγεννημένον, καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς λοιποῖς γεννητοῖς ὑποστάντα οὐδὲ ζῶν ἐμπερὴ τοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένοις ζῶντα, μόνον δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποτεχθέντα καὶ αὐτοζῶν ὄντα . . . πρὸ παντὸς γενητοῦ. The three words

in heavy type shew at once that Eusebius wanted a term which would include the sense of both 'originate' and 'beget'; to get it he uses γεννάω as expressing the idea of derivation in general. γεννητοί [?γεννητά] here quite certainly includes Christ. It does not do so by denotation in any of the following passages, though in the first two He is clearly included in its connotation, in spite of πάντων, which can only be equivalent to λοιπών πάντων. *dem. ev.* 10 prooem. 3 (462 A, B) μέγας τε καὶ αἰώνιος ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν γεννητῶν πάντων οὐσιώσεώς τε καὶ σωτηρίας ἱερῶμένος καὶ ἱεοῦμένος τὸν πατέρα, *dem. ev.* 5. 1. 28 (*Gr. C. S.* p. 215¹⁷) τοῦ μόνου σοφοῦ πατρὸς . . . τῶν γεννητῶν πάντων τὰς φύσεις ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας πανσόφως τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ [*sc.* Christ, θεοῦ Σοφία] νοήμασιν ὑποστησάμενου, *dem. ev.* 3. 3. 13 (106 A) ἐγνωμεν . . . ὅτι γεννητὸς ὁ κόσμος καὶ ὅτι οὐρανὸς αὐτὸς καὶ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἄστρα ἔργα θεοῦ τυγχάνει, cf. *ib.* 3. 3. 14 just below, where these expressions are reversed, γεννητὸν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν κτλ., καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ὅλων ποιητοῦ γεγονότα, ἀποφηνάμενοι.

5. Yet γέννημα is an expression only applicable, in connexion with God the Father, to Christ—*h. e.* 1. 2. 3 πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως καὶ δημιουργίας ὁρωμένης τε καὶ ὁρατῶν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον τοῦ θεοῦ γέννημα. Cf. *Iaus Const.* 12. 8 (*Gr. C. S.* 232⁴) φῶς καὶ γέννημα νοερὸν φωτὸς ἀλέκτου. And cf. *praepr. ev.* 3. 10 (107 D) ὁ Κρόνος Οὐρανὸν πεφυκὼς γέννημα.

γέννημα occurs metaphorically in Constantine *ad sanct. coet.* 16. 1 τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀδικίας τε καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐκφύοντα γεννήματα. Cf. the use by the same author of γεννάω = create, *ad sanct. coet.* 14. 1 τὰ δὲ γενομένα τῷ κελεύσαντι γεννηθῆναι αὐτὰ πῶς ἂν ἐξισάζοιτο; εἰ γὰρ ὅμοια ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲ πρόσταξις τοῦ γεννάσθαι προσηκόντως ἂν ἐκείνου νομίζοιτο.

6. The following instances of γένεσις in Eusebius and Constantine are worth recording.

(a) = birth, *vit. Const.* 3. 43. 1 τόπος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐνσάρκου γενέσεως . . . ἡ Βεθλεὲμ ἐκηρύττετο. Hence = descent, rank, station, *Const.* [?] ap. *Eus. vit. Const.* 2. 34 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς προτέρας ἐπαρκεσάσης γενέσεως.

(b) = growth, *praepr. ev.* 11. 9 (523 D) τῆς τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν γενέσεώς τε καὶ φθορᾶς. Hence in an almost quasi-active sense, of the growth of crops, Philo ap. *Eus. praepr. ev.* 8. 14 (387 D) [γῆς] τῆς πρὸς καρπῶν ἀνειμένης γένεσιν.

(c) = creation, *Const. ad sanct. coet.* 4.¹ ἡ δὲ κατὰ χρόνον ἀρχὴ γένεσις καλεῖται· τὰ δ' ἐκ γενέσεως φθαρτὰ πάντα. Cf. the similar use of γενεά, *id. ib.* 14. 1 init. τὰ γε μὴν ἐκ γενεᾶς τοῖς αἰδίοις συγκρίνειν μαρία ἐστίν. Hence = natural constitution, being, *dem. ev.* 4. 1. 7 (145 C) ὕλην ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ οὐσίαν τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεώς τε καὶ συστάσεως. Also = state of creation, Nature, Constantine *ad sanct. coet.* 3 init. τῶν γὰρ ἐν γενέσει πάντων αὐτὸς ἀρχή. Also = created things, *id. ib.* 3. 3 τίς δ' ἂν ἔγνω τὸν συμπάσης γενέσεως δημιουργόν;

II. THE ARIANS.

[N. B. The MSS of Athanasius referred to are those quoted in the Benedictine edition—on which see three articles in *J. T. S.* vols. iii, v.]

1. (a) Arius himself appears to have employed the double *vv* in ἀγέ[ν]ητος: *Thalia* ap. Ath. *de syn.* 15 ἀγέννητον δὲ αὐτόν φαμεν διὰ τὸν τῇ φύσει γεννητόν . . . αἰδιον δὲ αὐτὸν σέβομεν διὰ τὸν ἐν χρόνῳ γεγαῶτα. ἀρχὴν τὸν υἱὸν ἔθηκε τῶν γεννητῶν ὁ ἀναρχος καὶ ἤνεγκεν εἰς υἱὸν ἐαυτῷ τόνδε τεκνοποιήσας. There are several instances in Origen and the Gnostics quoted by Hippolytus of the opposition of ἀγέννητος to γεννητός. We shall shortly be able to infer what meaning was attached by Arius to γεννητός: see, for instance, Arius's letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia ap. Thdt. *h. e.* i. 5. 3, and Epiph. *haer.* 69. 6 ἡμεῖς δὲ τί λέγομεν; . . . ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέννητος οὐδὲ μέρος ἀγεννήτου κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι θελήματι καὶ βουλῇ ὑπέστη πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων πλήρης θεὸς μονογενὴς . . . καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆ ἦτοι κτισθῆ ἢ ὀρισθῆ ἢ θεμελιωθῆ οὐκ ἦν ἀγέννητος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν.

(b) Eusebius of Nicomedia writes in a similar strain to Paulinus, ap. Thdt. *h. e.* i. 6. 3 οὕτε δύο ἀγέννητα ἀκηκοάμεν . . . ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τὸ ἀγέννητον, ἐν δὲ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ γεγονός, καθόλου τῆς φύσεως τῆς ἀγεννήτου μὴ μέτεχον. *id.* 4 λέγομεν κτιστὸν εἶναι καὶ θεμελιωτὸν καὶ γεννητὸν [*sic enim legendum*] τῇ οὐσίᾳ. *id.* 5 τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου ὑπαρχον, κτιστὸν ἐτι ὑφ' ἐτέρου ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ θεμελιωτὸν οὐκ ἂν εἶη, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀγέννητον ὑπαρχον. εἰ δὲ τὸ γεννητὸν αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι ὑπόφασιν τινα παρέχει . . . γινώσκουμεν ὡς οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸ γεννητὸν εἶναί φησιν ἡ γραφή ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνομοίων αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα τῇ φύσει, and he quotes Isa. 1² (men), Deut. 32¹⁸ (Israel), Job 38²⁸ (the dew).

(c) Athanasius of Anazarbus wrote to Alexander implying but not stating that Christ is one of the γενητά, ap. Ath. *de syn.* 17 ἐν ἑκατὸν γὰρ προβάτοις παραβαλλομένων πάντων τῶν πεποιημένων, εἰς ἔστι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰ ἑκατὸν οὐκ ἔστι κτίσματα καὶ γενητά, ἢ ἐνὶ πλεόν τι τῶν ἑκατόν, δηλονότι μὴδὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἔστω κτίσμα καὶ εἰς τῶν πάντων. εἰ δὲ τὰ ἑκατὸν πάντα γενητά κτλ. The Arians (except Asterius) do not seem to have called Christ directly γεννητός, though they call him by every possible equivalent term. But apparently they preserved the show of scriptural terminology and were satisfied to call him γεννητός, defining that term as if it had been spelt with the single *v*.

(d) In the joint letter of Arius and others to Alexander, ap. Ath. *de syn.* 16, it is a little difficult to determine the readings. The following passages occur: οὐ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ δοὺς αὐτῷ πάντων τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐστέρησεν ἐαυτὸν ὧν ἀγεννήτως [*sic* Epiph. *haer.* 69. 7 *fin.*, but

ap. Ath. R gives ἀγενήτως, 'et ita legit Hilarius' *de Trin.* iv 12, vi 5] ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ· πηγή γάρ ἐστι πάντων . . . ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἀχρόνως γεννηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθεὶς καὶ θεμελιωθεὶς οὐκ ἦν πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι . . . οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν αἰδῖος ἢ συναῖδιος ἢ συναγέννητος [*sic* Epiph., but R συναγένητος, Hil. 'simul non factus'] τῷ πατρί· οὐδὲ ἄμα τῷ πατρί τὸ εἶναι ἔχει, ὥς τινες λέγουσι τὰ πρὸς τι, δύο ἀγενήτους ['Reg. solus ἀγενήτους'] ἄρχας εἰσηγούμενοι.

The same document contains a most important use of γέννημα, *id.* κτίσμα τοῦ θεοῦ τέλειον ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων, γέννημα ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν γεγεννημένων [Epiph. γεννημάτων]—cf. the same quotation in, possibly, a less exact form, ap. Ath. *c. Ar.* 2. 19 κτίσμα ἐστὶν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων, ποιήμᾳ ἐστὶν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν ποιημάτων, γέννημά ἐστιν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων. There is no doubt about these spellings, for Athanasius comments, *id.*, λέγοντες γὰρ γέννημα ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων, πολλοὺς υἱοὺς συντάττουσι . . . ὡς μηκέτι κατ' αὐτοὺς μονογενῆ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν ἓνα [Heb. 2^{10,11}], καὶ αὐτὸν γέννημα καὶ υἱὸν χρηματίζειν.

Further on, *c. Ar.* 2. 20, Athanasius remarks ταῦτόν γὰρ εἰρήκατε τὸ γέννημα καὶ τὸ ποιήμα γράψαντες "γεννηθέντα ἢ ποιηθέντα". The precise source of the quotation is not evident. Against such a confusion the creed of Nicaea said explicitly γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα.

2. Asterius the Sophist, ὁ θύσας, seems at first sight to stand by himself. Portions of a statement made by him are quoted three times by Athanasius, (1) *de syn.* 18, (2) *c. Ar.* 1. 32, and (3) *c. Ar.* 2. 37—ἄλλην μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμφυτον αὐτῷ καὶ συνυπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἀγενήτως [*sic* (3); but ἀγεν. (1); (2) dub.] κηρύσσω, γεννητικὴν μὲν οὖσαν δηλονότι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δημιουργικὴν δὲ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου . . . ἡ μὲν αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ σοφία ἦν ἀναρχόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον [*sic* (1) and (3), but ἀγεν. (2)] οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποφαίνονται λογισμοί. It will be observed that Asterius is distinguishing between Christ, who was not ἀγέν[ν]ητος, and an impersonal attribute of God, which was.

On the whole I definitely incline to think that Asterius wrote the double νν in each place, and that the occurrences in the text of the single ν may be due partly perhaps to faulty transmission, but partly (particularly in *c. Ar.* 1. 32) to the fact that Athanasius, though his own habit was to write ἀγένητος as a rule, did not make any distinction between the meaning of the word so spelt and the ἀγέννητος of the Arians. I shall attempt to prove this in another place, when dealing with Athanasius himself. It will suffice here to make a few observations about his usage in the context of the Asterius quotations in *c. Ar.* 1. 32 and *c. Ar.* 2. 37.

In *c. Ar.* 1. 30 Athanasius has been discussing the meaning of ἀγένητος (*sic*), and the result is being applied to the Arians and Asterius

in cc. 31 and 32. Twice at the beginning of c. 32 he uses the word and spells it with a single *ν*. Twice again, immediately after the Asterius quotation, he repeats the word with one *ν*. Probably therefore the single *ν* is the right reading at both occurrences in the course of the quotation in this particular passage, although in only one of them does the weight of the MSS definitely tend that way. But in 2. 37, not only do the MSS strongly favour the double *νν* at both occurrences, but immediately before the quotation all MSS agree in reading Athanasius's paraphrase of the coming quotation in the form *τὴν ἀγεννήτως συνπαρ-χουσιν αὐτῷ*. Yet even after this, in the course of his further discussion of the matter (though after some interval) he spells the word with the single *ν*, c. 38 ad fin. *his* (reading not quite certain *semel*) and c. 40 init.

The following passages illustrate Asterius's use of *γενητός* and *γέννημα*—all *apud Athanasium*.

c. *Ar.* 2. 24 ad fin. *θέλων ὁ θεὸς τὴν γενητὴν κτίσαι φύσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα μὴ δυναμένην αὐτὴν μετασχεῖν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκράτου χειρὸς καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας, ποιεῖ καὶ κτίζει πρῶτος μόνος μόνον ἓνα καὶ καλεῖ τοῦτον υἱὸν καὶ λόγον, ἵνα τούτου μέσου γενομένου οὕτως λοιπὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι δυνηθῇ*. (That this was really written by Asterius himself individually, and copied by Arius, is indicated by *de decretis* 8 init.). *de syn.* 19 εἰς τῶν πάντων ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός· πρῶτον γάρ ἐστι τῶν γενητῶν, καὶ εἰς τῶν νοητῶν φύσεών ἐστι—cf. c. *Ar.* 2. 28 ἄλλ' εἰρήκασι Κτίσμα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν γενητῶν . . . ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Ἀστέριος ὁ σοφιστὴς . . . γράψαι τετόλμηκεν. c. *Ar.* 3. 60 Ἀστέριος δὲ . . . οὕτως γράφει . . . εἴτε προσήκον τῷ θεῷ τὸ βούλεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου γεννήματος ὑπαρχέτω τὸ κρείττον (i. e. let it be agreed that the Son, the first *γέννημα*, was created *βουλήματι* τοῦ θεοῦ like subsequent creatures). Whereupon Athanasius, *πλείστην ὅσῃν ἀσέβειαν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἑαυτοῦ συνθεῖς ὁ σοφιστὴς ὅτι τε τὸ γέννημα καὶ τὸ ποίημα ταῦτόν ἐστι καὶ εἰς ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὄντων γεννημάτων ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός, κτλ.*

3. It is convenient at this point to consider some extracts from the letter of Alexander of Alexandria, Arius's bishop, to Alexander of Constantinople (ap. Thdt. *h. e.* 1. 4), since it is contemporaneous with the earliest phase of the Arian controversy.

1. 4. 19. *μακρὸν γοῦν θεωρήσας τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον τὸ ἦν καὶ ὑπεραίρον τῆς τῶν γενητῶν [i. e. γεννητῶν] διανοίας, ὁ εὐλαβέστατος Ἰωάννης [i. e. Jn. 1¹ and 3] γένεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιήσιν ἀπηξίωσεν εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ ταῖς ὁμοστοιχείοις συλλαβαῖς τὸ ποιοῦν τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὀνομάσαι τολμήσας· οὐχ ὅτι ἀγέννητος ἦν, ἐν γὰρ ἀγέννητον ὁ πατήρ, ἀλλ' ὅτι . . . καταλήψεως ὑπερεπέκεινά ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ μονογενοῦς θεοῦ ἀνεκδιύγητος ὑπόστασις*. (Arius also admitted *μονογενὴς θεός* of the Son, ap. Ath. *de syn.* 15, and letter to Eusebius above § 1 (a)). *id.* 44 *φασὶ γὰρ ἡμῶς . . . ἀποστρεφόμενους τὴν Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἄγραφον κατὰ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίαν, ἀγέννητα διδάσκειν δύο, δυοῖν θάτερον δεῖν εἶναι λέγοντες οἱ ἀπαίδευτοι, ἡ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων αὐτὸν εἶναι φρονεῖν,*

ἡ πάντως ἀγέννητα λέγειν δύο, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ ἀνάσκητοι ὡς μάκρον ἂν εἴη μεταξύ πατρὸς ἀγεννήτου καὶ τῶν κτισθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων . . . ὦν μεσιτεύουσα φύσις μονογενής, δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος πατρὸς γεγέννηται. *ib.* 46 τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ [*sc.* τοῦ υἱοῦ] πάση τῇ γενιτῇ [*v. l.* γεννητῇ] φύσει ἀπεριεργάστου [*i. e.* *non investigandus*] τυγχανούσης. *ib.* 47 τέλειον υἱὸν ἐμφερῇ τῷ πατρὶ μεμαθήκαμεν, μονῷ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ λειπόμενον ἐκείνου. *ib.* 48 ἀλλὰ μή τις τὸ Ἄεὶ πρὸς ὑπόνοιαν ἀγεννήτου λαμβανέτω . . . οὔτε γὰρ τὸ Ἦν οὔτε τὸ Ἄεὶ οὔτε τὸ Πρὸ αἰώνων ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ. *ib.* 52 οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν ἀγεννήτῳ πατρὶ οἰκεῖον ἀξίωμα φυλακτέον . . . τῷ δὲ υἱῷ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν τιμὴν ἀπονεμητέον, τὴν ἄναρχον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς γέννησιν ἀνατιθέοντας . . . ἀπκριβωμένην ἐμφέρειαν κατὰ πάντα ἀνατιθέντες, τὸ δὲ ἀγέννητον τῷ πατρὶ μόνον ἰδίωμα παρεῖναι δοξάζοντες.

It is of extreme interest to find so close an approximation of language to some extent existing, with so great a difference of interpretation, between Arius and the bishop who first excommunicated him! And for our immediate purpose it is most important to observe that Alexander's indisputable use of ἀγέννητος in the controversy supports the conviction that it was this spelling of the word with which the early Arians were concerned. Alexander employed it in its strict and later sense; Arius as the equivalent also of the Greek philosophical ἀγέννητος. The latter fact was later on observed by Athanasius: but the distinction was not as yet generally apparent, nor was it universally current until much later in the fourth century. Meantime Arius, without presumably convicting himself of transcendent folly, was able with some colour to say against Alexander that his teaching implied the doctrine *συνπαρχει ἀγεννήτως ὁ υἱὸς τῷ θεῷ* (letter to Eusebius, *ap. Thdt. h. e. i. 5. 1*, Epiph. *haer.* 69. 6).

4. When Athanasius had argued that there was a sense in which it was not only proper but necessary to call Christ ἀγέννητος, the later Arians did not trouble to prove Christ γεννητός but made great play with the corresponding word spelt with the double νν; indicating that their retort to the distinction between two senses in ἀγέν[ν]ητος was the reiteration of their denial of any essential difference between the two—a denial which, to be logical, had to be extended to the positive from the privative.

This is evident in Aëtius (*ap. Epiph. haer.* 76, 924 A-930 D), as the following extracts shew.

cap. 5 εἰ ἀγέννητός ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς τὴν οὐσίαν, οὐκ οὐσίας διαστάσει τὸ γεννητὸν ἐγεννήθη ἀλλ' ἐξ οὐσίας ὑποστησάσης αὐτό. τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐσίαν καὶ γεννητὴν εἶναι καὶ ἀγέννητον οὐδεὶς λόγος εὐσεβῆς ἐπιτρέπει. Here the old Arian thought is reproduced in a clearer form, that ἀγεννησία is a quality of the substance, not a fact about the subject.

In other words, ἀγέννητος is more closely than ever identified with ἀγέννητος. cap. 6 εἰ τὸ ἀγέννητον ἐγεννήθη, τί κωλύει τὸ γεννητὸν ἀγέννητον γεγονέναι; cap. 7 εἰ δὲ ὁλος ἐστὶν ἀγέννητος [sc. ὁ θεός], οὐκ οὐσιωδῶς εἰς γένεσιν διέστη ἐξουσία δὲ ὑπέστησε τὸ γέννημα. cap. 37 εἰ ὑπεράγει πάσης φύσεως ὁ παντοκράτωρ, διὰ τὸ ἀγέννητον ὑπεράγει, ὅπερ ἐστὶν αἷτιον τοῖς γεννητοῖς διαμονῆς. conclus. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑποστάντος τε ἀληθῶς πρὸ αἰώνων καὶ ὄντος ἀληθῶς γεννητῆς ὑποστάσεως.

Compare Acacius c. *Marcell.*, ap. Epiph. *haer.* 72. 7 (839 B), τὸ δὲ ἀπαρallάκτως εἰπεῖν [sc. θεοῦ εἰκόνα] οὐχ οἷόν τι καὶ ἀγεννήτως, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκτυπῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὁμοιωμένην πρὸς πατρικὴν ἀγαθότητα καὶ θεότητα.

Similar conclusions result from a study of Eunomius's *Liber Apologeticus*.¹ Eunomius taught three grades of being, of which the middle one (τὸ γεννητόν) though in some sense divine, really belongs as a higher subdivision to the third. *Lib. apol.* 17 (624 B) ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀγεννήτου καὶ ἀποιήτου γέννημα καὶ ποιήμα· οὐρανὸς δὲ καὶ ἄγγελοι, καὶ πᾶν ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄλλο ποιήμα, τούτου τοῦ ποιήματός ἐστι ποιήματα, προστάγματι τοῦ πατρὸς δι' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα. *ib.* 25 (628 A, B) οὐδ' ἕτερον μὲν ἀριθμῶ παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ἀγέννητον δὲ (εἰς γὰρ καὶ μόνος ἀγέννητος . . .) ἢ ἄλλο μὲν παρὰ τὸν υἱόν, γέννημα δὲ (εἰς γὰρ καὶ μονογενής). cf. *ib.* 28 (630 C) γέννημα τοῦ ἀγεννήτου, οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων. But on the other hand *ib.* 9 (621 A) ἀγέννητος δὲ ὢν . . . οὐκ ἂν ποτε πρόσσιτο γέννησιν ὥστε τῆς ἰδίας μεταδοῦναι τῷ γεννωμένῳ φύσεως, ἐκφύγοι τε ἂν πᾶσαν σύγκρισιν καὶ κοινωνίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ γεννητόν. cf. 11 (622 B) ἂν τε γὰρ ἀγέννητος, οὐχ υἱός· ἂν τε υἱός, οὐχ ἀγέννητος.

The third grade (or, really, the second and third combined) is mentioned *ib.* 7 (620 C) τὸ γὰρ τοι δυνατόν εἶναι λέγειν ἐφ' ἑτέρου τι γίνεσθαι, ἀληθὲς ὄν, ἐπὶ γενητῶν ἂν ἔχοι χώραν, καὶ πὶ τῶν ὑπὸ θεοῦ γενομένων τάττοιτο δικαίως. This is the only occurrence of γενητός that I have noticed in the book, which is mainly concerned with the relation between the Father (τὸ ἀγέννητον) and the Son (τὸ γεννητόν).

Eunomius's conception of τὸ ἀγέννητον involves other metaphysical notions than that of merely being ingenerate: he understands by it all that was involved in the ἀγέννητον of the philosophical schools—e. g. *ib.* 10 (621 E) κομιδῇ καταγέλαστον τοὺς ἐν μόνον παραδεξαμένους ἀγέννητον ἢ προϋπάρχειν τι τούτου φάσκειν ἢ συνυπάρχειν ἕτερον. εἴτε γὰρ προϋπάρχοι τι, τοῦτο δικαίως λέγοιτ' ἂν ἀγέννητον, οὐ τὸ δεύτερον· εἴτε συνυπάρχοι, τῇ πρὸς θάτερον κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ συνυπάρχειν ἐκάτερον ἀφαιρέθησεται τὸ ἐν μόνον εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον εἶναι: cf. 19 (625 B) τὸ δὲ σύνθετον οὐκ ἀγέννητον. All that he has to say of the eternal generation may be gleaned from *ib.* 13 (622 E) τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τί δεῖ γενέσεως; . . . ὄντα μὲν ἂ ἐστίν, οὐκ ὄντα δὲ ἂ γίνεται. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα ἀνθρώπος οὔτε λίθος οἶκος, γίνεται δὲ τὸ

¹ Printed in the Benedictine edition of St Basil i 618-630.

μὲν ἄνθρωπος τὸ δὲ οἶκος. εἰ δὲ τούτων ἕκαστον, οἷς καὶ παραβάλλειν τὴν υἱοῦ γένεσιν πάντων εὐσεβέστατον, οὐκ ὄντα γίνεται (οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο γίνεται ὁ πρότερον ἦν), ποῖαν δέξεται ἴασιν ὁ τὸν υἱὸν ὄντα γεγενῆσθαι λέγων; εἰ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς γεννήσεως ἦν, ἀγέννητος ἦν.

5. The Arian use of ἀγέννητος makes it plain why the Catholics were unable to accept without qualification certain formulae proposed or approved by the Arians, which superficially seem unexceptionable—e. g. the statement of the Macrostich ap. Ath. *de syn.* 26 τὸν μὲν πατέρα μόνον ἀναρχον ὄντα καὶ ἀγέννητον γεγενηκέναι ἀνεφίκτως καὶ πᾶσιν ἀκαταλήπτως οἶδαμεν τὸν δὲ υἱὸν γεγενῆσθαι πρὸ αἰώνων καὶ μηκέτι ὁμοίως τῷ πατρὶ ἀγέννητον εἶναι καὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τὸν γεννήσαντα πατέρα. Light-foot *Patr. Ap.* 2. 2. p. 91 (1st edition—corrected in 2nd edition) seems to refer to these words as being actually Athanasius's own! And he is blindly followed by Harnack *Dogm. E. T.* 4 p. 12 n. ⁶. So truly might the words, so far as they go, be Athanasius's!

But the disingenuous character of such formulae was observed, not only by the Athanasians, but at last by the Semi-Arians. Cf. the manifesto of Basil and George directed against the Anomoeans, ap. Epiph. *haer.* 73. 18 fin. and 19 κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι καὶ ὑφεστάναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν ὁμοίως ἐστὶ κατὰ πάντα τῷ πατρὶ τῷ γεννήσαντι, ὡς υἱὸς πατρί. [19] εἰ δὲ οἱ καινοὶ αἵρετικοὶ προσδιαλεγόμενοι ἡμῖν ἀγέννητον λέγουσι καὶ γεννητόν, ἐροῦμεν αὐτοῖς . . . Οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀγέννητον ἀγραφον ὃν δεξόμεθα . . . ἐπειθ' ὅτι . . . ὁ ἀγέννητος οὐδέπω σημαίνει τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔννοιαν, καὶ ὅτι τὸν γεννητὸν ἰδίως υἱὸν οὐδέπω σημαίνει ἀλλὰ κοινοποιεῖ πρὸς πάντα τὰ γεννητὰ τὴν ἔννοιαν. ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν γεννητὸν ὅτι μὲν γέγονεν ἐσήμανεν, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τὸ αἰδίως υἱὸν νοοῦμενον παρεδήλωσε . . . τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ ὄνομα τὴν πρὸς τι σχέσιν σημαίνει . . . καὶ μόνον ἐκότερον λεγόμενον συνεισάγει θατέρου τὴν ἔννοιαν, καὶ οὐ τὸ ὄνομα μόνον ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τὴν φύσεως τὴν οἰκειότητα. πατέρα γὰρ νοοῦντες τὸν θεόν, θεοῦ νοοῦμεν πατέρα· καὶ υἱὸν νοοῦντες θεοῦ, θεὸν νοοῦμεν τὸν ῥηθέντα υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοιον ἐκεῖνον κατὰ τὴν φύσιν οὐ καὶ νοεῖται υἱός. ἀγέννητον δὲ οὐ λέγεται γεννητοῦ ἀγέννητον, οὐδὲ γεννητὸν ἀγεννήτου γεννητόν.

6. It will be evident by now that I should hardly agree in its entirety with Dr Robertson's note in *Athanasius* p. 324 'The earlier Arians apparently argued mainly, like Asterius, from ἀγέννητος . . ., the later . . . Anomoeans rather from ἀγεννήτος'. The second clause is certainly true of Aëtius and Eunomius: but while Asterius undoubtedly employed γενητός, I believe that a study of Alexander of Alexandria and of Athanasius, together with the evidence already given of early Arian fragments, indicates that the heretics almost invariably spelled the word from which they argued ἀγέννητος; though at that date the question of the single *ν* or double *νν* does not necessarily involve much difference of sense. The Arian argument was that since all parties agreed to apply

ἀγέν[ν]ητος to the Father exclusively (i. e. in the strict sense of ἀγέννητος), therefore the Son could not be called ἀγέν[ν]ητος (i. e. in the sense of ἀγέννητος). Athanasius refutes the argument, but (this is significant) not upon the ground of mis-spelling. The final decision upon the spelling of the early Arians will turn upon the question whether or no Athanasius treats the spelling of ἀγέν[ν]ητος as a matter of comparative indifference. My own conclusion is that he did so treat it, and that the opposite view involves unnecessary desertion of MS authority. But when Dr Robertson wrote the dictum quoted above, he was provisionally relying on the tenability of Lightfoot's theory that there always was a clear distinction preserved between the two senses and spellings of the word (see Robertson *Athanasius* p. 475 n. ⁵). In this I am convinced that Lightfoot was mistaken.

LEONARD PRESTIGE.

χειροτονία, χειροθεσία, ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν

(AND THE ACCOMPANYING VERBS).

I. *The Apostolic Constitutions and Canons.*

IT is convenient to take this compilation, drawn up A. D. 350-375 in Syria, perhaps at Palestinian Caesarea, as the starting-point of the enquiry, since the words are of frequent occurrence in it, and the usage of the writer is regular and consistent and is quite certainly his own and not simply that of the documents which underlie his work. Both the *Didascalia*, the basis of the first six books, and the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, the basis of the eighth book, have in this respect, as will be shewn in the next section, a different vocabulary.

χειροτονεῖν χειροτονία are used

(a) generally, of ordaining in the wider sense of any formal appointment. By God or Christ; of secular rulers 7. 16 τὸν βασιλέα φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ Κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ χειροτονία, 5. 20. 11 τοῦτον [Χτ.] Δανιὴλ λέγει . . . συντρίβοντα πολυαρχίαν τοπαρχιῶν . . . καὶ χειροτονοῦντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων μοναρχίαν: of O. T. priesthood 2. 27. 5 ῥύβδος βλαστήσασα τὸν ὑπὸ θεοῦ χειροποιηθέντα ἀρχιερέα ἀνέδειξεν. By the devil, of an unworthy Christian, 2. 43. 3, causing scandal ὡς ἂν κεχειροτονημένος [but the reading varies with καὶ χειρονημένος] ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου σκυβαλίζειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. By pagans, of their priesthoods, 3. 9. 3 τοῦτο τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀθεότητος τὸ ἀγνόημα, θηλείαις θεαῖς ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν.¹

¹ χειροτονεῖν is quite regularly used of the Emperors 'appointing' colleagues: Socrates *H. E.* 1. 38 *ad fin.*, Philostorgius 3. 25, 4. 1. 4. 2, 9. 17. But also quite generally whether of God's appointment, Chrysostom *de Sacramentis* 4 (403 E) τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονοῦντος, Serapion *Sacramentary* 14 ὁ κατὰ γενεάν καὶ γενεάν ἐπισκῦπος

(*b*) technically, in the Church, of ordaining to the major orders by the bishop's imposition of hands. 3. 20. 1 (cf. *Can. Ap.* 1) ἐπίσκοπον προστάσσομεν χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τριῶν ἐπισκόπων ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἔλαττον ὑπὸ δύο. 2. 2. 3 τὴν χειροτονίαν λαμβάνων represents 'cum manus impositionis accepit' of *Didasc.-lat.* In the eighth book, with distinction of the orders which do and which do not receive χειροτονία, 8. 16. 2 πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, 17. 1 περὶ χειροτονίας διακόνων, 21. 2 ὑποδιάκονον χειροτονῶν, 23. 2 ὁμολογητὴς οὐ χειροτονεῖται . . . ἐὰν δὲ χρεία αὐτοῦ ἢ εἰς ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον, χειροτονεῖται. 24. 2, 25. 2, 26. 2 παρθένος . . . χήρα . . . ἐπορκιστὴς οὐ χειροτονεῖται. The boundary is clear: the major orders of bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon, receive χειροτονία, the rest do not.

ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν (ἐπιτίθεσθαι χεῖρας) is not an equivalent of χειροτονία (χειροτονεῖν), but is related to it as the 'matter' or visible sign of the sacrament of which χειροτονία—εὐχὴ καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθήσει 8. 46. 9¹—is the whole. 8. 16. 2 πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει αὐτὸς . . . καὶ εὐχόμενος λέγε . . ., and similarly for deacon and subdeacon. But while χειροτονία is only used of these orders, hands are laid also on deaconesses 8. 19. 2, and on readers 8. 22. 2. And following the language of Acts 8^{17, 18}, though only in direct references to that passage, ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν is used of confirmation, 2. 41. 2, 6. 7. 3. In fact the phrase denotes simply the act of laying on of hands, and derives its particular meaning from its context.

χειροθεσία, on the other hand, though etymologically it is only a variation of ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν, is used in a strictly technical sense by the writer of the *Constitutions*, and is so far from being either an equivalent or an element of χειροτονία that it is sharply contrasted with it. 8. 28. 3 πρεσβύτερος χειροθετεῖ, οὐ χειροτονεῖ: 8. 28. 2 ἐπίσκοπος χειροθετεῖ χειροτονεῖ (the best MS has χειροτονεῖ οὐ χειροθετεῖ, but cf. Ps. Ignatius *Heron.* 3, bishops βαπτίζουσιν, ἱερουργοῦσιν, χειροτονοῦσιν, χειροθετοῦσιν).

Thus while to the author of the *Constitutions* χειροτονία exactly = 'ordination', χειροθεσία is exclusive of ordination. Further it is distinguished on the one side from the Eucharist and Baptism, and on the other from any benediction which did not include laying on of hands, 3. 10. 1 θυσίαν ἢ βάπτισμα ἢ χειροθεσίαν ἢ εὐλογίαν.

χειροτονῶν: or man's, *Ep. Clem. ad Iac.* 2 ἵνα περὶ πάντος οὗ ἂν χειροτονήσῃ [Clement] ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδογματισμένον ἐν οὐρανοῖς: or circumstances', *Greg. Naz. Orat.* 22. 6 χειροτονεῖ ῥαδίως ἡμῖν πολλοὺς μὲν ἁγίους πολλοὺς δ' ἁθέους παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ὁ καιρὸς. Later (from unconscious emphasis on χεῖρ?) it is almost equivalent to 'make': Gregory of Antioch (s. vi) *Serm.* 2. 2 γεννηθεὶς οὐ κτισθεὶς οὐ χειροτονηθεὶς, *ib.* 5 μὴ χειροτονήσῃτε δύο μονογενεῖς τὸν ἕνα μονογενῆ (B 88. 1872 c, 1877 b). But I confine myself in the text to ecclesiastical usage.

¹ So in the same words *Eus. H. E.* 2. 1. 1, of the Seven in the Acts, καθίστανται δι' εὐχῆς καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως, summed two or three lines further on as τῇ χειροτονίᾳ.

II. *The documents which underlie the Apostolic Constitutions.*

The *Didascalia*, the late third-century groundwork of *Const. Ap.* Books I–VI, may be dismissed very briefly, since being extant only in Syriac and (partially) in Latin, it preserves no certain evidence of its Greek vocabulary. Moreover, the author of the *Constitutions*, who was a writer of a hierarchical turn of mind, uses the phraseology of χειροτονία χειροθεσία much more frequently than his groundwork had done. Only in one case, in fact, does the *Didascalia* provide a parallel with any χειροτονία of the *Constitutions*, 2. 2. 3: and its phrase there is rendered in the same way as its more numerous parallels with the χειροθεσία group (2. 18. 7, 2. 32. 3, 2. 41. 2, 3. 16. 3), ‘manus inpositionis’.

Of the *Church Order*, or Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις, of Hippolytus no part is preserved in the Greek, as such, though the versions shew us what parts of it are reproduced in Book VIII of the *Constitutions*, and so we can often be reasonably certain even of the actual words of the original. If we find in the Latin version—unfortunately only extant for part of the section on Orders—‘episcopus **ordinetur**’ ‘et qui **ordinatur** episcopus’ ‘cum autem presbyter **ordinatur** inponat manum super caput eius episcopus’ (ed. Hauler 103. 14, 25, 108. 20), and in the corresponding places in the *Constitutions* ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονέσθαι, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῆς, πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, ὃ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει (*Didasc. et Const. Ap.* ed. Funk, 472. 4, 26, 522. 2), we need not doubt that χειροτονεῖν had been used in these passages by Hippolytus. But the Latin is defective for all orders in the ministry after deacon. Fortunately, however, in the case of the Reader, the author of the *Epitome* or *Constitutiones per Hippolytum* (Funk ii p. 82), who had both Hippolytus and the *Apostolic Constitutions* before him, deserted the latter for the former,¹ and wrote ἀναγνώστης καθίσταται, ἐπιδόντος αὐτῷ βιβλίον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· οὐδὲ γὰρ χειροθετεῖται.² As he did not derive καθίσταται from *Const. Ap.*, it may be presumed to come direct from Hippolytus, and then Hippolytus too, like *Const. Ap.*, avoided χειροτονεῖν when he did not mean sacramental ordination, and used a more general term. But there is no indication that Hippolytus contrasted χειροτονία and χειροθεσία as is done in *Const. Ap.*: indeed this passage from the *Epitome*, if taken as I suppose straight from Hippolytus, rules out that possibility, since

¹ See Dom Connolly *Egyptian Church Order* (Texts and Studies viii 4) pp. 46–50.

² Note by contrast with Hippolytus, who refuses the Reader χειροθεσία, and *Const. Ap.*, which allows him χειροθεσία but not χειροτονία, that Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 38 (116. 15) speaks of a man who ἀναγνώστης κεχειροτόνηται παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας Καισαρείων.

χειροθεῖν is here used, as it never is in *Const. Ap.*, in reference to the laying on of hands for major orders.

III. *Between Hippolytus and the Apostolic Constitutions.*

There is really no doubt of the meaning of *χειροτονέω*, *χειροτονία*. They are never used in connexion with any other ecclesiastical rite than ordination—neither of confirmation, nor of the reconciliation of penitent or heretic: that is to say, they never mean simply 'laying on of hands'. There is always in the background the sense of appointment as well. Whether we can go on to say that the original sense of *χειροτονεῖν* 'to appoint by shew of hands' 'to elect' is further latent in the word, I should not like to affirm, though I am inclined to think that the word would not have come into such regular technical use in the Church if it had not been helped at one end by this sense of 'election'—we do not generally realize how large a part fell to the choice of the laity in the appointment even of presbyters and deacons during the early ages of the Church—and perhaps at the other end by the close parallelism in form of *χειροτονία* with *χειροθεσία*, to 'stretch out' and to 'lay on' the hand.

When St Paul writes of the brother whose praise is in the Gospel as *χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*, I do not see why we should not translate, in accordance with classical usage, 'elected by the churches'. That of course was a matter of a temporary mission. But when Eusebius writes of the choice of Fabian to succeed pope Anteros, *H. E.* 6. 29. 3 τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων *χειροτονίας* ἔνεκεν τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν συγκεκριημένων . . . ὁ Φαβιανὸς παρὼν οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς διάνοιαν ἦει . . . I should certainly suppose that the idea of 'election' is not obscurely present to the writer's mind.¹

Under the term *χειροτονία* are included in fact the whole of the conditions which constitute a regular ordination, and of those the two

¹ The Greek canonists of the Middle Ages, Zonaras and Balsamon, writing I suppose under the influence partly of the ecclesiastical conditions of their own day, partly of the vocabulary of classical Greek as known to them through the Lexicographers—e. g. Hesychius *χειροτονεῖν* καθιστᾶν ψηφίζειν—interpreted *χειροτονία*, wherever they could (sometimes, as in *Can. Ap.* 1, 2, it was impossible), of the election or appointment of a new bishop by the comprovincial bishops or metropolitan. So Conc. Nic. 4, three bishops at least must meet, the rest must agree and the metropolitan approve, and only so τὴν *χειροτονίαν* ποιῆσθαι: Conc. Antioch. 19 ἐπίσκοπον μὴ *χειροτονεῖσθαι* δίχα συνόδου καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει: Conc. Laod. 5 περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὰς *χειροτονίας* ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκροωμένων γίνεσθαι: Conc. Carth. 419 (Greek version) 13 πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι συναχθέντες ἐπίσκοπον *χειροτονήσουσιν*, εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη γένηται τρεῖς ἐπίσκοποι. The Canonists are wrong: in all these cases the reference is quite certainly to consecration—not no doubt simply to the laying on of hands, but to the whole rite.

most important were the election by the people and the laying on of hands by the bishops. Sometimes the people's share may be the prominent thought—the man 'ordained' was the real choice of the local church: much more often the emphasis is on the rite by which the gift of the Spirit is invoked with the laying on of hands. When pope Cornelius speaks (ap. Eus. *H. E.* 6. 43. 10) of 'having appointed successors [to two of the consecrators of Novatian] and dispatched them to the places to which the consecrators had belonged', χειροτονήσαντες ἀπεστάλκαμεν, the local churches were not, it would seem, consulted: and when he says (*ib.* 43. 17) that Novatian was ordained priest against the protest of the whole clergy and many of the lay people, the then pope requesting that it might be allowed him τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι, he was obviously thinking of nothing but the bishop's part in the business. And, generally, in the numerous references where χειροτονία is treated as the bishop's act, it is primarily (and sometimes even exclusively) the rite of ordination that is intended.

So in Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 12 τὰς τῶν πολλῶν [*sc.* bishops] φιλαρχίας ἀκρίτους τε καὶ ἐκθίσμους χειροτονίας. Conc. Nic. 16 εἰ δὲ τολμήσειέ τις ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν τῷ ἑτέρῳ διαφέροντα καὶ χειροτονῆσαι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Basil, *ep.* 53. 1 (147 B, D), lets himself go against certain chorepiscopi for daring παρὰ τῶν χειροτονουμένων λαμβάνειν χρήματα: their excuse was μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, τῷ μὴ προλαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν λαμβάνειν. So in *ep.* 138. 2 (230 B) τὰς ὑπερορίους χειροτονίας. So in *ep.* 188. 1 (270 B) χειροτονεῖν is equated with the bestowal of the Holy Spirit οἷτε τοῦ χειροτονεῖν εἶχον τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκέτι δυνάμενοι χάριν πνεύματος ἁγίου ἑτέροις παρέχειν ἧς αὐτοὶ ἐκπεπώκασι. So in Chrysostom *Hom. in Act.* xiv (114 B) it is contrasted with election, τὸ μὲν ὀρίσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ χειροτονῆσαι αὐτῶν [the Apostles'] ἦν, τὸ δὲ ἐλίσθαι ἐκείνους [the people] ἐπιτρέπονσι. So Theodore of Mopsuestia on 1 Tim. 3⁸ (Swete ii 121, 124) οἱ τὴν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, οἱ νῦν ὀνομαζόμενοι ἐπίσκοποι: on 3¹⁵ οὐδὲ νενόμισται αὐτοὺς [subdeacons and readers] πρὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὴν χειροτονίαν δέχεσθαι, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ αὐτῷ ὑπηρετοῦνται τῷ μυστηρίῳ: on 4¹⁴ (μετ' ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου) τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐπισκόπων γίνεσθαι προβολαῖς τὸ μὴ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλειόνων τὰς τοιαύτας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ χειροτονίας πληροῦσθαι. And Palladius *de vita Chrysostomi* 5 χειροτονεῖται διάκονος διὰ τοῦ Μελετίου.

In the period then between A. D. 200 and 400 (450) the meaning and context of χειροτονία are fairly clear, and a review of some instances where it occurs in the same context with χειροθεσία or χειρῶν ἐπιθεσις will throw further light on the shades of difference between them.

Origen's ordination to the presbyterate; Eusebius *H. E.* 6. 19. 16, the Palestinian bishops asked him to expound Scripture in church at Caesarea καίπερ τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότα, but

later on they ordained him presbyter there, 6. 23. 4 *πρεσβείον χειροθεσίαν ἀναλαμβάνει*. Here, while the words are practically interchangeable, the verb *ἀναλαμβάνειν* suggests emphasis on the act, just as *δέχεσθαι* does in Chalcedon canon 15 *διάκονον* [*sc.* deaconess] *μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα πρὸ ἐτῶν μ' . . . εἰ δέ γε δεξαμένη τὴν χειροθεσίαν . . .* In Neocaesarea can. 9 the emphasis on the act is still more marked; *πρεσβύτερος ἐὰν . . . ὁμολογήσῃ ὅτι ἤμαρτεν πρὸ τῆς χειροτονίας, μὴ προσφερέτω . . . τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ ἀμαρτήματα ἔφασαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὴν χειροθεσίαν ἀφίεναι*. In Nicaea can. 19 *χειροτονία* is the whole, *χειροθεσία* the part: Paulianist clergy *ἀναβαπτισθέντες χειροτονεῖσθωσαν*, their deaconesses, *ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ χειροθεσίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν*, are necessarily among the laity. In Antioch can. 22 the distinction seems to be similarly between the whole proceeding and its crucial act, *ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει . . . ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ τινὸς . . . εἰ δὲ τολμήσειεν τις τοιοῦτο ἄκρον εἶναι τὴν χειροθεσίαν*. In Epiphanius *Haer.* 75. 3, 4 *χειροθετεῖ, φησὶν* [*sc.* Aerius], *ἐπίσκοπος, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος* (perhaps intentionally confusing *χειροθετεῖν* and *χειροτονεῖν*): Epiphanius answers *καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτερον καθιστᾶν, μὴ ἔχοντα χειροθεσίαν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν*; i.e. apparently without having received an imposition of hands conferring power to ordain.

Finally we come to the Nicene prescriptions concerning the reception of Meletian and Novatianist schismatics: and, once we have grasped the conclusion to which the whole of the evidence here collected seems to point—namely that the distinction between *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία* (so far as they are not used interchangeably, *χειροθεσία* being the most important element in *χειροτονία*) is that the former is the whole process of which the latter is one, though the most essential, part—the interpretation of our documents becomes a simple matter. The Meletians are dealt with in the letter preserved by Socrates *H. E.* 1. 9 *ἐλείπετο τὸ κατὰ τὴν προπέτειαν Μελιτίου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντων . . . ἔδοξεν οὖν Μελίτιον μὲν . . . μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν μήτε χειροθετεῖν μήτε προχειρίζεσθαι . . . τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντας μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας . . . ἔχειν . . . τὴν τιμὴν καὶ λειτουργίαν*. The orders of Meletius, consecrated a bishop within the Church, were by special act of grace so far recognized, that he was to retain the name of bishop but neither to put forward candidates for ordination nor to ordain them. The bishops consecrated by him outside the Church, on the other hand, were no bishops at all and required to be made valid by 'a more sacramental ordination'; but, their fault being less than his, they were allowed on re-ordination to act up to a certain point as bishops. Like Meletius they might not choose the ordinands (*προχειρίζεσθαι*); unlike him, they are not deprived of the power of *χειροθεσία*. The case of the Novatians, decided in can. 8, was similar: *ἔδοξε . . . χειροθετου-*

μένους αὐτοὺς μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ . . . ἐνθα μὲν οἶν . . . αὐτοὶ μόνοι εὐρίσκοντο χειροτονηθέντες, οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι. If Novatianist clergy came over to the Church, they were regarded as having a claim for ordination, that is to say, all the preliminary parts of the process of χειροτονία, the προχείρισις of the bishops, the choice of the people, were waived: but the actual ordination, the χειροθεσία, was required. Even so, though they were now regularly in the *clerus*, they did not necessarily act in their old position. An ex-Novatianist bishop would only act as bishop if there were no Catholic bishop in the place. If there were, the convert bishop would be 'honorary bishop' or chorepiscopus or presbyter, as the real bishop might decide. This is the interpretation put on the canon by Theophilus of Alexandria in his canons (Beveridge *Synodicon* ii 174) χειροτονεῖσθαι τοὺς προσερχομένους: by most of the Latin versions (one or two are so literal as to be ambiguous, and one takes the other view¹): and, as I now believe, by Ps.-Justin *Quaest. et resp. ad orthodoxos* 14 τοῦ αἰρετικοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν ἐρχομένου τὸ σφάλμα διορθοῦται . . . τῆς χειροτονίας τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ.

So far all citations of χειροθεσία or its cognates, outside those from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, are connected with the laying on of hands in Ordination. Clearly the usage of the *Constitutions*, by which χειροθετώ and χειροτονέω are mutually exclusive, the former being strictly confined to other rites than Ordination, is an idiosyncrasy of the compiler, an attempt, by introducing a conventional distinction, to give a new precision to the terminology of the Church. The distinction is unknown to the Canons of the Councils, as quoted above, from Neocaesarea and Nicaea to Chalcedon: it is equally unknown to St Basil, *ep.* 217 (= *ep. canonica* iii) 51 (325 C), εἴτε ἐν βαθμῇ τυγχάνοιεν εἴτε καὶ ἀχειροθέτῳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ προσκαρτεροῖεν, where ἀχειρόθετος implies that the higher grades of the ministry received that χειροθεσία which the lower offices did not.

Nevertheless, as χειροτονία meant the whole process and χειροθεσία (χείρας ἐπιτιθέναι) only an element in it, an element common to many other rites (see below), it was usual to add some word to make the reference of χειροθεσία to ordination clear. So Cornelius ap. Eus. *H. E.* 6. 43. 17 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χεῖρα εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλήρον: Eusebius *H. E.* 7. 32. 21 τούτῳ . . . Θεόεκνος χείρας εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιτίθεικεν: Conc. Antioch. 10 εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων

¹ The recalcitrant version is that of Caecilian of Carthage 'inpositis manibus reconciliationis'. But if Caecilian brought the canons with him from Nicaea in Greek and they were only rendered into Latin in 418, we should expect the influence of the Augustinian view of schismatical orders to be at work in the rendering.

[as bishops] εὐλογήσας: Epiphanius *Haer.* 27. 6. 4 Clement εἴτ' οὖν . . . ὑπὸ Πέτρου λαμβάνει τὴν χειροθεσίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς: Serapion *Sacramentary* 12, 13, 14 χειροθεσία καταστάσεως διακόνων . . . πρεσβυτέρων . . . ἐπισκόπων: Philostorgius 2. 11 διότι μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνάσχοιτο [Athanasius] τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν χειροθεσίαν ὑποστῆναι: *Vita Polycarpi per Pionium* 21, 22 (very interesting evidence of late fourth-century usage as to election and consecration of a bishop) οἱ οὖν διάκονοι προσήγαγον πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων . . . χειροθεσίαν.

But χειροθεσία (χειροθετεῖν, χεῖρας ἐπιτιθέναι) is also used of any rite in which the laying on of hands in benediction takes place:

(a) of catechumens. (Hippolytus *Church Order* [Ethiopic, Stat. 34, ed. Horner, pp. 151, 379] 'they shall lay hand upon them every day'): *Clementine Homilies* 3. 73 ὅσοι ποτὲ βαπτισθῆναι θέλετε . . . καθ' ἡμέραν χειροθετεῖσθε: Eusebius *V. C.* 4. 61 ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ . . . ἔνθα δὲ καὶ πρῶτον τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν ἤξιοιτο: Serapion *Sacramentary* 28 tit. Χειροθεσία κατηχουμένων.

(b) of the confirmation of the baptized. Hippolytus (Hauler 111. 19) 'Episcopus manum illis inponens inuocet dicens . . . postea oleum sanctificatum infundens de manu et inponens in capite dicat . . .': Ath. *ad Serapionem* 1. 6 διὰ μὲν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδίδοτο τοῖς ἀναγεννωμένοις τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον: *Const. Ap.* 2. 32. 3 ἐν τῷ φωτισμῷ ὕμῶν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου χειροθεσίᾳ, 3. 16. 3 μόνον ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς χρίσει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, 7. 44. 2: Ammonius Alex. *in Act.* 18. 5. 1536 A τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν βαπτισθέντων χειροθεσίας. of *Gnostic baptism*: Clem. Al. *Exc. ex Theod.* 22. 5 καὶ ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τέλους "Εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικὴν", ἢ ἡ βεβαπτισμένος . . .

(c) of the congregation at the Eucharist. *Acta Ioannis* 46 μετὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν . . . καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν χειροθεσίαν τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν συνεδρευόντων: Serapion 3 μετὰ τὸ διαδοῦναι τὴν κλάσιν τοῖς κληρικοῖς χειροθεσία λαοῦ.¹

(d) of the reconciliation of penitents or heretics. Dionysius Alex. ap. Eus. *H. E.* 7. 2 τοὺς ἐξ οἴας δ' οὖν αἰρέσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας . . . ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μόνῃ χρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχῇ. *Const. Ap.* 2. 18. 7 προσκλαύσαντα . . . χειροθετήσας ἕα λοιπὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ, 2. 41. 2 τοῦτον χειροθετήσας . . . ἔσται αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ λούσματος ἡ χειροθεσία (both

¹ One might doubt whether here and in *Const. Ap.* 8. 37, 39 χειροθεσία means more than just a prayer of benediction with the hand outstretched: and similarly with the χειροθεσία νοσούντων and χ. λαοῦ in the rubrics of Serapion's *Sacramentary*. At Jerusalem indeed the lady pilgrim tells us that, after the deacons' summons to bow the head (cf. κλινάτε τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ *Const. Ap.* 8. 37. 4), 'benedicet fideles episcopus et sic fit missa . . . et incipient episcopo ad manum accedere singuli' (Duchesne *Origines du culte chrétien*³ p. 493): but even there the actual imposition was at a later point than the liturgical χειροθεσία.

passages come from *Didascalía*). Conc. Carth. 419 can. 43 εἰ . . . τεθρυσλημένον ἐστὶν τὸ ἔγκλημα . . . πρὸ τῆς ἀψίδος τούτῳ ἡ χεὶρ ἐπιτεθῇ, can. 57 ἀναθεματιζομένου τοῦ τῆς πλάνης ὀνόματος διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῆς χειρὸς ἀναδεχθῶσιν εἰς τὴν μίαν ἐκκλησίαν.

(e) of *healing the sick*. Irenaeus ap. Eus. *H. E.* 5. 7. 4 ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰώνται. Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 12 (35. 1) Βενιαμὶν . . . κατηξιώθη χαρίσματος ἱαμάτων ὡς πάντα ᾧ ἂν χεῖρα ἐπιτίθῃ ἢ ἔλαιον εὐλογήσας ἐδίδου πάσης ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἀρρωστίας. 'Euthalius' in *Act.* 28⁸ τὸν πατέρα Πουπλίου χειροθετήσας ἰάσατο. And Serapion 30 is entitled *χειροθεσία νοσούντων* (see p. 31 n. 1). See below under *χείρ*.

(f) in later writers, of the priest laying his hand on the Eucharist. Sophronius Hierosol. *Orat.* M 87. 3. 4004 Α ὁ ἄκτιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλάσματος βουλῇ χειροθετεῖται.

(g) generally, of any blessing with laying on of hands. Clem. Al. *Paed.* 1. 5 (12. 3) προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ, φησί, παιδία εἰς χειροθεσίαν εὐλογίας.

A by-form of *χειροθεσία* is *χειρεπιθεσία*, of which I know no other instance than pope Cornelius' statement about Novatian, ap. Eus. *H. E.* 6. 43. 9 μετὰ βίας ἠνάγκασεν εἰκονικῇ τινι καὶ ματαίᾳ *χειρεπιθεσίᾳ* ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι. I suspect that, to mark the abnormal character of the proceeding, the ordinary word is purposely avoided: more certainly that motive underlies St Basil's language in *ep.* 240. 3 (370 C) μὴ πολλοφθηναί τινα εἰς κοινωνίαν, μηδὲ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιβολὴν [for ἐπιθεσιν] δεξαμένους.

For *χείρ* = 'laying on of hand' see Basil *ep.* 122 ἐχειροτόνησε τὸν Φαῦστον ἰδίᾳ αὐθεντίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ χειρί, οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν [the church of Satala] ἀναμείνας ψῆφον. Conc. Laod. can. 19 τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ . . . προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων. Athanasius *Ep. Encycl.* 5 οἱ λαοὶ . . . αἰροῦνται μᾶλλον νοσεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἢ χεῖρα τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν. Episc. Aegyptt. ap. Ath. c. *Αἰρίανος* 12 ὅτι Κόλλωνίος πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐτελεύτησε καὶ πᾶσα χεὶρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄνκρος . . . δηλον. Cf. Serapion 3, 13, 28 τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνωμεν (ἐκτείνω τὴν χεῖρα) ἐπὶ . . .

In Serapion's prayers the visible hand of the bishop symbolizes the unseen 'hand' of God or Christ, τὴν θεῖαν καὶ ζῶσαν (28), ἡ ζῶσα καὶ καθαρὰ χεὶρ, ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς (29), τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας χεῖρα (3), χεὶρ εὐλαβείας καὶ δυνάμεως (3) . . . : just as in Christian art the hand in the sky is a frequent symbol of the Father. So Chrysostom *Hom. in Act.* 14 (114 C) τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ χειροτονία ἐστίν· ἡ χεὶρ ἐπίκειται τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ θεὸς ἐργάζεται καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ χεὶρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποτέμνη τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ χειροτονομένου, εἰς ὡς δεῖ χειροτονῆται.

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